

ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

Edited by

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

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THE ROLE OF THE TURKS IN ISLAM

(Continued from our last issue)

THE Janissary force was a physically and morally indomitable, absolutely reliable army of unfortunate men who, kidnapped as children, had been brought up in austere surroundings, where they did not know the love of parents or the longing for a fatherland. The only morale they were taught was obedience to their master, the only ambition they fostered was that of promotion and riches. Such a reckless band of men was well fitted to conduct the conquest of empires. The new army could roughly be divided into seven classes, all of which were slaves of the palace (*gapu gulu*), who were stationed in barracks and received a fixed salary and daily allowances from the imperial treasury. The bulk of this regular army was formed of infantry. It consisted of 196 battalions; the strength of a battalion varied from 60 to 2,000 men in different times. The war footing of the Janissary was in the time of Mohamed II some 12,000, in the time of Mohamed III 40,000; and it reached its greatest strength during the rule of Selim III, when it comprised 110,000 men. Their dress varied in colour according to the regiment and the service, and their regiments chose signs such as keys, a fish or ship's anchors, which were painted on their flags and often tattooed on their arms and calves. Regimental musicians accompanied them and the military ceremonies, traditional to Janissaries, were performed. The daily wage of a Janissary was one *aqche*, a coin containing one-third of a dirhem of silver, at the time of Orkhân, which rose in the course of time to five or six *aqche*, while some who distinguished themselves received even up to eight *aqche*. Later, when, through the maladministration of finances, the silver coins were adulterated and lost part of their value, the daily wage was raised accordingly to twenty *aqche*. Besides these wages each battalion received its regular supply of bread, fat, millet, candles and uniforms.

Their rations were paid every three months, each period being named by the initial letters of the lunar months: **م**ص **م**uharram, **س**afar, **ر**ebi-ûl-Evvel **ر**ebîûla'khir, **ج** Jamadhi-Evvel, **و**e **ا**'khir.

The payment of rations was effected on a Tuesday, before the great hall of the council-chamber. The battalions strode up in military order, saluted the grand Vezir and his retinue and then at a sign given by the hem of their commander's robe, sat down to eat the food (soup, rice and meat) prepared for them in the kitchen of the palace, the acceptance of the food signifying their obedience to their master. After taking their meal they again gathered before the hall, whereupon their captains shouted out the *gulbank* (war cry), crossing their arms on their breasts.

لا اله الا الله باش عريان سينه پر يان قيليج ال قان . بوميد انده
 نيجه باشلر كسيلير هيچ اولما زصوران . ايوا الله ، ايوا الله قهر مر قيليجمز
 دشمانه زيان . قوللغمز پادشاه عيان . اوچلريد يلقير قلكلبا نك
 محمدى نورنبى كرم على پير مز خداوند كار مر حاجى بكتاشى ولى دمنه
 دورانه هو ديه لم هو .

“Allah, Allah, no God besides him ! With bare head and pure breast take blood, my sword ! Many heads are rolled off here and nobody asks why. By God, our force and our sword bring loss to the enemy ; our servitude belongs to the Sultân. Threes, sevens, forties, the Mohammedan war-cry, the light of the Prophet, the generosity of ‘Alî, to our *pir* and master Hâjî Bektashî Veli we shout “Hûa !”

After this, at a given sign, the soldiers all rushed to assigned spots where they seized leather bags full of coins which they took to their barracks and distributed. From this ceremony the 65th battalion was excepted, for this battalion was suspected of having been an accomplice in the murder of Prince Osmân. As the Sultan himself was considered a member of the first battalion of Janissaries, he too betook himself after a few days to the barracks in the dress of the Janissaries, took his salary and accepted a glass of *sherbet*, sitting on horseback at the gate, from the hands of the commander, showing thereby his perfect trust in their fidelity.

This closed body of troops did not admit anybody into its ranks who had not special antecedents. Their *esprit de corps* was unshaken by their homogeneous structure ; and only at the end of the sixteenth century could jugglers and clowns be added to their ranks as a reward for their services at imperial entertainments. From this time on all kinds of unreliable external elements slipped into the Janissary barracks, dissolved the old bonds and ruined the morale. The Janissaries began to marry, lodged outside the barracks and pursued some trade in time of peace. The formerly intrepid and austere troops gradually changed into a turbulent, riotous mob which endangered the tranquillity of the realm, while it became useless on the battlefield ; and, after several attempts at reorganisation failed, it had to be destroyed in 1826.

Besides the standing army there was an equally strongly organised force in the feudal landlords, the *timar* and *ziamet* and *khas* who, according to the extent of their territory, sent well equipped and trained soldiers, infantry and cavalry, to the camp. At the height of the Ottoman power it could raise without any extra expense a cavalry force of 140,000 sabres. No European power up to the Napoleonic wars could muster a force so terrific. The feudal lords received their fiefs as reward for services to the Sultân ; some of them were given for a life-time, some in perpetuity but transferable at decease. While in Europe feudalism, by its inalienable hereditary rights, soon became a danger to the central government, in Turkey the feudal chiefs were always dependent on their overlords. The strength which the Ottoman Empire derived from its feudal system was weakened by the general decay and laxity of morals. The influence of women in the palace invested many unworthy elements with possessorial rights ; many feudal lords spent their time far from their estates. It became the custom to farm out the estates, and this was the ruin of most of them. A reckless exploitation of the soil was soon followed by barrenness and lack of produce, and led to a general impoverishment of the country.

The Janissaries and the *sipahi* feudal cavalry formed the bulk of the army ; for reconnoitring and other minor services irregular or temporarily engaged troops were utilised. These were armed with rifles, or laid mines and dug ditches around the camp and in fortresses. Most of them were Christians, as those auxiliaries which had to be supplied by the subdued Balkanic peoples.

Turkey, which commanded the whole Mediterranean in the sixteenth century, produced a galaxy of victorious sea-captains like Khairëddin Barbarossa and his son Hasan, Piale Torgud, Sali Reis, and Piri Reis. The first *tersana* or ship-yard was established at Gallipoli, which was, under the reign of Süleymân, transferred to the Golden Horn. The Kapudan Pasha, the chief commander of the fleet, was next in rank to the Grand Vezîr. All the Turkish sea officers and men were sons of Christian parents. Apart from their daring exploits, which terrified Europe, some of them were very able and scientific writers, like Piri Reis, who compiled a sea-atlas (*bahriye*) of the Ægean and Mediterranean, every nook of which he had explored, with an account of the currents, soundings, landing-places and harbours. Another literary seaman was Sîdî 'Alî who was driven ashore in India and travelled back to Turkey by way of Sind, Baluchistân, Khorasân and Persia. He wrote an account of his three years' journey, and he was the author of a mathematical work on the use of the astrolabe and a book, *The Ocean*, (*Muhît*), on the navigation of the Indian seas.

Perfect organisation of the work in the ship-yards enabled the Ottomans to turn out a fleet fully manned with specially trained sailors and soldiers, a group of which had to serve on the feudal land-tenure system. Slaves, prisoners and criminals were attached to the mechanical service of the ship, and were treated as galley-slaves.

The whole army, in contradistinction to those of other nations, had its peculiar uniform with gaudy colours; close fighting did not necessitate the dissimulation of khaki. Headgear played the most conspicuous part. Bulging trousers with different coloured gaiters covering the calves, and heelless high boots buttoned at the side made long and forced marches easy. While marching, the wings of the overcoat were tucked into the belt to give the legs easier play.

The weapons of the Ottomans were a mixture of Asiatic clubs, maces, axes, swords with European firearms. The first firearms were guns; then came rifles, their first use of which was probably at the battle of Kossowo (1389). But the Ottomans, who utilised the services of foreigners for the improvement of their army, soon outstripped their enemies in casting heavy guns. Revolving guns and a kind of machine-gun were effectively used against attacks of cavalry.

On the declaration of war the different contingents gathered at appointed places. In campaigns towards the West the line of march was Adrianople, Sofia, Nish, Belgrade; towards Russia, Adrianople, Sofia, Badadagi, Irakchi and along the Dniester. Certain trunk roads had to be followed in order to secure food-supply for the troops, and these fixed lines predetermined the places of combat, which were large plains with surrounding hills which each party tried to occupy. The Turkish armies had to keep to certain lines of alimentation. The army started on a campaign accompanied by an immense retinue of caterers, workmen, singers and jugglers. The camp of a Turkish army presented the most picturesque sight imaginable. Races and costumes from all parts of the world, the whole bazaar of an Eastern town with its manifold products and entertainments, marched along with the fighters. The East marched up and down to Vienna across the Balkans innumerable times.

The tactics of the Turks were naturally based on their military system and have till modern times borne the imprint of the life on the Central Asiatic steppes. Originally it was the tactical deployment of the ancient Persians, who developed a system of co-operation between cavalry and infantry, which system was followed by the Turanian peoples. The battle array was based on a strong centre of infantry protected in front by artillery and on the flank by strong squadrons of cavalry. The attack was begun frontally by daring skirmishes of irregular cavalry (*akinji*) who feigned discomfiture and fled in dismay and dragged the vainglorious pursuers into the semicircle of the artillery, which suddenly opened fire on them as the flying irregulars deployed right and left while the flanking cavalry scattered them by encircling movements and the steadfast Janissary infantry rolled them up. The defeated enemy was hotly pursued and annihilated. These tactics, successfully carried out, resulted in complete victory and the enemy succumbed entirely. One encounter decided the fate of kingdoms. The Turks are born soldiers and in the nineteenth century, when European civilisation created long distance firearms and accordingly the traditional tactics had to be abandoned, the Turks easily adopted the new system, in which too they proved equal, if not superior, to any nation. Islam gained its bravest fighters in the Turks, and they are still productive of military genius.

Finance was the weakest point of the Ottoman Empire. As if soldiers were by nature no economists, they could not balance the income and expenses of the State. There was no regular budget, and the whim of the Sultan could destroy the soundest basis of finance. The income of the State was, according to the Muslim law, a tenth, the salt dues, the capitation tax and the purses given by subdued or auxiliary powers, and one-fifth of the spoils. In the period of ascendancy the income far exceeded the expenditure. Then it became the custom to distribute large sums to the Janissaries and the palace expenses rose to an uncontrollable height. No regular book-keeping was established, the provinces were ransacked and impoverished, and with the advent of the new era the purely agricultural Turkey had to purchase industrial articles from abroad. With Suleymân the Great, Turkey standing at the height of its power, financial difficulties already set in. Feudal tenures were converted into waqf and the system of farming revenues was introduced. The first attempt at a budget was made in 1609; another in 1653, and another in 1660. At this time the brilliant administration of the two **Koprulus** restored temporary order to finance. The form of budget remained the same till 1862, when Fuad Pasha attached a regular budget to his report on the financial situation. The budgets were never accurate; and debased currency and confiscation of property, to which the government resorted, destroyed public confidence.

A more reassuring aspect is presented if we turn our attention to learning and art, to the contribution of the Turks to Islamic culture in the purest sense. The Turks were always great admirers of learning and faithful pupils of other nations, even though they lacked originality. Their scholars were erudite in Persian and Arabic culture; and, as learning in the Middle Ages was synonymous with theology, the Islamic theology soon captivated the Muslim Turks. Their first Sultans erected mosques, and at their sides **madrasahs**, where, in the Arabic style, pupils squatted before the columns and went through the curriculum of learning. Those who needed higher knowledge visited the famous schools of Egypt. The language of instruction being Arabic, as Latin was in Europe, an internationalism within the respective cultures was much more general than to-day, when national languages seem to erect stiff barriers. After the first learned Turks like Sheikh Udebali, the father-in-law of Sultân Osmân, Dursun

Faqih and Chandarali Kara Hahl, the school of Isnîk gained reputation, and this madrasah was founded by Orkhân. After the conquest of Adrianople and Constantinople, wonderful great mosques and madrasahs were erected by the Sultans; that of Adrianople built by Selim, and in Constantinople the great Suleymânîyeh were foremost among the seats of learning. Scholars and students flocked there from abroad. The most famous teachers were Aksarayli Jemâluddîn and Sa'aduddîn Taftazânî whose commentaries are still in use in Muslim schools. Sheykh Bedruddîn wrote valuable books on Sûfism, and distinguished himself from his contemporaries by his liberal philosophic tendencies. Under the reign of Mohammed the Conqueror Mulla Khûsrev distinguished himself by his juridical works, one of which *Ghurar* served as a text for *fiqh*, the other *Durar* as a commentary on it. During the reign of Selîm I, Zembilli 'Alî Jemâlî and Kemâl Pashazâdeh, the great mufti, attracted many learned men to their seats, while the reign of Suleymân can boast of Abû Su'ud Efendi and Ibn Kemâl. The latter excelled in commentaries and scholasticism, and also wrote history and poetry. His was a universal talent and he was considered the greatest scholar of his age. Abu Su'ud distinguished himself by his knowledge of the *Sheri'at* of which he was the greatest representative in his age. No Turk could write Arabic as he could. These two great scholars were unsurpassed in later times. With the downward trend of Ottoman power spiritual capacity too seems to have weakened, and although scholasticism prevailed in the Turkish madrasahs up to our days, no new thought, no new departure in philosophy can be noticed. Theological and philosophic learning came to a standstill.

Science in Turkey was first represented by medicine. The lexicon of learned men reveals the names of hundreds of physicians who were of Turkish nationality. The first stone-built hospital was erected by Bayezîd I (1401) at Brûsa, to which a training college was attached. In the madrasah of the Suleymânîyeh and in the Fâtîh mosque the Yunânî medicine was industriously studied. It is noteworthy that, while the medium of theological and philosophical learning was Arabic, books of medicine were written in Turkish. The Turks contributed to the advancement of the medical knowledge of brain diseases and studied the laws of inherited diseases. Among their famous physicians in the time of Bayezîd were a certain Ishâq and Haji Pasha who wrote learned treatises; in

the reign of the Conqueror flourished Altinjizâdeh. Kahwezizâdeh Ahmed, 'Alî Ahmed Chelebi, Vesim 'Abbâs and others. Their fame and skill in operations, especially as ophthalmologists, reached Central Europe. Besides theology and medicine historiography was a remarkable achievement in Turkish culture. Although as a rule the prose literature cannot compare favourably with the poetical productions of the Turks, the best, and from a scientific point of view the most valuable, of their productions, is their *tarikh* literature. In the beginning it was an imitation of Persian models: later it never quite could get rid of a floridity of style which obscured the meaning. The Sultans encouraged historiography, for it immortalised their glorious deeds, and though most histories were composed with the one-sided view, with the help of textual criticism the *tarikhs* still yield valuable information.

The first Turkish historian was 'Ashiq Pashazâdeh who flourished during the reign of Bayezîd II. and like his contemporary Neshri in his *Jihan-numa* used a fluent and matter-of-fact style in describing the battles of the Ottomans. Idrîs Bitlisî compiled in Persian under the title *Hesht Bihisht*, a historical work in a literary style. The Turkish historians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries depict the events before the conquest of Constantinople from the point of view of Ottoman imperialism, and are prone to forget that the Turks issued from a village community and could turn their arms against their rivals in Anatolia only after they had attained to world-power by the conquest of Constantinople. From the reign of Süleymân onward the *tarikhs* become rhymed in form and obscure in meaning. Many of them are panegyrics. The series of official chroniclers (*Waq'a'navis*), begins with Hoja Sa'deddîn (*Taj-ut-tawarikh*) who records the events till the time of Selîm II in a turgid and coarse style. Na'ima is the most reliable source of Turkish history, though his style is also far from impeccable. Rashîd Mohamed, Ismail 'Asim, 'Izzi Süleymân, Wâsif Ahmed, Mohamed Subhî, Pechewi, Selanikli Mustafa, 'Alî Efendi, Kâtib Chelebi and Munajjim Bashi all wrote of the changing events of Turkish history. Besides their comprehensive histories, there are a number of valuable monographs on biography, literature and palace-life, like Mustafa Pasha's *Neta'iju'l-wuqu'at*, Ata Bey's *Anderun Tarikhi*, 'Alî Efendi's *Menaqib-i-Hunerweran*. The *Nata'iju'l-wuqu'at* does not restrict itself to the narrating of events, but depicts the admin-

istration and organisation of the Empire. The *Anderun Tarikhi* is a true picture of palace-life written in a surfeited, elaborate style which sometimes sinks from literature to a mere jingle of words. The historico-critical work of Kochi Bey gives the most lucid survey of the causes of the decay of the Empire.

From this brief summary I cannot omit the Turkish geographers. The extension of the empire necessitated geographical knowledge and from the sixteenth century onwards we find a number of important geographical and nautical works. Besides those mentioned already, there were Sîpâhizâdeh Mohamed and Enîr Mohamed ibn Hasan who wrote the first Turkish description of America at the end of the sixteenth century.

The greatest of Turkish geniuses was undoubtedly Kâtib Chelebi, commonly known as Haji Khalifah, the author of the encyclopedic work *Kashf-uz-Zunun*. He wrote a general geography under the title *Jihan-numa*, and translated from Latin the Atlas Minor, besides compiling books on naval warfare. Râ'if Mahmûd compiled an English geography and atlas during the reign of Selîm III, (1789-1807).

Turkish literature has borne the imprint of the duality of the nation from the beginning. The ruling and educated classes despised the pure and simple language of the people; and gradually an artificial language came into existence, which was surfeited with Persian and Arabic words to such an extent that it became unintelligible to the people. Literature, for the Ottomans, meant only this stilted, artificial style, following Persian models very closely; the inspiration of the people found vent in cradle-songs, stories of the *meddah*, and the stage-play *Orta Oynu* which, though influenced by the Byzantine mimes, thoroughly depicted the life and mentality of the common people. The Chinese shadow-play, on its long wanderings across Asia, found easy access in its Islamised form to the liking of the people, and on cool evenings, in fragrant gardens, to the accompaniment of the gurgling of the nargileh and the scent of the famous Turkish coffee, the people eagerly listened to, and enjoyed, the dramatic gestures of the *meddah* and his attractive, sometimes ludicrous stories. The harem-life produces the rhymed quatrains composed by women (*manî-verses*), and read by them on festive occasions in a joking way. Folksongs in old Turkish

the reign of the Conqueror flourished Altinjizâdeh, Kahwezizâdeh Ahmed, 'Alî Ahmed Chelebi, Vesim 'Abbâs and others. Their fame and skill in operations, especially as ophthalmologists, reached Central Europe. Besides theology and medicine historiography was a remarkable achievement in Turkish culture. Although as a rule the prose literature cannot compare favourably with the poetical productions of the Turks, the best, and from a scientific point of view the most valuable, of their productions, is their *tarikh* literature. In the beginning it was an imitation of Persian models; later it never quite could get rid of a floridity of style which obscured the meaning. The Sultans encouraged historiography, for it immortalised their glorious deeds, and though most histories were composed with the one-sided view, with the help of textual criticism the *tarikhs* still yield valuable information.

The first Turkish historian was 'Ashiq Pashazâdeh who flourished during the reign of Bayezîd II. and like his contemporary Neshri in his *Jihan-numa* used a fluent and matter-of-fact style in describing the battles of the Ottomans. Idrîs Bitlisî compiled in Persian under the title *Hesht Bihisht*, a historical work in a literary style. The Turkish historians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries depict the events before the conquest of Constantinople from the point of view of Ottoman imperialism, and are prone to forget that the Turks issued from a village community and could turn their arms against their rivals in Anatolia only after they had attained to world-power by the conquest of Constantinople. From the reign of Süleymân onward the *tarikhs* become rhymed in form and obscure in meaning. Many of them are panegyrics. The series of official chroniclers (*Waq'a'navis*), begins with Hoja Sa'deddîn (*Taj-ut-tawarikh*) who records the events till the time of Selîm II in a turgid and coarse style. Na'ima is the most reliable source of Turkish history, though his style is also far from impeccable. Rashîd Mohamed, Ismail 'Asim, 'Izzi Süleymân, Wâsif Ahmed, Mohamed Subhî, Pechewi, Selanikli Mustafa, 'Alî Efendi, Kâtib Chelebi and Munajjim Bashi all wrote of the changing events of Turkish history. Besides their comprehensive histories, there are a number of valuable monographs on biography, literature and palace-life, like Mustafa Pasha's *Neta'iju'l-wuqu'at*, Ata Bey's *Anderun Tarikhi*, 'Ali Efendi's *Menaqib-i Hunerweran*. The *Nata'iju'l-wuqu'at* does not restrict itself to the narrating of events, but depicts the admin-

istration and organisation of the Empire. The *Anderun Tarikhi* is a true picture of palace-life written in a surfeited, elaborate style which sometimes sinks from literature to a mere jingle of words. The historico-critical work of Kochi Bey gives the most lucid survey of the causes of the decay of the Empire.

From this brief summary I cannot omit the Turkish geographers. The extension of the empire necessitated geographical knowledge and from the sixteenth century onwards we find a number of important geographical and nautical works. Besides those mentioned already, there were Sipâhizâdeh Mohamed and Emîr Mohamed ibn Hasan who wrote the first Turkish description of America at the end of the sixteenth century.

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metres survived on the lips and in the hearts of the people for centuries, and some fraternities like those of the Yese-wis and the Bektashis composed their illuminative songs in Turkish.

But, apart from these scanty remnants, the literature of the learned was foreign in prosody and foreign in sentiments. It slowly accommodated itself to the taste and feelings of the people, as its political importance increased and clamoured for recognition. The first and perhaps the greatest literary productions on Turkish soil were the *mesnewis* of Jelâlu'd-dîn Rûmî, composed in Persian; only two stray Turkish lines betray the nationality of the author. Hisson, Sultân Veled, wrote in Turkish but used the Persian prosody. When the Ottoman Sultanate established itself, 'Ashiq Pasha wrote his *Gharib-nameh* and Suleymân Chelebi his *Mevludieh* in pure Turkish; but Persian literature soon overwhelmed these vague attempts and at the time of the Conqueror we find already a Persianised Turkish, and the prominence of Persian models. We may broadly say that, whenever a new star arose in Persia, its brilliance was promptly felt in Turkish poetry. The madrasahs with their Arabic teaching also strongly influenced the literary taste of the learned. Turkish literature has become a true depository of ideas from Islamised Iran. A literature of the palace grew up, its themes being Sûfic, its poetical expression that of the moth yearning for the light in which it ultimately burns. The *dîwâns* with their *qasidahs*, *medhiehs*, *munajat* and *ghazals* were the fashionable literary forms. In the time of Suleymân the Magnificent this literary school produced its first great representative, Fuzuli of Baghdad, who, in spite of his coarse provincial Turkish, gave evidence of a first-rate poetic talent in his *Dîwân* and *Leylah ve Mejnun*. He was surpassed, only as far as refinement of language goes, by Bâqî who flourished in the seventeenth century, and who was considered the greatest Turkish lyric poet. In originality Fuzuli was superior. Zâtî with his *Shem u Pervane*, Lâmi'î, Rûhî, and Yahya Bey with his *Shah u Geda*, belong to Bâqî's age. Fashion and taste were thorough imitations of Persian models. This imitative and artificial spirit rose to its highest in the seventeenth century. Nefî and his contemporaries saw the greatest beauty of poetry and prose in style as such, and not in the expression of feelings. In this respect Nergisi went so far that his works are more a play on words than poetry.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century it became impossible to read poetry without ample commentaries, so abstruse had its style become. Nedîm, the gayest of lyric poets, writes in a comparatively clear style. Raghib Pasha represents philosophic poetry, Fitnet Hânim the women's sentimentality of that age. The nineteenth century becomes the harbinger of simplicity, and Sheikh Ghâlib (Mohamed Esad)'s *Husn u 'Ishq*, a rhymed story, and his *Dîwân* are astonishingly free from the turgidity of his predecessors. The *Dîwân*-literature begins to ebb and Sumbulzadeh Vehbi, Surûrî and Kechizadeh Izzet Mulla may be regarded as its last representatives. From the time of the great reformer Sultân Mahmûd II, it became generally felt that the mental and physical structure of the Ottoman empire was debilitated. We can notice that the great statesmen of this period, Pertev and Aqif Pashas and later, under 'Abdul Mejîd, Rifa'at and Reshîd Pashas, felt a nausea at the meaningless adorned style of the official documents, and tried to simplify them. The same tendency is noticeable in literature proper. Another great factor which changed the aspect and taste of literature was the influence of Europe, with which Turkey came into more direct touch from the time of Napoleon. A revival of literature followed, which gave great promise.

As said above, the Turks have a rare imitative and adaptive spirit, by which they can easily imbibe the spirit, the productions of other peoples and utilise them for their purposes. Perhaps in architecture the Turks have set up the noblest monuments of this adaptive spirit. Coming through Persia and Syria, the Seljuk Turks carried the Arabo-Persian ideals of art on into Anatolia, where the influence of Byzantium further enriched their materials. The Turkish genius revealed itself not in blindly accumulating these materials and styles, but in the creation from the ingredient materials of a new, typically Turkish, architecture, which unites the beauty and elegance of Arabic, Persian and Greek art.

The first architectural monuments of Turkey are to be found in Iznik and Brûsa, which for some time was the capital of the nascent State, and these are mainly public buildings in the Seljuk style, mosques, madrasahs and tombs. The colour of the tiles which were used to cover the walls and the cupolas gave them the name of Green Mosques. The Seljuk style elaborated the carving and

the ornaments of the doorway. It must be remembered that the colder climate of Asia Minor did not allow open courtyards to be used as praying-places, but the mosque has become a closed-in hall, and doors came into prominence. The Persian fashion of decorating the walls with coloured tiles of high perfection was followed in the mosques of Brûsa and Iznik. The size of the buildings was comparatively small and no pillars supported the roof. The Turks could not cover a large space with one cupola so they resorted to multiplication of the cupolas and thereby minimised the space which each of them had to cover. But the cupolas which were all on the same level did not give the impression of height and soon a development set in which elevated the central cupola above the rest.

With the conquest of Constantinople the Byzantine influence which had only indirectly reached the Turks before, makes itself strongly felt. The great empire provided sufficient wealth to erect splendid public buildings, and the rapidly developing social life necessitated other buildings than mosques and tombs, such as public wells, carvanserays, bazaars and palaces. The Greek church, Aya Sofia, became the model of the Turkish mosque, such as the mosques of Bayezîd, Shehzâdeh, Suleymâniyeh, Sultân Ahmed, and Yenî Jâmi'. These buildings are characterised by an extremely high central cupola surrounded by a number of small ones supported by mighty round columns. The walls are not so thick and heavy as in the Byzantine buildings. The arches were either round or pointed but always wide, the capitals of columns were worked out into stalactites. The entrance to the mosque was surrounded by a colonnade and behind it the *'imarethkhanah* with its small round cupolas served as rooms for students.

Instead of the golden mosaics and sacred pictures of the Byzantine churches, the inner walls of the mosques were covered with Arabic inscriptions and the lofty names of the four Caliphs. An innovation of the utmost gracefulness was introduced by the Turks, and added new beauty to the Byzantine style: the minaret. The shape of the minaret varies in the Arabic and Persian styles, and the Turks simplified it by creating a smooth, slender, very high tower with a simple roof; only carved balconies like flower-wreaths enrich its simplicity.

A palace was built on the site of the Byzantine palace at the point of the protruding peninsula of Stambûl, on

the most glorious spot in the world. It has had a long history, for every Sultân added numerous buildings to it. The most remarkable parts are the harem, for its wall-tiles and decorations, and the Baghdad-Kyûshk, which was erected by Murâd IV after the recapture of Baghdad. The architects of these buildings were mostly converted Greeks, like the great and most fertile Sînân, who is supposed to have built more than eighty public monuments.

There is one Jâmi' in the Muslim world with six high minarets, that of Sultân Ahmed on the historic square of the Roman hippodrome opposite the obelisk of Theodosius and the relic of the battle of Plataia. Its architect was Mohamed Agha, a pupil of Sînân.

The eighteenth century marks a new period in architecture. At this time public fountains and palaces were built in abundance, but great fires and earthquakes have destroyed a number of them. The graceful fountain of Ahmad III, the fine Nûr-i-Osmâni mosque, and the Laleli Jâmi' are glorious monuments. The European rococo style vaguely but unmistakably announces itself on their decorations, and with extreme refinement decadence sets in. The buildings which were erected in the nineteenth century are strongly imitative of European models.

Constantinople, which is situated on the most beautiful spot in the world, soon increased and spread on both banks of the Golden Horn. Houses made of wood with protruding carved balconies looked more like bird-cages than human habitations, but added immensely to the romantic and picturesque aspect of the town. The lattice-windows which concealed the beauties of the harem gave a mysterious air to the quiet and calm streets. Mighty *konaks* (palaces) of the rich contained carpets and other ornaments of immense value, but even the poorest Turk kept his house clean and richly decorated with rugs.

Family life, as in every Muslim country, was separate as to sexes. The Sultâns, when their power became paramount, did not marry from noble families but selected their wives from those slave-girls who bore sons to them. This did not become the custom of the nobles, who strictly adhered to the prescribed ceremonies of marriage, though it was the fashion to keep a large number of slaves.

Social life was separated into two parts. Men amused themselves in coffee-houses, listening to poets or story-tellers; women made excursions on Fridays by boat to

the beautiful groves of the fresh waters of Constantinople. Recitations and music and the display of gorgeous dresses of silk and furs made such trips a most enjoyable entertainment.

The economic foundation of social life in Turkey was no doubt the land and its products. The fiefs, sublet to the tenants and industriously looked after, secured the food of the people. Besides agriculture, industry, notably those branches of industry which served military purposes and satisfied the wants of oriental life, soon developed, and gave livelihood to the inhabitants of the towns. The artisans were organised in guilds and the different professions derived their origins from certain *pîrs*. Evliâ Chelchî, the greatest traveller of the Turks in the seventeenth century, gives a vivid description of a procession of guilds among which many such an occupation figures as would not be permitted today. The bazaars were veritable museums of oriental wares of leather, tin, copper, woven stuff and silk, produced in Turkey or imported by an extensive system of caravans from every part of the world. Fleets of merchantmen belonging to Genoa and Venice exchanged the goods of Asia and Europe. The Turks did not care much for maritime trade and left it to foreigners or to their Christian subjects.

The Turk was a soldier and administrator, a judge and guardian of law and order. His only riches consisted of real estate or the salary he drew for service. The Christian subjects took to the more profitable pursuits of trade and soon enriched themselves to such an extent as to rouse the jealousy of the Muslims, whose sons bled to death on the battlefield in the defence of the State. The Christians were exempt from military service and the heaviest burden was borne by the Muslim Turks. And these Muslim Turks sustained their burden with a heroism, with a sincere obedience to the word of God worthy of admiration. They were the bravest knights of Islâm and perpetuated its culture, its taste in art and literature, and its aspect of life, when no other Muslim race was able to withstand the onslaughts of Europe. They with their achievements have shown an example of endurance and will-power which, if rightly understood and followed on the cultural path, must inspire other Muslim peoples with self-consciousness and self-reliance.

JULIUS GERMANUS.

(Concluded.)

SOME PRECURSORS OF NIZAMU'L-MULK TUSI

PLATO has said somewhere that it would be a happy day when rulers should become philosophers (Lovers of Wisdom) and philosophers should be enthroned as kings and potentates. It is not likely that Plato knew of a land where this wish of his was realised; but if it is a fact that the millennium will arrive when such a state of affairs will come to pass, then we may safely venture to say that the Greek philosopher's ideal came near to be realised in the East sometime about the eleventh century of the Christian era, for it was then that the potentates of the Orient were real lovers of learning and appointed such persons as their ministers as vied with themselves in promoting all that was useful and good for the people. And among such illustrious names perhaps the most prominent are those of Jalâl-ud-Dîn Malik Shah Seljûqî and of his Vizier Khwâjah Nizâm-ul-Mulk Tûsî. We are bewildered at the deeds of these two great rulers of Asia and the work they accomplished to promote the welfare of their people. In those days it was not a point at issue whether a people were to be ruled by the pen or by the sword; but, as a matter of ordinary course, whatever part of the world accepted the Law of Islam as its code was enriched by all the sciences and arts which were then known. The greatness of Nizâm-ul-Mulk consisted not only in the fact that he ruled all the lands from the Mediterranean to the borders of Persia and from the Caspian to the Hijâz, and controlled the very seat of the Khilâfat of Islam, but he was a statesman of whom just one act—the foundation of the Nizâmiyah University of Baghdad—will make his name live till the end of time; and we of Hyderabad are the more deeply interested in his work because it is the calendar of his making, which he named Jalâlî after his august sovereign, which was adopted by the emperor Akbar the Great as the Ilâhî calendar and still subsists as the official calendar of the dominions of H.E.H. the Nizam after having been reformed by Sir Salar Jung I.

The chief work of Nizam-ul-Mulk Tûsî in the field of political science consists in the compilation of a couple of works, the *Siasat-Nameh* which he compiled for his master and the *Adabul-Wuzara* which he wrote for the instruction of his son.* I shall turn to these works later ; in the present article I shall try to delineate the general condition of the world of Islam in those days, give a short description of the constitution of the Islamic State, note a few of the writers on political science antecedent to Nizam-ul-Mulk, estimate their method and their importance and show their connection with his political works.

In order to realise the exact position of the world of Islam in the eleventh Christian century and its full significance, it is necessary to pass in review the conditions of the contemporary western world so that we may have an idea of the real background for the politics of Asia. In the West this period was one of great turmoil. On the one hand both Spain and Portugal were ruled by Asiatic and African races, while on the other hand, in spite of the forced conversion of a large part of Germany to Christianity by Charlemagne, Europe was still a prey to schism and disunion. About the beginning of the century, England was weakened by civil wars, and although the Franks had finally conquered Gaul and had extended their dominion over practically the whole of western Europe, still the nett result of this hegemony proved to be, not the union of what was later called France and Germany, but a source of continuous quarrel between these two nations. The condition of the Italian peninsula was not much better, for what had been once the most flourishing nation of the western world, was rived asunder by the iron wedge of the Patrimony of St. Peter. As if all this was not enough, the Church had come to exercise the most direct influence over the politics of the continent and the Pope had become powerful enough to depose the successor of Julius Cæsar and Charlemagne, 'the Holy Roman Emperor,' and to force him to stand for hours on end before the papal palace before he had his sins expiated. Christian Europe was, moreover, full of monasteries and nunneries, the inmates of which followed the precept of

* Many orientalist and Iranologists are of opinion that the *Adabul-Wuzara* was not written by Nizamul-Mulk. Here we are not much concerned with this controversy as we are dealing only with the precursors of Nizamul-Mulk, and in any case the *Adab* does depict the state of the political thought of the period in which the great minister flourished.

Christ in not visibly earning any livelihood themselves but who none the less lived lives of luxury and plenty which might be a source of envy for the richest potentate of the West, and whose 'houses' were full of all that money could provide in those days.

In the face of this state of affairs, which was bound to have its reaction to the detriment of Europe, the people of Islam were acting as the harbinger of a culture the equal of which this planet has rarely seen. After the death of the great Messenger of Arabia,¹ the political and moral influence of Islam spread far and wide till, in the eleventh century of the Christian era, it extended to the Pyrenees in the West and Central India in the East; and although in the period which we are surveying there was not as much coherence among the Muslim peoples as had existed during the era of the Good Khalifahs, still, if we take into consideration the fact that in all the countries which enjoyed the rule of Islam the same principles of law and the same constitution of government were in force, we shall come to the conclusion that there was a real similarity between the various parts which composed the Islamic Commonwealth. There is no doubt but that the centre of this vast empire—the person of the Khalifah at Baghdad—had greatly weakened in prestige, and the Khalifah had become a puppet, now in the hands of the Turks, now in the power of the Persians; still, this had not meant a decrease in the power of the State or in the tremendous prestige it had for all who came in contact with it; for the titled nobles of this very Khalifah were invading Mathura and Sonmath in the East and defeating the Eastern Roman Empire in Asia Minor, while the scions of the family of Banî Omayyah were violently knocking at the gates of France, Germany and Italy in the West.

Still, as we have just seen, the prestige of the successors of Hârûn-ur-Rashîd and Mâmûn-ur-Rashîd was without doubt on its downward path, and the centre of gravity of the Islamic State was gradually shifting from Baghdad towards the East. As early as the time of the Khalifah Abû'l Qâsim 'Abdullâh el Mustakfi bi'llâh,² a Persian family, known in history as the Banî Buwaih, had taken possession of Ispahan, invaded the rich plains of 'Irâq and risen to such power and prominence that when the Khalifah

(1) 631 A.C.

(2) 944-946 A.C.

wanted to thwart the machinations of the Turki nobility, he had to call in the aid of these very rebels. Once in Baghdad, the power and prestige of the Persians knew no bounds, and the Buwaihids were not only granted the high-sounding titles of Mu'izzu'd-Dowlah, 'Imadu'd-Dowlah and Ruknu'd-Dowlah but the Khalifah made the eldest Amîru'l-Umara and Sultân, and his name began to appear on the coins of the realm along with that of the Khalifah himself. Sultân Mu'izzu'd-Dowlah's power continued to increase till he began to control the Government of the Empire himself and in the end deposed Al Mustakfi and enthroned another scion of the Abbasid family, Abû'l-Qâsim al-Fadl al-Mutî' lillâh.¹ The Buwaihids naturally continued to be in the ascendant during that reign as well, but their power began to wane owing to internecine feuds, so that they could not stem the rising tide of the Banî Fâtimah of Egypt, who were able to capture a number of provinces of the Khilâfat, including the Hijâz itself. In spite of their obvious decline, one of the Buwaihids was still proud enough to demand from his puppet the Khalifah² the grandiose title of Mahku'l-Mulûk or King of Kings.

In the East, Alptagın and Subuktagın, and after them the latter's son, Mahmûd of Ghaznah, became famous by their daring exploits, earning the gratitude of the Khalifah Al-Qâdir who honoured Mahmûd by granting him the titles of Yamînu'd-Dowlah, Amînu'l-Millat and Sultân. This Sultân Mahmûd, the hero of a thousand romances, became the ruler of all the lands from the Oxus and the Juxartes to the Ganges and the city of Khurasan. In the same way a Persian nobleman, Amîr Qabus ibn Washmîr became master of all the lands represented by Jurjan and Tabaristan. The successors of Sultân Mahmûd of Ghaznah were not so capable as himself and his own son, Mas'ûd Ghaznavî was defeated by a Turk of Khurasan, Seljûq by name. After Seljûq's death, his people elected Tughrâk Beg as their leader who put to flight the Buwaihid forces in a number of places, thus taking possession of various provinces such as Jurjân and Khwârizm. Like their predecessors, these Seljuqs soon became the power behind the throne of the Abbasid Khalifah, and when Tughrâk Beg finally extracted Abû

(1) 946-974 A. C.

(2) Abu'l-'Abbâs Ahmed al Qadir billah, 991-1031 A. C.

Ja'far el-Qâ'im bi amri'llâh* from the grasp of his enemies, the grateful Khalifah conferred on him practically all the privileges of royalty and, after honouring him with the title of Sultân, himself placed the crown on his head. The Seljûqis thus became the most powerful people of western Asia, and after the accession of Alp Arslân there was no nation which could vie with them in prowess and might. This well known Sultan conquered Georgia and Armenia, and routed the Greek forces in the brilliant action at Melazgird. It was Alp Arslân who appointed as his wazîr one who has left an indelible mark on the history of the world, and who was no less renowned in the field of thought and literature than in the field of battle,—Nizâmû'l-Mulk of Tûs.

In spite of all this storm and stress, when the foundations of the Khilâfat of Baghdad had been hollowed out, and when the real power in the State was passing from the Turk to the Persian, and from the Persian to the Turk, it is remarkable that the patronage of arts and sciences continued as before, and the continent of Asia continued to produce thinkers and *savants* of whom it may well be proud. It is the epoch when historians like Al-Bêrûnî and Mas'ûdî, philosophers and political scientists like Farabi, poets like Mutanabbi, writers like Firdausî were making a mark in western and central Asia, and it is difficult to find a single art or science on which the Muslims of the eleventh century A.C. have not left their permanent influence.

This rather complicated political machinery really consisted of two quite distinct parts, one with the person of the 'Abbâsîd Khalifah as its apex and another which was centred in the real ruler of the land, whether he belonged to the race of Seljûq or Buwaih. There is no doubt but that whatever power a Persian or a Turkish adventurer legally and constitutionally acquired really emanated from the person of the Khalifah himself; although it is also quite evident that the Khalifah was forced to hand over his authority to these leaders because he could not withstand the tremendous power of their onslaughts. Under these circumstances we should say that while the legal and constitutional sovereignty rested with the Khalifah, he had transferred most of his authority to the Bani Buwaih or Bani Seljûq as the case might be.

*1030-1075 A. C.

Here it is well to bear in mind the questions appertaining to the personal rule of the sovereign of a country. It is regarded as a political axiom nowadays that the continent of Asia has been the cradle of autocracy, and if any good writer on politics wishes to lay a certain amount of stress on the word 'despotism,' all he has to do is simply to affix to it the convenient adjective 'Oriental.' In the first place it is absolutely against all the facts of history that despotism should have had its roots only in one particular continent of the globe. The despotic principle under which the emperor Nero could throw Christian men, women and children before hungry lions, under which the Pope of Rome became the arbiter not only of the celestial but also the terrestrial paradise, under which Henry VIII of England could upset the political and social structure of his kingdom at the mere call of his personal and sexual lust, under which the representative of Their Most Christian and Catholic Majesties, Fernando and Isabella, the Archbishop Ximenes, could make a huge bonfire of all the precious Arabic manuscripts he could lay his hands on in Granada—it would be difficult to find many instances of that kind of despotism in the East. We have to remember that the Khalifahs, whose times we are scanning, were themselves, in theory at least, elected officers of the Islamic State, although in course of time the office had become more or less hereditary and the election more or less farcical; then, if we go a little deep into the politics of Asiatic States, we find that, although the rulers have been supreme on the executive side, they have always had to bow before legal principles as enunciated by an outside agency which was generally regarded as divine. We know that before the French Revolution there was not a single State in continental Europe which had any pretensions to a democratic form of Government; and there are some political scientists at the present day who feel that even now real democracy has not penetrated into the working of the modern State, but that, on the other hand, judging from the rise and progress of Bolshevism and Fascism there is a clear backward trend in the evolution of democracy even before the climax has been reached.

There is one other factor which should be noted here. Every State in this world of ours is necessarily based on some principle or other. The Bolshevik State does not give any political rights to those who do not add to the material wealth of the country by their personal, physical

effort ; States based on capitalism, such as the United States of America or England, usually grant political power to those possessed of some property, however nominal, or who pay a certain amount of tax to the government ; and if we look at the distribution of political power in the States of Europe before the French Revolution, we find that political power was distributed among either the kings, the courtiers or the priests. If we analyse these cases we come to the conclusion that the State allows political power only to those in whom it has implicit confidence ; and in the nature of things it cannot be otherwise ; for how can we expect that the State should allow those to share in its government who do not agree with its basic principles, and whose sole idea is to undermine those principles ? In the same way the world has passed through a stage in which political authority was distributed among those who followed the same religious tenets, and those tenets reacted not only on internal but also on external policy. It is not yet a hundred years since the end of the Inquisition in Spain ; and, if we peruse the treaties agreed to by the European Powers as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, we discover many with the clause, 'In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity' appearing at their commencement. Look at the period of European history which has just passed, and you will find that the European State system was built on the Christian religion to a large extent ; and, apart from 'the Patrimony of St. Peter,' which existed as late as 1870, and which to a modified extent exists even today, whole tracts of the Germanic Empire were in the possession of Bishops and Archbishops of the Catholic Church, while the representatives of religion were regarded as superior to the representatives of the Commons in the legislative assemblies of France and England, so much so that a judicial ruling of the time of Henry IV of England speaks of the Bible as a 'general law on which all positive laws are based.'¹ It is really this spirit which was responsible for calling the last war with the Turks, resulting in the entry of the British forces into Jerusalem, the Last Crusade, and for the fact that if King George V were to renounce the Anglican Church today, he would have to say good-bye to his throne as well.²

(1) Year Book 34 Hen. IV p. 50, quoted in Holland : *Jurisprudence* Chap. 5.

(2) Act of Settlement, 1701, which is still in force.

Thus we find that a time comes in the history of practically every country when religious faith proves to be a far stronger bond of union between man and man than merely material, social or economic factors. We see that it was the Christian religion which formed the basis of the 'Holy Roman Empire,' and in the Middle Ages no religion was tolerated in most of the countries of Europe except the Christian faith. In exactly the same manner, the basis of the State in the place and period which we are scanning was the religion of Islâm; but it should be well noted that the non-Muslims who were citizens of the Islamic State possessed a large number of rights, and as these non-Muslims were the natural proteges of the Muslim State, so they were technically called the '*Dhimmis*.' When we compare the treatment meted out to the Jews at the hands of a king of England of the calibre of Edward I with the treatment accorded to the non-Muslim citizens of the Muslim State, we are forced to recognize the greatness of human feeling which was the basis of this '*Dhimniship*.'

It was necessary for me to dilate a little on these two aspects of the politics of the period because the principles underlying it are found both in the East and the West, but with this important difference; that in the Muslim state the doctrine of *Dhimniship* made the conditions of life far more tolerable than in contemporary Europe. It is of the utmost importance that the student of history should shake off all prejudices for or against a system of life and thought which does not happen to exist in his particular time, and that he should try to place himself in the position of those who lived in the period which he is trying to understand. For if he judges the people and institutions of days past by the standards which exist today, he will be doing gross injustice to them.

The political institutions of the 'Abbâsids took their root in the reforms of the second Khalifah of that line, 'Abdu'llâh Abû Ja'far al-Mansûr.¹ In the first period of 'Abbâsid rule the whole administration was supervised directly by the Khalifah himself, but Hârûn-ur-Rashîd² appointed a wazîr and gave him sole charge of all governmental machinery. Among such wazîrs we read the names of eminent administrators like Ja'far the Barmakid

(1) 754-773.

(2) 785-809.

and Fadl son of Suhail, who made their mark in their term of office. The government as a whole was called the *Diwânu'l-'Azîz*, and its machinery soon became as highly complicated even as its modern anti-types. It was divided into a number of departments such as the *Diwânu'l-Khiraj* (Revenue office), the *Diwânu'l-Barîd* (Postal department), the *Diwânu'd-Diwani* (Accountant-General's office), *Diwânu'l-Jund* (Army department), *Diwânu'l-Ahdâth wa Shurtah* (Police) and other departments of a like nature. In addition to these the *Khalîfah Abû 'Abdullâh Muhammad al-Mahdî** began to appoint a Lord Chamberlain (*Hâjib*) whose chief functions consisted in introducing foreign ambassadors and other representatives to the person of the *Khalîfah* and performing other duties pertaining to the dignity of the court. As regards the judiciary, the general rule in vogue was that the *Qâdiu'l-Qudât* (Chief Justice), the various *Qâdis* and their subordinate judicial officials should be independent of the executive arm of the State and should be directly responsible to the *Khalîfah* himself for their acts. As a matter of general principle, the different *dhimmi* or non-Muslim sects were entitled to have their civil suits adjudged by their own judges without any interference of the Government, while criminal suits in which any citizen of the State, whether Muslim or *dhimmi* was arraigned, went to the department called the *Diwânu'n-Nazari fî'l-Mazâlim* which was generally presided over by the *Khalîfah* himself.

Provinces were in charge of provincial governors and, at least in the earlier part of the 'Abbâsîd period, those governors were often shifted from one province to another and their movements were reported to the *Khalîfah* by the *Hâjibu'l-Barîd* or Postmaster-General of the province. In course of time, however, when these provincial governors became independent in their provinces, and founded hereditary monarchies, these *hâjibs* continued to remain in the courts of provincial potentates in much the same way as British High Commissioners and Residents are appointed to the capitals of British dominions and Protectorates nowadays.

Most of what has been described relates to the period when the Islamic State was under the direct supervision of the *Khalîfah* of Islâm ; but with the decline in the power of the central government and the rise of the Samanids,

* 773-785.

the Buwaihids, the Ghaznavids and the Seljuqids, the system of government underwent a complete change, and real power passed from the wazîr to the Amîru'l-Umarâ—i.e., that person who had conquered a large part of the land and begun to control the very centre of the Khilâfat ; and it was this potentate, whether a Seljuqid or a Buwaihid, who began to appoint wazîrs and other high officials of the empire. It was Abû Ja'far Hârûn al-Wâthiq bi'llâh* who first gave the title of Sultân to his Turkish Commander-in-Chief, Ashnas. After this the title remained in abeyance till the rise of the Banî Buwaih. These chieftains were not only invested with the title of Sultân by the Khalîfah, but were actually crowned by him and invested with the royal diadem and robes. Their prestige and power rose to such a height that, even in the days of their decline, one of them, Abû Tâhir Jelâlu'd-Daulah, actually claimed the honorific title of Maliku'l-Mulûk or King of Kings.

In spite of all these changes we must remember that whoever was in power, whether a wazîr, a sultân or a malik, took pride in being counted among the noblemen of the Islamic State and belonging to the *entourage* of the Khalîfah. It is a remarkable fact that, although the dethronement of one and the enthronement of another Khalîfah were matters of every day occurrence, there was not one outsider who had the courage to proclaim himself as the successor of the Prophet of Islâm, a fact which proves the sanctity of the office of the Khalîfah even in the hour of its agony.

I have said enough to show that, although the structure of government was in its essence Semitic and Arabic, still a strong superstructure of Aryan and Persian ideas had almost completely enveloped it, and although to the superficial onlooker the machinery might seem Arabic, to a deep observer, the mould was Arabian but the material was almost entirely non-Arabic. There was a tremendous contrast between the two ideals ; for while the one was conservative, old, Arabian and Semitic, the other took pride in being devoted to radicalism and innovation, and to Persian and Aryan traditions, although at the same time it was saturated with the teachings of Islâm. If we look at the state of affairs then prevailing, we find that contemporary thought was the direct result of one or other

* 842-847.

of these two ideals; and it is these principles, which are found in almost all the writings of the period. While some of the writers base their arguments on purely Islamic and Arabic tradition, others of equal calibre look forward, and formulate their thought more on contemporary events. In the field of politics, for instance, we find that some writers feel that the best possible thing for the State is a revival of the principles which were acted upon in the time of the Prophet and the first four Khalifahs, while others frankly acknowledge the impossibility of such a revival, accept as *faits accomplis* the new political factors which had come into being since then and would divert the path of political progress into these new channels. Thus there are two distinct and clear paths before the political scientist, one leading to pure Arabism, the other to a certain amount of Alienism: the representative of one is Al-Mawardî, and of the other the author of the *Qabus-namah*.

Abu'l Hasan 'Alî ibn Muhammad ibn Habîb al-Mawardî was born in 368 A.H. (974 A.C.) and died at the advanced age of 86 in 450 A.H. (1058 A.C.) He was counted as one of the greatest and most learned jurists of his time and, although he belonged to the Shafi'ite school of jurisprudence, still we find traces of rationalism in some of his writings. He began his active life as professor of law and jurisprudence at Basrah and Baghdad and, when his fame began to spread far and wide, he was made Qâdiu'l-Qudât (Chief Justice) of Baghdad, and was offered the honorific title of 'Aqdu'l-Qudât or the Supreme Justice; which he, however, declined because he said that there were far abler people who deserved the title much more than himself. His biographers are profuse in their praises, calling him the great, the high, the wonderful leader¹ and 'one of the most prominent and biggest of the Shafi'i savants',² and there is no doubt that there was not one of his contemporaries who was more cognisant of the principles underlying the Islamic State. It is related that he did not publish any of his works in his life-time, and when a friend asked why he kept his books back, he replied that it was because he felt that his motives in writing them were not as pure as he should have wished, and that he did not know whether God the Almighty had accepted these literary offerings or not. Under these

(1) Subki: *Tabagatu'sh-Shafi'iyeh*. 3. 303.

(2) Ibn-i-Khallikan: *Wafi'atu'l-ayan* 1, 410.

circumstances he requested his friend to be present at the time of his death and to put his hand in his just before the last gasp ; if he held the hand tight, he was to know that God had not accepted his books, and all the works were to be thrown in the Tigris, while if the friend's hand was not firmly grasped, then it should be taken to mean that God had accepted the offering and the works should be published. Anyhow, when he was on the point of death he let go the hand which was placed in his ; so his works were published according to his will.¹

It was probably due to his great erudition that he became extraordinarily courageous as time passed. We know that he was one of the friends of the Buwahid Abû Tâhir Jelâlu'd-Daulah ; still, when the latter proposed that he should be granted the title of Maliku'l-Mulûk by the Khalîfah, Mawardî resolutely refused to give his decision in favour of this proposal, saying that the only person who deserved this title was the Almighty Himself.

Al-Mawardî has left a number of books, of which those dealing with the science of politics and administration are the following : (1) *Ahkamu's-Sultaniyeh*, which has been printed in original and translated into a number of European and Asiatic languages ; (2) *Nasihatu'l-Muluk* or " Advice to Kings " ;² (3) *Qawaninu'l-Wizarat* or the Laws of the Vizierate ; also called *Qanunu'l-Wazir wa Siasatu'l-Malik*, or " The Law of the Minister and the Politics of the King " ;³ (4) *Tahsilu'n-Nazar fi Tahsili'l-Zafar* or " The Control of the Sight for facilitating Victory." ⁴ It was impossible for me to lay my hand on the last three books which are still unpublished, so that whatever I have said about Mawardî has been mainly derived from the *Ahkamu's-Sultaniyeh*.

As a matter of fact there is not one department of the State which has not been fully discussed by our author ; but here I shall content myself with his treatment of the central government. To begin with, he states the *raison d'être* of the State and says that God laid down laws in order that issues might be satisfactorily settled and the principles of right, truth and goodness might be known ; He also entrusted the control of His creatures to

(1) Subki, *op. cit.*

(2) MSS. Paris, De Slane, No. 244.

(3) MSS. Vienna, Konsulrakadine Krafft, p. 475.

(4) MSS. Gotha, S. Pertsch, Verz. No. 1872.

the various governments so that the administration of the world might be properly carried on.¹ He goes on to say that the Imâmat, which means presidentship in modern political phraseology, is the foundation on which the rules and regulations of the community depend. These are solid truths and the more we consider the circumstances of the State and the Government even today, the more are we convinced of them. To put Al-Mawardî's idea in a modern form: what he means is that the real motive of the State is the rule of Justice and Truth; and secondly, it is the machinery of the State which sifts the good from the bad, virtue from vice and the sanctioned from the prohibited.

Al-Mawardî then passes on to the meaning of the Imâmat, and says that the real motive for the institution is the preservation of the State religion and the strengthening of political bonds, so that it is of the utmost importance that someone should be chosen Imâm by the consensus of the community, or, as we should put it nowadays, by universal suffrage. He says that the Imâmat is not only an institution sanctified by tradition and history, but can be proved to be necessary according to pure reason; for all wise men naturally entrust their affairs to a leader able to keep them from being molested and to adjudge between them in case of mutual quarrels.² Even today, after the lapse of nearly a thousand years, the State is regarded as a *sine qua non* of human society because it can keep off the danger of persistent molestation of any set of persons and can appoint its agents to adjudge between man and man.

Al-Mawardî gives quite a mass of detail about the election and appointment of the Imâm and discusses the qualifications of voters and candidates. It is interesting to note that instead of regarding purely artificial factors such as age, property and residence,—factors which are accepted as sufficient in the countries of the modern world—Mawardî considers only those to be fully qualified for the vote who can distinguish between good and evil, between right and wrong, between the deserving and the undeserving. According to him there are two ways in which the Imâm or President may be elected: by the vote of the qualified voters, and by the nomination

(1) *Ahkam*, Introduction.

(2) *Ahkam*, Cap. I.

of the outgoing Imâm. It is interesting that when the Prime Minister of France or England resigns his office nowadays, it is he who advises the head of the executive as to who would be the best person to take his place. Mawardî enumerates the duties of the Imâm or Khalîfah and says that he should protect religion, adjudicate between man and man so that no person in power should be able to tyrannise over others, defend the liberty of the State, punish those who have transgressed the law, make payment of salaries and emoluments just and regular, appoint honest and reliable men as his representatives in the land, and should never give himself up either to a life of luxury or of prayers so as to be forced to hand over the affairs of the realm to others. While mentioning the powers and duties of the Imâm, he quotes a certain poet in order to describe what he considers the ideal qualifications for the Imâmât :

وقلدا امرکم الله درکم رحب الذراع بامر الحرب مضطلعا
لا مترفان رحاء العیش ساعده ولا اذا عص مکروه به خشعا
ما زال یحلب درالدهی اشتريه ینکون متبعا یوما و متبعا
حتى استمر علی تشر زمریر ته مستحکم الراى لانفما ولا ضرعا

“God be praised for all His goodness. Make such a person your ruler who should be benevolent and warlike ; if he is wealthy, he should not take any pride in his wealth ; if he has been surrounded by adverse circumstances he would not be upset by them ; he should be willing to act according to the needs of the moment, sometimes following others’ advice, at other times making others follow his ; and when he makes up his mind to act, he should act with firmness and resolution.”*

After describing the conditions of the Imâmât or Khilâfat, Al-Mawardî turns to the question of minister-ship or Wizârat. At the outset he says that the appointment of the wazîr does not mean that the Imâm should give up all connection with the administration of the realm, but the real significance of his appointment consists in the fact that “ in the province of politics it is better

* 6 *Ibid.*

to have a coadjutor rather than one sole person at the helm of affairs";¹ and when the Prophet Moses could make his brother Aaron his wazîr in order to strengthen him,² then, says Mawardî, surely in the administration it is allowable for the Imâm to have a wazîr beside him. He says that the wizârat is of two kinds, the wizârat of delegation and the wizârat of execution. The wazîr of delegation is the person in whom the Imâm or President has the fullest confidence, and to whom the whole administration of the realm is delegated. The sole difference between this wazîr and the Imâm himself is that the wazîr of delegation cannot appoint any one as his successor, and the Imâm or President can dismiss the officers appointed by him. It may interest the reader to know that Mawardî regards it as possible for the State to have a regular constitution, when he says: "If the wazîr gives a certain order and the Imâm opposes it, then we should consider the essence of the order: if it is found that the order has been issued according to the dictates of the Constitution then it should not be within the power of the Imâm to rescind it."³ We can conclude with reason that Mawardî was not ignorant of the meaning of constitutional government even as we understand it.

Probably the officer who is called the wazîr of execution by our author is no other than the secretary to government in modern India. He says that the chief function of this wazîr consists in executing the decrees of the Imâm or President, and he should be the main official channel of information for him. Mawardî thinks that seven qualities are required for a person to hold this exalted office: honesty, confidence, absence of greed, good relationship with the people (otherwise it will not be possible to do justice), intelligence and the power of grasping the truth of things, absence of luxury and amorousness (otherwise he would fall a prey to vice, for a life of love and luxury is prone to numb the faculties of the mind) and lastly, diplomacy and experience. Mawardî says that it is not necessary that the holder of the office should be a follower of Islâm, and a non-Muslim *dhimmi* can also be appointed a wazîr of execution. We are reminded of present day conditions in the United States of America

(1) *Ibid.*, Cap. 2.

(2) واجعل لي وزيراً من اهل بيتي * اشد دبة ازرى * واشركه في امري
Qur'an, Cap. XX, 29-32.

(8) *Ahkam*, Cap. 2.

when we read that if the Khalîfah dismisses a wazîr of execution, this dismissal does not react on any other officer, but if the wazîr of delegation is dismissed, then all the wazîrs of execution are automatically dismissed.

Like all organised administration nowadays, the government should be organised in various departments dealing with the business of government, such as revenue, army, and other offices of State. Mawardî calls government by the generic name of *diwan*. As our word *diwani* has been derived from this *diwan*, it would be interesting to know its origin as Mawardî puts it. There were two reasons current in his day as to why the governmental organization should be called *diwan*. One was that the great Sasanid, Kisra (Anushirwan) once went to his secretariat and saw that his clerks were solving arithmetical sums aloud; and, as he thought it was rather a silly sight, he exclaimed that they were all *Diwaneh* or mad. The other theory was that as *daiwan* (sing. *daiw*) meant giants, and as the clerks and accountants are giants at mathematical sums, so their chief bureau came to be known the *daiwani* or *diwani*.* Mawardî simply quotes these two theories current in his time without either believing or disbelieving them, and says that, whatever the origin of the word might be, it was in the time of the Khalîfah 'Umar that the government of the Islamic State was first organized into various departments. He enumerates four chief offices of government, i.e., the army department, the department of provincial boundaries, the department of appointment and dismissal of officers and the department of income and expenditure. The army department served as the Census Board as well, for in it were recorded the names of all those who could bear arms. In the same way, in the provincial department were entered the names of all the *dhimmis* of the different provinces as well as the statistics about the tribute, the tithe and the exemption

* *Ibid.* It is evident that here Mawardî is only repeating what was considered the best derivation of the word. The second theory is probably derived from an old story that once Anushirwan ordered his clerks to complete a certain account in three days and, being impatient of the result, himself went into the secretariat to see whether the work was being done or not. On seeing how quickly they were doing the sums and differences, he exclaimed that they were veritable "daiwan" or giants.

Etymologically the word "diwan" probably means "to collect" vide, *Ghiathu'l-Lughat*, 1878, p. 185.

tax.* Moreover it was the office of record for the mines of the provinces and the amount of royalty which was paid to the State treasury. It may interest the reader to know that the ideal of complete internal free trade, which is still far from being realised in so many countries of the world, had already been realised in the Islamic State, and it was regarded as an act of impiety to levy any kind of duty for the right to transfer a commodity from one place to another within the realm. In the department of appointments and dismissals were recorded the standards and the conditions of different services, their duties, salaries, terms of office and such other information, while in the department of the treasury, which was, perhaps the most important department of the State, a register was kept of the taxes the outcome of which was distributed among the Muslims, such as the Zakât and Sadaqah from the Muslims and the spoils of war from the non-Muslims. At the same time the officer in charge of this department, who was called the Kâtibu'l-Dîwân was responsible for the registration of the laws of the State and for keeping the officers within the bounds of their rights and duties. We learn from Mawardî that it was regarded as perfectly legal to enact new laws at least for the conquered territories and colonies, and this very important work was also entrusted to the Kâtibu'l-Dîwân.

Mawardî says that seven conditions are required for a proper judge; he should be of the male sex (although according to Abû Hanîfah, where a woman can be cited as a witness there she can adjudicate as well and Ibn Jarîr agrees with him); he should be clever and intelligent; he should be a free man; he should be a Muslim (although Abû Hanîfah is of opinion that even a non-Muslim may be appointed a judge); he should be honest, pious and above suspicion; he should be well versed in the principles of law; and lastly, he should not have any defect in his powers of seeing and hearing, so that there should be no doubt left during the presentation of a case. He is of opinion that it should be made absolutely certain whether a person is really possessed of all these qualities either by previous knowledge or else by means of an examination. He regards this office as so sacred that when once a man has been appointed a judge he should neither be dismissed nor should he ordinarily resign his post.

* *Khiraǵ. 'Ushr, Jiziah.*

In a word, there is hardly a single topic in the field of administration, legislative, executive or judiciary on which Mawardî has not expressed his opinion. He has discussed even such topics as taxation, provincial administration, local government, censorship, crimes, fiefs, jagirs, etc. Here we limit ourselves to a review of his ideas on the constitution of the central government.

It has already been pointed out that, although Mawardî was a Shafi'ite, still we can discover a certain amount of rationalism in his writings. Thus, when he tries to demonstrate the necessity of the *Imâmat*, he proves it not only by referring to the Islamic law, but lays down a general proposition that it is in the nature of man, or rather of those among men who are superior to others in intellect, that they should hand over their affairs to one who 'can keep them from being tyrannised over by others and should have the power of deciding between them in case of mutual quarrels.'¹ In general, however, his arguments are based on the four well known sources of Islamic law, i.e., the *Qur'ân*, the Traditions of the Prophet of Islâm, the consensus of the Muslims and the personal judgment of the jurists, and when possible, he relies wholly on the *Qur'ân* without reference to other sources of law. Thus, when he tries to demonstrate that the *Imâm* (or president of the State) should not fall a prey to luxurious living he reminds his readers of the order which God gave to the Prophet David when He appointed him His *Khalifah*: "O David, We have appointed thee as a *Khalifah* on the earth; therefore judge aright between mankind, and follow not desires that might lead thee away from the path of God."² When he discusses the ways in which the different categories of taxes ought to be utilised, he bases his arguments entirely on the word of the *Qur'ân*; thus he quotes a verse of the Book to prove that the *Zakât* should be distributed among "the poor and the needy, and those who collect them and those whose hearts are to be reconciled, and to free the captives and the debtors, and for the cause of God, and for the wayfarer."³ Along with the verses of the *Qur'ân*, he argues from the orders

(1) *Ahkam*, Cap. 1.

(2) *Quran*, XXXVIII.

يَا دَاوُدَ إِنَّا جَعَلْنَاكَ خَلِيفَةً فِي الْأَرْضِ فَاحْكُم بَيْنَ النَّاسِ بِالْحَقِّ وَلَا تَتَّبِعِ الْهَوَىٰ فَيُضِلَّكَ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ -

(3) *Quran*, IX, 60.

إِنَّمَا الصَّدَقَاتُ لِلْفُقَرَاءِ وَالْمَسْكِينِ وَالْعَامِلِينَ عَلَيْهَا وَالْمُؤَلَّفَةِ قُلُوبُهُمْ وَفِي الرِّقَابِ وَالْغَارِمِينَ وَفِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَابْنِ السَّبِيلِ -

of the Prophet as mentioned in the Traditions ; for instance, when he wishes to prove that the Khalifah has the right to appoint his own successor, he argues from the battle of Muthah and says that the Prophet appointed his manumitted slave, Zaid ibn Hārith, to take his place at the head of the Muslim army, and ordered that in the case of his death he should be replaced by Ja'far ibn Abī Tālib, after him 'Abdullāh ibn Rawahah, and in case of his decease the mantle of command should fall on the shoulders of whomsoever the Muslim soldiers might choose. "When" says Mawardi, "it was possible for the Prophet to make this nomination, it should be possible in the case of the Khilāfat as well."¹ Describing the theory of the Islamic law of war he gives the instance of the Battle of the Camel, where the Khalifah 'Ali ordered that no person in the act of running away from the battlefield should be pursued and, while explaining the conditions appertaining to the office of Qādi, he quotes the instruction given by the Khalifah 'Umar to Abū Mûsa Ash'arî when he appointed him to this office. Sometimes he used the documents of the Omayyad and the 'Abbâsid period as his premises ; for instance he quotes the accession address of 'Umar ibn 'Abdu'l-'Aziz to demonstrate the exalted ideal of the office of the Khalifah,² and when he wants to point out the importance of the wizârat, he quotes a proclamation of Mâ'mûnu'r-Rashid where that Khalifah declares that he wishes to appoint one as his minister who should be virtuous and conservative in his habits, experienced and versed in the ways of doing things : should be willing to undertake the most difficult missions, should be thoroughly reliable, whose silence should signify his great indulgence and whose conversation should connote his great knowledge, who should be able to understand the innermost thought by a mere gesture of the eye ; and even a second's conversation would suffice for him to get at the root of the matter ; who should have the prestige of the rich, the foresight of the learned, the humility of the *savant*, and the acuteness of the jurist ; who should be grateful for any good that is done to him and should bear his troubles with patience.³ Finally, although Mawardi hardly ever bases his arguments on contemporary events, still he sometimes passes the history of non-Muslim peoples under review : thus he takes us back to pre-Islamic days

(1) *Ahkam*, Cap. 1.

(2) *Ibid.* Cap. 7.

(3) *Ibid.* Cap. 2

while describing the history of coinage and the animals of 'Irâq, and freely borrows from the history of Persia and Arabia before the advent of the Prophet of Islâm while demonstrating the importance of the judiciary.*

If we glance at the political ideas of our author, we find that he always looks back upon the days gone by, and does not fully appreciate the importance of his own times. It seems really strange that although he was the personal friend of the Banî Buwaih and was fully cognizant of the great changes in the structure of the State which had already manifested themselves, still the constitution of the realm, as he depicts it, had ceased to exist nearly a hundred and fifty years before. This treatment is, in a way, Aristotelian; for the great Greek political philosopher also wrote long after the institutions which he describes ceased to have any meaning, and when classical Greece, which he so much applauds, had already bowed its proud head before the might of the semi-barbarian conqueror from Macedonia. In exactly the same way the spirit of the institutions which form the foundation of Al-Mawardî's treatment had really been swept away by the storm from Turkistân and Persia, and there was just as little connection between the administrative machinery as it existed in his own time and the old Islamic, Arabic State as had existed between the Macedonian Empire of the time of Aristotle and the old City States of Athens and Sparta. Both political philosophers had this great advantage, that they had an ideal before them which had already proved its worth, and they could well take a lesson from the mass of facts and figures, laws and precedents, institutions and State decrees which had risen to the height of their power. We can, therefore, say that, although the decisions arrived at by both these great thinkers may not have been derived from their contemporary politics, still there is no doubt that their premises were perfectly correct, and herein lies their real greatness.

I have said enough to show that Mawardî was greatly influenced by the Islamic theory of the State, and that he entirely ignored not only the foreign elements, which had crept into the body politic, but also the changes which were being wrought before his very eyes. No doubt it is possible to discover the varied influence of Islâm and of Arabian culture in the works of Nizâmu'l-Mulk as well;

* *Ibid.* Cap. 7.

but the chief source from which he derives his inspiration is the history of Persia and Turkistân rather than of the peninsula of Arabia, and if we wish to find out his real predecessor in that respect we must go to the *Qâbûs-nâmah*.

The *Qâbûs-nâmah* consists of the advice given by the Amir 'Unsurû'l-Ma'ânî Kaikawus ibn Sikandar ibn Qâbûs ibn Washmgîr to his son Gilân Shâh and dedicated by him to his progenitor Qâbûs Shâh Shamsu'l-Ma'âlî. This Qâbûs ibn Washmgîr had inherited Jurjân and Mazenderân from his father and had added Gilân and Tabaristân to his paternal dominions. The author of the *Qâbûs-nâmah*, Kaikawus, was born in 412 A.H.[1021 A.C.] and wrote the *Qâbûs-nâmah* at the age of 53 in 475 A.H.[1082 A.C.] The author has stated the reason for compiling this work in the opening paragraph where he addresses his son and says : " Know, my dear son, that I am now an old man, and I have been overborne by my years and the lack of my good acts. I know that the order of the decay of my life, which is writ large on my hoary hair, cannot be effaced by any power on the face of this earth. As I find my name on the list of those already gone away, I feel it a paternal duty to let you know what I myself know of the reproof of the age and of the multifarious intrigues which you may have to face."* He then goes on to advise his son what he should do if he were to become a middle class man, how he should serve the king if he were to be raised to an exalted position, what policy he should pursue if he were to be appointed Minister of State, how he should deal with the army if he were to become the Commander-in-chief, and how he should conduct public affairs if he were to become the king of the land. These are merely the headings of but a few of the chapters of the *Qâbûs-nâmah* and if we were to glance at the whole book there would be few professions on which the author has not expressed his opinion. As I wish here to discuss the author's views about the constitution of the State I content myself with giving a few representative quotations in order to indicate the method as well as extent of the precepts contained in this work.

When he enumerates the modes of serving the king, he says : " O son, however near you may be to the king's Majesty, you should never take pride in that proximity It is your duty always to treat your sovereign

* *Qabus-Nameh*, Cap. I.

with the goodness that is his due, in order that he may reciprocate the same kind of treatment towards you ; and if you treat him badly then you should be ready to be treated in the same way. If by a turn of your fortune you should rise in the service of your king, you should take care never to be dishonest towards him."¹ In the same way, while describing the conditions appertaining to the ministership of the crown, he admonishes his son that the minister should be intelligent and able to get at the root of things, should be always true to his sovereign, should treat the soldiers with justice, should try to increase the income of the State, populate the scantily populated areas in order to get employment for the unemployed, and last, but not least, should never be unjust. If the king be a minor, the minister should never regard him with scant respect, for "princes are like water-fowl who never need to be taught how to swim."² It should also be the duty of the minister to give all kinds of information about foreign potentates, so that the country may be saved from foreign incursions.

Then he goes on to tell his son : " If perchance you are made a king you should become God-fearing, religious, clean of mind and free from immorality, and whatever you desire to do you should do it after taking counsel of your common-sense, for the greatest minister of the king is his own common-sense and wisdom. You should always tell the truth and should rarely indulge in laughter, in order to keep up your prestige among your subjects. You should always think of the end, and should not much mind the beginning of an act. You must remember that if both you and your minister are young, then the fire of your youth will burn the body politic almost to embers. O son, the sole difference between the king and his subjects is that the king issues orders while the subjects obey them ; so that if the royal decrees have no effect on the people, there will be no difference left between the king and his subjects. It should also be borne in mind that a king should keep account of what is going on in other countries as well as have full information of what is going on in his own land."³

In a word, the *Qabus-namah* is full of admonitions like this, and its contents clearly show the extent to which it

(1) *Ibid.* Cap. 17.

(2) *Ibid.* Cap. 40.

(3) *Ibid.* Cap. 42.

was possible for one to rise in those days. Its author is not content with giving illustrations of his theories from the history of Islâm : he has freely made use of contemporary facts and of the history of non-Muslim peoples. Thus in one place he quotes 'Abbâs, the uncle of the Prophet of Islâm, when he addressed his son 'Abdu'llâh as follows : 'O son, if you wish that your enemies may not get the better of you, never tell a lie, never mention any one's bad habits, never embezzle money, never oppose your enemy violently, and never tell your secrets to anybody.¹ Then, while discussing the principles of the ministership, he relates the story how Anushirwân's minister Buzurchimîhr was once asked the reason why the Sasanians failed in so many of their attempts, to which he aptly replied that the reason was that they entrusted important works to those who were incapable of undertaking them. When he dilates on the quality of honesty on the battle-field, he quotes Alexander who is reported to have said that whoever wins a battle by means of fraud and deceit is not fit to be a king. Not only does he freely give instances from the history of other lands, but he seems to be ever willing to take lessons from the history that was being made in his own time by the Ghaznavids, the Buwaihids and other peoples.

The great difference between Al-Mawardî and the author of the *Qabus-namah* consists in the fact that, although they were contemporary writers, one was always looking at religious precepts and towards the south, while the other was influenced by his own environments with his eyes facing the east ; one was an idealist, the other a statesman ; one addressed the whole world while the other's object was to make his own son a successful man ; one's source of inspiration was the authoritative traditions of Islâm, while the other drew upon all kinds of stories current in his days. Al-Mawardî died barely thirty-five years before Nizâmu'l-Mulk's death, while the author of the *Qabus-namah* was born four years after the great minister's birth and died ten years before his martyrdom, so that both our authors compiled their works in his life-time.² When we peruse the political writings of Nizâmu'l-Mulk we find that he sometimes addresses his sovereign, at

(1) *Ibid.* Cap. 37.

(2) Al-Mawardî, born 974 A.C. died 1058 A.C. Nizâmu'l-Mulk Tûsî, born 1017 A.C. assassinated 1091 A.C. Author of *Qabus-namah* born 1021 A.C., died 1082 A.C.

other times his own son, while he bases his arguments both on the early history of Islâm, like Mawardi, and on the history of the Turks, the Persians and other nations like Qâbûs. As a matter of fact Mawardi, Qâbûs and Nizâmu'l-Mulk all demonstrate the conflict that was going on between the Arabian and the non-Arabian cultures in the eleventh century A.C. which was to end finally in the downfall of the former civilization, at least in its outward manifestations.

HAROON KHAN SHERWANI.

FRANCE AND ISLAM

The original of the following article was communicated to us by Damad Osman Hann Bey from Paris. The writer is a Frenchman, a Roman Catholic, formerly a priest. It, and the quotations it contains from Catholic writers of renown, will be interesting to our Muslim readers as showing what magnanimity and tolerance towards Muslims may exist nowadays in a community which in the Middle Ages was implacably hostile.

The article, as it came to us in French, was the programme of a suggested movement which was to include a magazine devoted to Islamic studies. We have altered the form slightly without damage to the sense.

Editor, "ISLAMIC CULTURE."

THE year 1932 ushered in the thirteenth centenary of one of the most remarkable events in the history of the world, the death of the Prophet of Islam. In the year 1931 the following lines were written :—

It was on Monday the 8th of June in the year 632 A D. that the Prophet Mahomet showed himself for the last time amongst the Faithful assembled in the mosque of Medina. for the noonday prayer. He walked feebly, supported by Fadl, son of Abbas, and his son-in-law Ali, son of Abu Talib, towards the pulpit whence he was accustomed to instruct the people.

After offering praise to Heaven, he spoke to the Faithful : " O ye who hear me, if I have struck any one on the back, here is my back, let him strike me : if I have maligned the character of any one, let him revenge himself on my character : if I have robbed any one of his goods, here are my goods, let him repay himself and not fear my hatred. There is no hatred in my heart."

Then he came down from the pulpit and offered the noonday prayer. As he was about to go up again a man, taking hold of his mantle, claimed the repayment of a debt of three dirhems. Mahomet gave them to him at once : " The shame of this world," he said, " is easier to bear

than the shame of the world to come." Then he prayed for all those who had fought with him at the battle of Ohod, and implored the pardon of God.

It was a scene of simplicity and grandeur, remarks Count Henri de Castries, this last prayer of the Prophet in the midst of his people : the Faithful gazing with deepest emotion at his face ravaged by the poison of the Jewess of Khaibar. "What would we not give," sighed Abu Bakr, "to redeem thy life at the price of our own !"

Taken back to the house of Ayesha, his favourite wife, Mahomet lay down faint with fatigue. "The Messenger of God," recounts the Mother of the Faithful, "had his head resting on my breast, and, beside him a vessel of water. He raised himself to dip his hand in it and, touching his forehead, said, "O my God ! Help me to overcome the agonies of death ! Gabriel, come near to me. Allah ! Grant me Thy pardon and reunite me to my friends on high."

His property, consisting of a house, which he had built himself, and some camels, was returned to the public treasury because he had said : "A prophet does not leave property to his family : his goods belong to the nation."

No occasion is more opportune than this for showing to the public in its true light, the life and work of one of the most powerful religious geniuses who ever lived : one of those "columnus" of whom Renan speaks, raising itself from the midst of the dead level of common humanity towards Heaven and testifying to a nobler destiny : showing mortals whence they come and whither they ought to tend. Not to recognize such sublimity in the Prophet reveals only lamentable ignorance or bad faith.

One of the principal purposes of this article will be full justification of the following brief extracts from the works of Catholic savants :

"Impartial history," writes J. Barthelémy Saint-Hilaire, "cannot have a different opinion : from henceforth the Prophet will be recognised as one of the grandest and most extraordinary men ever seen on earth To appreciate him properly we must put aside our religious and national prejudices——Yes, he believed himself to be a prophet, he believed in his mission with all the imperiousness of his soul, and he was right, among those barbarous people, in looking upon himself as an instrument of

God. Islam brought them out of the shadows where, without him, they would probably still be. In honouring the Prophet as they did, they could never repay him for all the good he had done them; their gratitude would always be less than his due."

The eminent orientalist Baron Carra de Vaux writes, "Mahomet the philosopher can be definitely judged as moderate and wise, clear and practical, more of a moralist than a metaphysician. He created a noble and firm theocracy."

The Abbé de Broglie, professor at the Catholic Institute of Paris, also does not hesitate to declare: "Mahomet was religious; he spoke of God with humility and preached from the pulpit at Medina with overwhelming eloquence; he never doubted his mission as Prophet.... Those who believed in him were upright and sincere, men of sense and intelligence. There were Abu Bekr and Omar, those two uneducated Arabs who, called upon to govern an immense empire, proved not unworthy of their task and showed themselves to be firm, just, sober, energetic and infinitely superior to the Christian emperors and governors with whom they fought. It was Ali, nephew of the Prophet and his first disciple, whose character and chivalrous figure have delighted posterity."

Against the religion that convinced these men, for thirteen centuries, Christians have heard the most passionate, partial and false propaganda. My first intention is to throw light on the splendour of its merits, the elevation of its doctrine and the justice of its precepts—an *apologia* that requires, moreover, the reminder of its intimate historical connection with the other two great religions of Semitic origin—Judaism and Christianity. No one can dream of denying this connection; nor can any one be ignorant of the great esteem which the Prophet himself professed for them.

"The Jews," says the Coran, "have the Book of the Law wherein are the commandments of the Lord.... It contains guidance and light."

".... We believe in that which was revealed to Moses, Jesus and the Prophets. We make no distinction between any of them."

“Muslims and Jews and Christians and Sabæans—whosoever believeth in Allah and the Last Day and doth right—there shall no fear come upon them, neither shall they suffer grief.”

A principle singularly remote from that of “no salvation outside the Church,” and of which one cannot esteem too highly the noble latitude. Towards which of these three “Revelations” is our considered preference directed? Which, in point of fact, affords the firmest ground for rational adherence? For my humble part I think that Islam, considered in its essential ideal, apart from teachings and orders of secondary importance necessitated by the place and period of its foundation, seems of all religions flourishing in our western world, that which appeals most to our reason; whose dogmas, few in number and broadly defined, lend themselves best to logical interpretation; where science and faith remain freest to go hand in hand. Its fundamental doctrine: “There is no God except Allah,—is sufficient in itself to elevate it, in our eyes, to the pinnacle of human religions, a doctrine identical with, though still more refined than, the ultimate Jewish concept. Could St. Paul possibly have wished to mislead the good faith of the Corinthians when he made these clear and irreconcilable conflicting statements: “We have only one God who is the Father and only one Master who is Jesus Christ.” Glorious pre-eminence of Islam! I shall try to place this in just relief by the conclusions of the deep verifying study which will be made of it, by critical examination and comparison of the two “Testaments,” Jewish and Christian, and the religious beliefs founded on them.

A brief sketch of the history of Muslim nations will gain not a little by a reference to the Abbé de Marigny in his old *Histoire des Arabes*. He writes:

“I intend to speak of a famous people whom our prejudices have prevented us from knowing till the present time. Believing that the Arabs could only be barbarians, we concluded that their history could be neither useful nor interesting.... However, since the decadence of the Roman Empire, there have been perhaps no people more worthy of being known, whether one considers the great men who have appeared among them or the enormous progress in Art and Science which has been made by them during many centuries.” A radiance from the torch set alight by the Prophet, this Arab civilization is the result

of the fusion—strongly original, full of life and charm—of the various civilizations of the peoples conquered by Islam. Syrians, Egyptians, Spaniards, Persians, Greeks, Chinese and Hindus, each in their turn, contributed; Persian influence being predominant almost from the beginning.

Muslim Art, in particular, should be the object of research and illustration at the hands of eminent experts. This will reveal incomparable marvels to an ill-informed public. Studies, extending not only to the immortal works which were its direct product, but to the fruitful penetration of that art in the various manifestations of universal culture, principally that of Spain and from North Africa up to India.

Must I pause to indicate the urgent need for the peoples of Europe to scrutinise these questions?

Whatever one may think of the principles, of the present methods or even of the future, of colonisation, one indisputable fact remains; colonisation exists. Now this fact carries logical consequences. It implies: firstly, grave duties, of which the foremost is to study the mind of the peoples attached to us by such close ties; and who would be so obstinate as to refuse to admit that a racial mentality—ancestral, ancient—persists, very legitimately, amongst these people, which is independent of, and sometimes very far from, our ideals? Moreover, who is so blind as not to see that, the greater part of the time, this substratum, if one may call it so, consists of a mystical conviction? Though it may be more or less ardent, even in places almost extinct, this faith has its influence on their ways of thought and judgment; it regulates, though unconsciously, the *ensemble* of their acts, social as well as personal. Donoso Cortes expressed a basic truth when he wrote: "Every civilisation bears the imprint of the religion which gave it birth; all society is cast into the mould of its beliefs and form of worship." To ignore or not to take into account such a state of things, is to ignore the solid earth, to imagine a fantasy and arrange it according to our personal prejudices. It must, sooner or later, end in disaster.

In so far as countries submitting to Islam in particular are concerned, it is very dangerous to disguise the delicate nature of their subordination. It is that Islam is unequivocally a theocratic form of worship in which the supreme temporal power is not distinct from the spiritual

power ; of which the " realm " extends essentially over this world ; where, in face of violence from the disbelievers, all close adherence to them is prohibited ; and which is animated by the pious hope of universal conquest to the honour of Allah. We may judge from this with certainty that subjection to any non-Muslim power is considered, by the most ignorant as well as the most learned follower of the Prophet, humiliating and temporary, that readjustments in the future form an integral part of their creed. Proud spirits, justly stimulated by their former glories: what patriot can have the heart to condemn them ?

Have we any right to force on them, in the guise of a panacea, a form of worship other than Mahometanism ?

Experience has shown the attempt to be impracticable ; it is, moreover, utterly unjustifiable, the claim to much superiority being the product of mere Pharisaism—as can be demonstrated.

What must be resolutely done here, on the contrary, is, with the clearest conscience, to study, teach and exalt the Coran : to build on this strong basis lofty characters and rely on them, to the gradual exclusion of all foreign elements from the various posts of colonial administration, until the inevitable comes to pass : of the nature of which the example of the United States in the eighteenth century, South America in the nineteenth, and of Ireland and other British Dominions in the twentieth century may suffice to warn us.

Written in 1931, the above programme concluded with the following lines, which today have hardly any other *raison d'être* than that of manifesting a profound regret :

Shall we limit our initiative only to such explorations ? We aim no less at another result, more accessible and of immense consequence in the way of prestige.

Every illustrious centenary is usually observed as a matter of course. We have no right to speak for other countries, but with what ardour we should like to see in France, on the 8th of June 1932, a grand celebration in honour of the Prophet of Islam !

Our country owes it to that sublime Benefactor of a vast portion of humanity attached to her ; she owes it as reparation for the absurd and monstrous calumnies which

have been allowed to prevail for thirteen centuries ; she owes it to the innumerable Muslims who have devoted themselves to her, to those who from all parts of the globe hastened recently to shed their blood for her. No mark of affection and gratitude would be more certain to touch their heart, to convince their intellect, than the proclamation by French mouths—in a brilliant series of solemnities, in the assembling of the highest official and intellectual personages and of deferential crowds—of that immeasurable historic truth : Muhammad Rasulu'llah, Muhammad is indeed the Messenger of God.

The splendid dream was not realised. May this modest article, however, preserve remembrance of it and contribute to strengthen in the depth of our souls the feelings of equity to which I tried to give a striking public expression.

TRANSLATION OF ASH-SHAM'AIL OF TIRMIZI

(Continued from our last issue.)

On the helmet of the Prophet

ANAS¹ bin Mâlik says that the Prophet entered Mecca² and there was a helmet³ on his head. It was reported⁴ to him that Ibn Khatal was standing holding the screen of the Ka'ba. The Prophet ordered him to be killed. Anas bin Mâlik narrates that the Prophet entered Mecca in the Year of Victory and there was a helmet on his head. Anas says that when he (the Prophet)

(1) See "I. C.," Vol. VII. No. 4.

(2) Thus *Hadith* refers to the entry of the Prophet into Mecca in "the Year of Victory." A. H. 8—A.D. 629.

(3) The Prophet had two helmets; one was called '*Washah*' and the other '*Dhu's Sabu*,' vide *al-Munawi*, Vol. I., p. 198.

(4) When the Prophet entered Mecca victorious the inhabitants were panic-stricken. But he graciously guaranteed safety to those who surrendered or came to the house of the Prophet or closed down their own doors or entered the "*Masjid-al-Haram*" (the mosque in which the *Ka'ba* is situated) or went to the house of *Abu Sufyan*.

The story relating to Ibn Khatal is that he accepted Islam at Madina adopting the name of '*Abdullah*'. Thereupon he was sent by the Prophet for the realisation of *Zakat* (obligatory alms) from certain tribes near Madina. With him there were a Muslim inhabitant of Madina and his Muslim slave. Ordering his slave to kill a he-goat and to cook it he went to sleep. But the slave also fell asleep and did not cook his food. When *Ibn Khatal* awoke he was enraged to such a pitch that he put the poor slave to death. Then he thought that if he returned to Madina the Prophet would put him to death for this manslaughter. So he went to Mecca, relapsed into infidelity and bought two slave-girls to sing satires against the Prophet. After the conquest of Mecca he took refuge by holding the screen of the Ka'ba but the Prophet ordered him to be put to death as a retribution for murdering a Muhammadan. There is a difference of opinion as to the person who killed him. Some hold that *Sa'id bin Hurais* and '*Ammar bin Yasir*' went to him and the former executed him. Others hold that *Abu Barza* put him to death being aided by *Sa'id bin Hurais*. *Ibn Hisham* also considers *Abu Barza* to be the executioner. The latter account appears to be more authentic. See *al-Munawi* Vol. I., p. 199; '*Ali al-Qari*' Vol. I. p. 200; and *al-Mawahib* p. 761.

doffed his helmet a man¹ came to him and said that Ibn Khatal was standing holding the screen of Mecca. Then the Prophet ordered him to be killed. Ibn Shihâb² says that he received the information that on that day the Prophet had not put on the particular dress³ in which the pilgrimage is performed.

On the turban of the Prophet

Jâbir⁴ says that the Prophet entered Mecca on the day of the conquest and there was a black turban on his head.⁵

Ja'far bin 'Amr⁶ narrates on the authority⁷ of his father that he saw a black turban on the head of the Prophet. Again he says that he saw the Prophet wearing

(1) The name of this man is 'Abdullah bin Nazla and some say Nazla bin 'Abdullah, but he is known by his nickname Abu Barza al-Aslami. He accepted Islam and took part in some of the holy wars and died at Khurasan A. H. 65—A. D. 684. All reliable Traditionists agree with regard to his nickname, but they differ about his proper name. In *at-Taqrib*, p. 374 it is Nazla bin 'Ubad; *al-Isaba*, Vol. IV, p. 32, Fazla bin 'Ubad. See also *al-Ma'arif*, p. 171.

(2) Ibn Shihab's name is Muhammad bin Muslim az-Zuhari. Died A. H. 125—A. D. 742. Some say that he died one or two years before the said date. See *at-Taqrib*, p. 337.

(3) It is incumbent upon all Muslims undertaking a pilgrimage to Mecca to put on unsewn dress and to avoid the use of sewn clothes scrupulously. The wearing of such dress is known as *Ihram*. It is on the basis of this custom that the Hanafi jurists hold that it is not permissible to enter Mecca without *Ihram*. But the *Shafites* do not see any objection to enter Mecca without *Ihram* on the authority of this very Tradition. The Hanafites, however, consider it probable that an exception to this custom of *Ihram* was made on the day of the conquest of Mecca and *Bukhari* reports that the Prophet held that it was permissible for him alone to break the Law of *Ihram* and that on the day of the conquest only. So no one else is empowered to break the Law of *Ihram*.

(4) See 'I. C.' Vol. VII No. 4.

(5) We find in the Tradition described in the preceding chapter that the Prophet had a helmet on his head when he came to Mecca while in this he is said to have been wearing a turban at that time. This is not irreconcilable. He might have entered Mecca with a helmet and changed it afterwards for a turban. Or, he may have put on the helmet over his turban or vice versa.

(6) Ja'far bin 'Amr bin Hurais al-Makhzumi was a reliable Traditionist. He died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718.

(7) The name of Ja'far's father is 'Amr bin Hurais al-Makhzumi. He died in A.H. 85, A.D. 704. *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 283.

a black turban when delivering sermons¹ to the people. Ibn² 'Umar says that when the Prophet wore the turban he used to let some part of it hang loose over his back between the shoulders. Nafi³ says that Ibn 'Umar used to do likewise. 'Ubaidullâh⁴ says that he saw Qâsim bin Muhammad⁵ and Sâlim⁶ doing the same. Ibn 'Ab-bâs⁷ says that he once saw the Prophet delivering⁸

(1) The sermon is that which the Prophet gave standing at the door of the Ka'ba on the day of the conquest of Mecca. See *Al-Iqtisâd* Vol. I. p. 205. The sermon is as follows:—

“There is no God but God. He is one and there is no partner with Him. He has fulfilled his promise, has helped His servant and has singly defeated the infidels. All the pride, blood and the wealth which were claimed (during the Days of Ignorance) are now beneath my feet (i.e., are now none of my concern).”

“The positions of the Custodian of the House (Ka'ba) and the Supervisor of the water drunk by pilgrims from the Well of Zamzam will however remain unmolested.”

“A person guilty of accidental murder (having the appearance of intention) by whipping or beating with a bludgeon will be severely punished with (a fine of) one hundred camels—forty of which should be pregnant. O ye Quraishites! the pride which ye were wont to boast in the Days of Ignorance has now been taken away from you by God, as also the pride of your being born of great fathers. All men are born of Adam and he was made of earth.” Then the Prophet recited this verse of the Qur'ân—“O ye people! I have created you from one man and one woman and I have separated you in tribes and clans so that you may know one another. Amongst you he is the most noble who fears God most.” Sura 49, verse 13, continuing it to the end.

Then the Prophet said “O ye Quraishites! What do ye think my treatment of you shall be?” “It is hoped you will be very generous in your treatment of us.” You are our noble brother and the son of a noble brother of ours,” replied they. The Prophet replied, “Go, you are all free.” See *Ibn Maja* p. 192; *Sunan an-Nisâ'i*, Vol. II, p. 246; *Ibn Hisham*, p. 821; *Tabari*, Vol. III, p. 1642; and *Ibn Khaldun* Vol. II., p. 45.

(2) See I. C. Vol. VII, No. 4.

(3) Nâh' Abu 'Abdullah al-Madamî liberated slave of Ibn 'Umar. Died A.H. 117—A.D. 735. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 372 and *al-Ma'arif* p. 234.

(4) 'Ubaidullah bin 'Abdullah bin 'Umar bin al-Khattâb. Died A.H. 106—A.D. 724. *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 252.

(5) Qâsim bin Muhammad bin Abu Bakr. Died A.H. 106—A.D. 724. *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 304.

(6) Sâlim bin 'Abdullah bin 'Umar. Died A.H. 106—A.D. 724. *al-Ma'arif* p. 93.

(7) See I. C. Vol. VII, No. 4.

(8) “O ye people! the people (at large) will be increasing whereas the Ansâr (inhabitants of Madina who helped the Prophet) will be decreasing to such an insignificance that their proportion to the general population may be compared to salt in food. If there be any among you who reaches a position from which he may exert power and influence

sermons to the people having a soiled¹ turban² on his head.

On the Izar (cloth that is worn round the waist loosely and hangs below the knee) of the Prophet

Abu³ Burda says that 'A'isha⁴ brought out a patched scarf⁵ and a coarse izâr⁶ in order to show them, and she said that the Prophet died wearing those two articles of dress. Ash'as⁷ bin Sulaim says that he heard from his aunt⁸ who heard from her uncle⁹ that once when he was walking in Madina a person suddenly said from behind, "Wear your 'Izar' higher up, as in this there is great piety and permanency."¹⁰ When he looked back he saw that it was the Prophet. He replied, "O Prophet ! this is a black sheet with white¹¹ stripes." The Prophet

for good or evil he should approve of the good actions of the An-âr and condone their unworthy performances. This was the last sermon of the Prophet and thereafter he never took his seat on the pulpit. See *al-Bukhari* Vol. I (*Kitâb al-Manaqib*) p. 536.

(1) As the Prophet used to apply oil to his head the turban would naturally be soiled

(2) The Prophet had two turbans, one measuring seven *Zar'a* (cubits), that is, three and a half yards and the other twelve *Zar'a* (i.e., six yards). See *Ali al-Qari*, Vol. I, p. 207.

(3) Abu Burda bin Abî Mûsa al-Ash'ari died in A. H. 104—A. D. 722. Some say that his name was Amir or al-Hâris. *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 409 and *Ali al-Qari* Vol. I, p. 210.

(4) See I. C. Vol. VII, No. 4.

(5) The scarf of the Prophet was two yards in length and two yards and a quarter in breadth. Ibn Qayyim on the authority of al-Wâqidî says that it was three yards in length and one and three-fourth yards in breadth. *Ali al-Qari* Vol. I, p. 210.

(6) Izâr is a loose cloth worn round the loins and passed between the legs. The Izâr of the Prophet was two yards and a quarter in length and one yard in breadth. *Ali al-Qari*, Vol. I, p. 210.

(7) Ash'as bin Sulaim died A. H. 125—A. D. 742. *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 41.

(8) The name of his aunt is Ruhnî bint al-Aswad bin Khâlid. *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 473 and *Ali al-Qari*, Vol. I, p. 211.

(9) The name of the uncle is 'Ubad bin Khâlid al-Muhâribi. He was a companion of the Prophet. See *al-Isaba*, Vol. II, p. 1058 and *Ali al-Qari* Vol. I, p. 211.

(10) If the *Izar* is worn high up there is no show of pride; at the same time it lasts longer as it is protected against wayside thorns, etc.

(11) The meaning is that it was an ordinary cloth worn by villagers and the wearing of it in their particular manner involved no show of pride.

replied, "Is it not incumbent on you to follow me?" When he looked again he saw that the *izar* of the Prophet was up to the middle of his calf. Ayâs bin Salâma¹ narrates on the authority of his father² that 'Uthmân³ used to wear his *izâr* reaching to the middle of his calf and used to say "Such was the *izâr* of my lord—" i.e. of the Prophet.

Huzaifa bin al-Yamân⁴ says that the Prophet caught hold of the muscle of his⁵ leg or the Prophet's own and said, "This is the limit of the *izâr* (i.e., the *izar* should reach to this part only). He said further that if one did not like this, he may have the latitude to bring it down a little more; but the *izâr* should not reach the ankle on any account.

On the gait of the Prophet

Abû Huraira says that he did not see anything more beautiful than the Prophet from whose face the sun seemed to shine (i.e., his face was very fresh and bright), and he did not see anybody quicker in his walk than the Prophet for the ground seemed to roll itself up for him. His disciples used to exert themselves (in keeping pace with him) when the Prophet walked leisurely. Ibrâhim bin Muhammad, who was one of the descendants of Ali bin Abî Tâlib, says that when 'Ali described the Prophet he used to say that the Prophet walked with vigour as if he was descending to a low level. 'Ali bin Abî Tâlib says that when the Prophet walked he used to lean forward as if he was descending from a higher to a lower level.

On the Prophet's head-dress (the Qina')

Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet used to wear the *Qina'* frequently and its cloth looked just like the cloth of an oilman (i.e., this cloth was soiled with oil).

(1) Ayas bin Salama died in A.H. 119—A.D. 637. *Al-Ma'arif* p. 165.

(2) The name of the father is Salama bin 'Umar bin al-Akwa. He died in A.H. 74—A.D. 693. *Al-Ma'arif* p. 165.

(3) See 'I. C.' Vol. VII No. 4.

(4) Huzaifa bin al-Yamân died in A.H. 36—A.D. 656. *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 82.

(5) The narrator is doubtful and consequently he used the alternative.

On the squatting of the Prophet

Qaila hint Makhlama¹ narrates that she saw the Prophet in the mosque squatting in the posture² called *qurfasa*.³ She says that when she saw the Prophet sitting in this humble posture she trembled with fear. 'Abbâd bin Tamîm⁴ narrates on the authority of his uncle⁵ that the latter saw the Prophet lying on his back in the mosque placing one leg upon the other.⁶ Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî⁷ says, "In the mosque the Prophet used to squat in the posture called *ih'tiba*."⁸

On reclining by the Prophet

Jâbir bin Samura⁹ says that he saw the Prophet reclining on a pillow on his left side.¹⁰ 'Abdur Rahmân¹¹

(1) See 'I. C.' Vol. VII. No. 4.

(2) When Qaila saw the Prophet in this posture she was afraid lest the wrath of God might fall on the followers. The Prophet's posture of humility created this apprehension.

(3) An Arabian mode of sitting on the hips with the knees close to the belly and the hands folded under the armpits or embracing the legs See 'I. C.' Vol. VII. No. 4. If in this mode of sitting part of the garment is wrapped round the legs it is called "*ih'tiba*."

(4) 'Abbâd bin Tamîm was a *Tabi'i* (a companion of the companions of the Prophet) and a reliable authority on *Hadith*. *Al-Isaba*, Vol. II. p. 651.

(5) The name of the uncle is 'Abdullâh bin Zaid bin Asim. He died A.H. 68—A.D. 682. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 199 and *al-Munawi*, Vol. I., p. 220.

(6) In one of the Traditions of Muslim, however, the placing of one leg upon the other is not permissible when lying on one's back. Hence there is an apparent contradiction between the two Traditions. The learned Traditionists have nevertheless attempted to reconcile them by holding that the posture in which 'Abbâd bin Tamîm considers it permissible to place one leg upon the other does not allow the lower parts of the body to be observed; whereas the posture in which Muslim does not consider it desirable to place one leg upon the other is the one which admits of a possibility of the private parts being observed as the knees are raised up high.

It should be noted that mention has been made of lying flat in the chapter on sitting. But as lying down is permissible in mosques sitting is all the more permissible; for this reason this Tradition is mentioned here.

(7) See 'I. C.' Vol. VII. No.

(8) *Ih'tiba* is a sitting posture just like *qurfasa* described before. It does not imply, however, that *ih'tiba* was practised at all times in the mosque. The Prophet, according to a Tradition, used also to sit cross-legged in the mosque until the rising of the sun after the morning prayers.

(9) See 'I. C.' Vol. VII. No. 4.

(10) In most of the famous traditions there is no mention of the "left side." It is for this reason that Tirmizî discusses the point at the end of this chapter and states that he knows no Traditionist, except Isrâil, to have mentioned the word "left."

(11) 'Abdur Rahmân died A.H. 96.—A.D. 714.

son of Abû Bakra narrates on the authority of his father¹ that the Prophet asked whether he should not inform them about the greatest of sins. The companions replied, "Yes, O Prophet of God." Then the Prophet said that they were setting up rivals to God and disobedience to parents. Abû Bakra says that the Prophet said this while reclining on a pillow. The Prophet said in continuation that bearing false evidence or uttering falsehood was to be considered among the greater sins. The Prophet repeated these sayings till his auditors wished him to stop. Abû Juhaifa says that the Prophet said that he did not eat food reclining on a pillow. Jâbir bin Samura says that he saw the Prophet reclining on a pillow.

On leaning on a person by the Prophet

Anas narrates that the Prophet was ill and so he came out leaning upon Usama. He was wearing a striped cloth in *zashah* fashion (i.e., it passed under the right armpit and was thrown over the left shoulder). Then he led the prayers with his disciples. Al-Fazl² bin 'Abbâs says that he went to the Prophet when the latter was suffering from the illness of which he died. The Prophet had a yellow bandage. Fazl saluted him and the Prophet replied, "O Fazl." And Fazl said, "I await your commands, O Prophet of God." Then the Prophet said, "Bind my head tightly with this bandage." Fazl then bound it. Then the Prophet sat up and put the palm of his hand on Fazl's shoulder; then the Prophet stood up and entered the mosque and in this Tradition there is a long story.³

On the manner of eating by the Prophet

Ka'b⁴ bin Malik narrates that the Prophet used to lick his fingers three times (after taking food). Abû 'Isa

(1) The name of the father is Abu Bakra Nufai' bin al-Hârith. He died in A.H. 51—A.D. 671 or A.H. 52—A.D. 672. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 375.

(2) Al-Fazl bin Abbâs was the cousin of the Prophet and was one of his companions. He died in A.H. 15—A.D. 636. *Al-Isaba* Vol. III., p. 414.

(3) The story will be related in the chapter on the death of the Prophet

(4) Ka'b bin Mâlik was a companion of the Prophet and died during the caliphate of 'Ah bin Abi Tâlib—the fourth Caliph, (A.H. 35-40—A.D. 656-661) *Taqrib* p. 310., and *Al-Isaba* Vol. III, p. 607.

(the author) comments that other narrators of this Tradition say that the Prophet used to lick three of¹ his fingers. Anas says that the Prophet used to lick three of his fingers after taking food. Abû Juhaifa says that the Prophet once said, "Beware, I never eat reclining." Ka'b bin Mâlik narrates that the Prophet used to take food with three fingers and lick them afterwards. Anas bin Mâlik says that once dates were brought to the Prophet and he saw him eating them sitting in the posture of *igâ'* and leaning on something behind owing to hunger.²

On the bread taken by the Prophet

‘A’isha says that the family of the Prophet did not eat to their satisfaction barleybread for two consecutive³ days during the whole life-time of the Prophet. Abû Umâma al-Bahûlî⁴ says that there never remained any surplus of the barley bread in the family of the Prophet.⁵ Ibn ‘Abbâs says that the Prophet and his family passed successive nights in hunger, not having any supper, and their bread was often made of barley.

Sahl bin Sa’d⁶ was asked if the Prophet ate white flour. Sahl replied that the Prophet never saw white flour during his whole life-time. Then he was asked if

(1) The three fingers *i.e.* the thumb, the forefinger, and the middle finger. See *al-Munaww*, Vol. I., p. 233. Some say that sometimes the Prophet used four fingers and sometimes even all the fingers. See ‘*Ali al-Qari*, Vol. I., p. 235.

(2) This reclining of the Prophet was owing to necessity on account of the weakness due to hunger. See ‘*Ali al-Qari* Vol. I., p. 236.

(3) It is narrated in some reliable Tradition that the Prophet used to give his family provision for one year. But all the members of the family were so keen in living a life of austerity and to help the poor that they used to distribute the provision to the needy and kept a very small quantity for themselves which was hardly sufficient to satiate their hunger. See ‘*Ali al-Qari*, Vol. I., p. 237.

(4) Abû Umama died A.H. 86—A.D. 705. *Tuqrib at-Tahzib* p. 176.

(5) It means that they did not get sufficient barley bread to eat to satiety. ‘*Ali al-Qari* Vol. I., p. 238.

(6) Sahl bin Sa’d died A.H. 88—A.D. 706 or A.H. 91—A.D. 709. *Tuqrib at-Tahzib* p. 162, and *Al-Isaba* Vol. II., p. 280.

they possessed sieves during the time of the Prophets and he replied that they did not. He was then asked as to how they prepared flour from barley. He replied that they used to blow (with their mouths) (as much of) the chaff (as they could) and then kneaded it. Anas bin Malik¹ says that the Prophet did neither eat at the table nor in a small saucer. Thin bread was never cooked for him. Then he was asked on what the Prophet used to eat, and he replied that the Prophet used to eat on the *sufra*² (table-cloth made of skin).

Masrûq³ says that he went to 'A'isha and she brought food for him and said, "I do not eat to my satiety but weeping overcomes me and she began to weep." Then Masrûq asked, "What is the reason?" 'A'isha replied that she remembered the condition in which the Prophet left this world. "By God," she said, "the Prophet did not eat bread and meat to his satiety twice in a day." 'A'isha says that the Prophet did never eat barley bread to satiety for two successive days during the whole lifetime of the Prophet. Anas says that the Prophet did not eat at the table and did not partake of thin bread as long as he lived.

(1) See page 1, Note 1. This Tradition means that the Prophet and his family practised a life of austerity. The reason is that sometimes they did not get a sufficient quantity of food and even when they did get it they used to give it to the poor and the needy, themselves often going hungry.

(2) *Sufra* is a table (table-cloth) specially a circular one of leather, which travellers spread upon the ground; when on the road, it is contracted by strings round the edges into the form of a wallet for carrying provisions. In the text the word is *sufar* which is the plural of *sufra*.

(3) Masrûq died A.H. 102-A.D. 720. 'Ali al-Qari, Vol. I., p. 243.

HIDAYET HOSAIN.

(To be continued.)

“ WHAT INDIA OWES TO CENTRAL ASIA IN ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE ”

FOREWORD

THE following is the translation of a work entitled “ The Mosques of Samarkand Gour-i-Amir ” from the French for which I am very much indebted to Mr. W. E. Ball. This huge work bears a portfolio consisting of measured drawings and descriptions in two languages, Russian and French, side by side. It was published by the Imperial Archæological Commission ; St. Petersburg, 1905. I came across it in the British Museum by chance and at once obtained its photostats in connection with my researches on the Taj Mahal of Agra.

“ The Erection of a Hut is a work of necessity—that is ordinary Building. The Erection of a Tomb is a work of honour—that is Architecture.” A. S. WALKER.

My view is that the Musalmans in India had brought the theory and style of their architecture from Central Asia and Persia from the very beginning. Even to this day we find the names of the chief architects of Central Asia on numerous buildings in India, and references to this in historical works. These architects designed and erected edifices in India. For instance in the province of Bihâr we find that a certain Tatar Khan built the tomb of a certain king, Sultan Shah, in 665 A.H. (1266 A.D.) and its architect was Majd of Kabul whose name is found in an inscription.* In Gujarat Ahmadabad, Sultan Mahmûd (863-917 A.H.—1458-1511 A.D.) entrusted the construction of gardens to a great architect of Khurâsân in 890 A.H.—1485 A.D. because the inhabitants of Gujarat were

* *Epigraphia Indica Muslimica* 1913-14, page 24.

not endowed with the requisite artistic faculty.¹ Similar to these was the case with Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani's (825-838 A.H.—1421-1434 A.D.) mausoleum in Bidar. That king, after the tradition of the Deccan Muslim kings ordered the erection of his mausoleum in his life-time during the very first year of his reign, which is noted inside the dome over the southern door of the building. It was either designed or decorated by Shukrullah of Kazwin, as given there in an inscription on the eastern side of the dome.² Moreover, this most beautiful edifice bears the same form of decoration and calligraphy inside the dome as we find at the tomb of Tamerlane in Samarqand. The name of the architect of Gour-i-Amir is Mohammad bin Mahmûd of Isphahan, as noted therein. It was built in 807 A.H.—1404 A.D. If we closely examine these architectural features of both the tombs we shall be convinced of their being of the same origin.

The same is true of the Taj Mahal at Agra, which was built by Ahmad, about 225 years after Gour-i-Amir. Syed Suleyman Nadvi of Azamgadh read a long and detailed paper on "A Lahore Family of Architects"—at the first session of the Idârah Ma'ârif Islamiya, Lahore 1933, in which he quoted the verses of Lutfullah, son of the same Ahmad, showing that Ahmad was the architect of the Taj and the Delhi Fort. Ahmad's name is also mentioned as father of Lutfullah in an inscription on a metal plate at Mandu in Hoshang Ghouri's tomb which bears the names of several other architects of Shahjahan's time, who visited Mandu in 1070 A.H.—1659 A.D. and left that inscription as their memorial,³ although all contemporary historical records are silent in giving us any useful information about the names of the real architect of the Taj, with the exception of "Amâl-i-Sâleh" of Mullah Mohammad Sâleh Kambu and the "Badshah Nama" of Mohammad Wâris, which record two names of architects viz. Ahmad and Hamid, who were employed at the time of the construction of Delhi buildings during the reign of Shah Jahan in 1638 A.D.⁴

(1) *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Bombay, (1038) page 110.

(2) *Anjuman Himayat Islam Weekly*, Lahore, 14th March 1929. "The Home of the Romance of Naldaman" my own article about my visit.

(3) *Epigraphia Indica Muslimica*, 1909-1910, page 23.

(4) *Amul Saleh*, Calcutta, 1930, Vol. III, page 28 Bodleian Persian MSS. Catalogue Caps. Or D 3. Fol. 17.

“ The Artist is the creator of beautiful things.

“ To reveal Art and conceal the artist is Art's aim.”

O. WILDE.

Apart from the evidences of the names of the architects of Central Asia who are responsible for introducing into India the theory and style of Islamic architecture, if we examine the two buildings from the constructional point of view, we find in the Taj Mahal the same arrangement of the underground sepulchral vault as in the Gour-i-Amir (explained below). And the chief architectural factor of the Taj—the bulbous dome—has the same double construction as that of the Gour-i-Amir at Samarqand. “ Is there or was there, anywhere in the Muslim world known to Timur a double dome with swelling outline ? Yes at one place, and at one only, and that was at Damascus where stood the great Umayyad mosque built by Calif Walid in 705 A.D., the dome of which in Timur's time was ‘*Double and of Wood*.’”¹ These are the main architectural points in the Taj—an edifice of perfect Saracenic beauty, and one of the Seven Wonders of the world. The Taj takes its origin from the Gour-i-Amir. In India before the advent of Islam we fail to find such peculiar architectural designs in masonry.

The mausoleum of Dilras Banu Rabia Dourani, the wife of Aurangzeb son of Shah Jahan, at Aurangabad (Deccan), being a replica of the Taj at Agra, was designed by the architect Ataullah one of the sons of the same great architect Ahmad mentioned above. Ataullah's name is preserved in an inscription on the doors of the entrance of the mausoleum.²

Thus our further earnest efforts can trace many such parallels between Central Asia and India which will be fully discussed in “ The Taj Mahal.”

I have utilised this work—“ The Mosques of Samarqand ”—only from the architectural point of view. But as regards the authenticity of the fact of the Gour-i-Amir being the same as described here, I can at least say that its sarcophagus does bear the inscription of Timur's name and his genealogy.

(1) *India Antiquary*, 1915, “ The Evolution of the Persian Dome ” by Capt. K. A. C. Creswell.

(2) *Aurangabad Gazetteer*, Bombay 1884, p. 594.

THE MOSQUES OF SAMARQAND "GOUR-I-AMIR"

Samarqand owes its reputation to its mosques erected by the illustrious Timur, better known by the name of Tamerlane, as well as by his immediate successors.

It is noticeable that in Muslim countries the development of political power is always accompanied by notable progress in monumental architecture. The founders of vast monarchies and the great Muslim conquerors after having made themselves masters of material wealth and considerable intellectual powers aspired to gratify the fame of Islam in grandiose constructions. These noble tendencies manifested themselves among the Ghaznavids of Khorasan, the Hulakukhanids (Ilkhans), converts to Islam, and later among the Safavids of Persia, the Memlukes of Egypt and the Barbrids of Kabulistan. It is the same in Europe among the Omayyads of Spain and the first Ottoman Sultans of Turkey. But the most magnificent of the builders was Timur. His successful warriors in Russia, in Caucasia, in Persia, in Asia Minor and India provided him with abundant material for the decoration of Samarqand, his capital. Many caravans carried rich booty to the place. Orders were given to spare the architects, the painters and other clever craftsmen so that Timur could make use of them for the execution of his plans. He always took a very active part in the construction of his edifices, and was very difficult to please; and he often ordered modifications of a building or monument already finished and supervised in person the alterations indicated by him.

In erecting his mosques Tamerlane made use of all that was most beautiful in his possession. The calligraphy which flourished in Persia in the fourteenth century A.D. is brilliantly reflected in the mosques of Tamerlane. The walls of these buildings are full of inscriptions; the writings of which vary greatly, forming gracious and harmonious combinations. Persia at this period was famous for its majolicas in pure and striking colours, the secret of which has not been handed down to us. The tiled panelling with which Tamerlane enriched the mosques of Samarqand surpass in beauty anything we know among the similar arts of Central Asia. Several Persian artists of Tabriz and Ispahan placed their names upon the monuments. But there were also other masters from elsewhere. There was a certain Kashgarian (of Kashgar)

who appears to have introduced into Samarqand the decoration of the interior of the buildings, Chinese processes of wall decoration and particularly the arched ceilings with leaves of coloured paper fixed by means of small iron nails.

In this country, that is to say, in Eastern Turkistan, Tamerlane had at his disposal only second class artisans lacking initiative and necessarily guided by foreigners.

The art which we admire in Samarqand was imported from elsewhere and for this reason it did not develop after the death of Tamerlane. Having failed to take root in the new soil, it decayed quickly. It was in vain that it enjoyed the favour of his successor notably famous for his buildings at Samarqand.

Tamerlane built several palaces, of which nothing now remains at Samarqand. An idea, however, may be formed of the splendour of his buildings from the ruins of the famous Ak-Serai at Shehr-i-Sabz. Tamerlane also erected mosques and mausoleums upon the tombs of Muslim saints, and over the graves of his parents and other personages. Several Muslim colleges were also Tamerlane's work, but no traces of them remain today. Among his principal works must be cited the mosques in the city of Turkistan built upon the tomb of the saint Ahmad Yassavi, the cathedral mosque of Samarqand known after the name of Bibi Khanum which is now called Gour-i-Amîr, and that at Kish, the native town of Tamerlane. A complete list of all the tombs (Mazârs and Khankahs) of Muslim saints and notabilities erected by the conquerors cannot be furnished. We shall confine ourselves to indicate the chief among them. Among them are the mazârs of Samarqand, now actually destroyed, which stood upon the site of the tomb of Nûr-ud-Dîn Bassir, surnamed Kutbi-Shakarzekhum, on the tomb of Shupan-Ata and on the tomb of Burhân-ud-Dîn Sagarji (Rukh-Abad). Tamerlane also decorated the mazâr built upon the tomb of Qâsim-ibn-'Abbâs, surnamed Shah-Zindah (Alive Saint). Among the Khankahs we notice those at Kish, those of the tombs of Amîr-i-Targhai, father of Tamerlane, and Jhangîr, the conqueror's eldest son, at Samarqand; the whole series of mausoleums with small mosques erected by Tamerlane on the mazâr of Shah-Zindah to the memory of his sisters and brothers, beside

the cathedral mosque, and further, close to the mosque of Gour-i-Amir, the mausoleum of Mohammad Sultân, grandson of Tamerlane.

So far as buildings are concerned there is no Western king who can be compared with Tamerlane. Unfortunately these witnesses of the glorious period of Tamerlane's reign are reduced to such a state—partly by earthquakes, frequent in that country, but mostly due to lack of repairs during the time of domination of Tamerlane's successors—that the task of maintaining them is very difficult and in some cases even quite impossible. We can only preserve these monuments for posterity by means of designs and plans. Guided by this principle, the Imperial Archaeological Commission applied itself in 1905 to study the question of maintaining the mosques of Tamerlane. The projects of the Commission found a sympathetic echo from the Secretary of State, De Witte, who was the Minister for Finance. The minister was able to appreciate the scientific value of the enterprise and, having made the matter his own, he applied to the Emperor of Russia for the necessary subsidies for the preparation and publication of an album of Samarqand Mosques. The first edition of this album is actually completed. It is entirely connected with the mosques—"Gour-i-Amir" in which is Tamerlane's tomb. Founded in the year 807 A.H. (1404 A.D.) this edifice is fairly well preserved today. The admiration of spectators is aroused by the immensity of its dome almost entirely covered with majolica and with a golden globe. Its walls are resplendent with multi-coloured slabs which are transformed by points into beautiful mosaics forming ravishing panels. This mosaic, composed of small pieces with majolica saws represents branches with leaves and flowers as well as numerous inscriptions mostly in Arabic and some in Persian.

The building in question like all mosques was reserved for common worship. Tamerlane no doubt had an intention of transforming this building into a mausoleum. It was, in fact, a mosque which he built, with two minarets!

According to literary evidence Tamerlane wished to be buried in his native country at Kish. This fact is reported to us by Gonzaleze de Clavigo, ambassador of the king of Castille (Spain) who during a journey to Samarqand stayed at Kish. In describing that town Clavigo

speaks of a number of grand mosques erected by the orders of Tamerlane, one of which made a great impression upon him. This was not yet completed. This mosque contained a great chapel in which Tamerlane had built his own sepulchre. Tamerlane was dissatisfied with this chapel because the door of it was low. He immediately gave an order to rebuild it and the craftsmen were then carrying out the work.

If such was indeed Tamerlane's wish, it was not realised, because his bones repose at Samarqand. It is possible that this fact was due to political complications which arose out of his death and because his other desire concerning the right of succession to the throne was not accomplished. But even at Samarqand the place of his sepulchre was not, at first, definitely fixed. At first he was inhumed in some other building and not in the mosque "Gour-i-Amir." In order to be able to locate this other building, it is necessary first of all to study the place of burial of his grandson Mirza Mohammad Sultân. The details, which are available, are contained in a book of Sharaf-ud-Dîn Ali of Yazd, which also contains the history of Tamerlane's reign. This book is known under the name of "*Zafar Nama*" (Book of Victory). The author affirms therein that after the death of Mirza Mohammad Sultân, which occurred soon after the battle of Angora in which this prince gave proof of valour, Tamerlane issued orders for the erection of a splendid mausoleum with cupola, in memory of the departed, beside the Madrasa built by the prince. "The cincture of the dome was of marble decorated in gold and azure. A recess was made in which the body of the prince was placed." This rather obscure passage caused it to be assumed that it concerned the mosque of "Gour-i-Amir," but comparing these particulars with those given by Gonzaleze de Clavigo and with another passage of Sharaf-ud-Dîn himself, we arrive at quite another conclusion. In fact, the first of these authors wrote, "Thursday the 30th October the king, (that is, Tamerlane) quitted his army in order to come to town and stayed at the house of the mosque which he had built as a resting place for the body of his grandson Mirza Mohammad Sultan." The king was very fond of him and that was why he had built this mosque, the house and mausoleum. The chapel was quadrangular, very high, and both inside and out painted with gold and azure and covered with panels in faience and glass. When the grandson of the king died in Turkey,

the king sent his body to Samarqand to be buried there and instructed the municipal authorities to erect this mosque and mausoleum. But when the king came in person he was dissatisfied with the chapel because, he said, it was too low ; he ordered it to be pulled down and rebuilt in ten days under pain of severe chastisement. It was necessary to work day and night ; the chapel was erected and completed in these ten days, and this tremendous work, carried out in so short a space of time, was the cause of great admiration. It is clear that the domed mausoleum described by Clavigo could not be a mosque because it would be impossible to rebuild such an edifice in ten days ; Clavigo uses the word " chapel " which means a " khankah." The same term is also used by Sharaf-ud-Dîn in speaking of the mausoleum of Mohammad Sultân.

As for the tomb of Tamerlane, Sharaf-ud-Dîn tells us that the coffin which enclosed the body of this sovereign was carried from Otrar, where Tamerlane had died on the 22nd of Shaban 807 A.H., (23rd February 1405), and put into the sepulchre with the usual rites ; but he does not tell us where all this happened. It is only later that, in speaking of the coming to the throne, at Samarqand, of Mirza Khalîl Sultân, the author tells us that this new sovereign came two days after his coronation to the mausoleum of the deceased Mirza Mohammad Sultân in which there was also Tamerlane's tomb. Mirza Khalîl came there as it was his duty to perform the ceremony of public mourning. Thus it is apparent that Timur was buried in the mausoleum of Mohammad Sultân. These mausoleums were generally built near the mosques but, as the palace of Mohammad Sultân with his Khankah did not possess a mosque, Timur found it necessary to have one built, and it is thus that this building was erected, which certain local writers called qubbah (cupola). Sharaf-ud-Dîn again says that Tamerlane, because of his affection towards the Sharîfs (descendants of Mohammad's family), frequently expressed the wish that his tomb should be placed below that of the Sheikh Sa'îd Barka. In accordance with this wish they carried the coffin of this holy man from Andkhud to Samarqand to put it in the sepulchre under the domed building which Tamerlane had had built in the neighbourhood of the platform of the khankah. Further, the mortal remains of Tamerlane were placed below the Sheikh's tomb ; also into the same mausoleum was carried the body

of Mirza Mohammad Sultân and placed beside the Sheikh. It is undoubtedly the domed mosque which is referred to. What was the cause of these displacements? Is it because of the lack of space in the khankah or that it was deemed more convenient to seal the body of Sa'id Barka in a house of prayer and not in a simple mausoleum destined for laymen. It would be difficult for us to answer these questions.

However, what may have been the mosque of prayer, was thus transformed into a mausoleum and was called in literary language "The Mosque of Sa'id Barka" and commonly known as "Gour-i-Amîr," that is to say, the tomb of the Amîr. In this case is meant the Amîr Tamerlane, although the other Timurids, who reigned and even others who did not, were later on buried in the same mosque.

A special sepulchral vault was used there for the sepulchre. This vault was situated under the floor of the building and had a special entrance from outside. Thanks to this arrangement, the building was able to function as a mosque independently of the vault. Nevertheless the upper portion was soon transformed into a mausoleum, for tombstones were placed there as in the vault beneath, and they disposed them in the same way as the actual graves in the lower portion.

An author of Samarqand, writing in the nineteenth century, Abu Tâhir Khoja says in his book called "Samarqand": "We are certain that the Sultan Shah Rukh, when he came from Herat to Samarqand, took away with him for fear of his enemies the remains of his illustrious father from the mausoleum, from which they were again buried."

We are here in the presence of a misunderstanding. Why should Shah Rukh have hidden the remains of Tamerlane? Even the enemies of this conqueror had never dared to interfere with his tomb; the Musalmans having always expressed a great respect for the dead and considered the desecration of a sepulchre as a sin.

The historian of the reign of Shah Rukh, Kemâl-ud-Dîn Abdur Razzâq, does not say a word in his book, "Matla'-us-Sa'dain" or "Majma'-ul-Bahrain" pertaining

to this event. For the other part, the son of Shah Rukh, Olugh Beg, placed in the upper portion of the sepulchre of Tamerlane a tombstone in nephrite (a mineral). It seems more than doubtful whether Olugh Beg would have accomplished this act of piety if the remains of Tamerlane had been removed elsewhere. Two circumstances have contributed to the legend recounted by the author of "Samaria." The first is that Shah Rukh Mirza having made himself master of his father's throne removed his residence to Herat and gave Olugh Beg the position of lieutenant (or governor) of Samargand. The second circumstance is the removal of the coffin containing the remains of his grandfather, effected by Khalil Sultân, from the khankah to the cupola (*Qubbah*).

As for the khankah, although it is in a deplorable condition, it stands to this day and is, in fact, situated to the east of "Gour-i-Amîr." Today, only, no name is attached to this building and its ancient significance, since the removal of the coffin, has been entirely forgotten by the local inhabitants. However, the architectural plan of the building and its domed roof undoubtedly confirm the quotations given above. At the present day the vault is open and filled with soil. The Madrasa (college) built by Mohammad Sultân has not served to make its location recognisable.

Right from the beginning, the "Gour-i-Amîr" had the appearance of an octagonal tower of a drum-shaped building which was crowned by an enormous dome. The entrance to the mosque was towards the north. To the right and to the left rose, to a certain height, two circular minarets. Olugh Beg, who had inherited from his grandfather a passion for building, added to this mosque a series of other buildings. He erected a new wall extending to the minarets. Before this wall he built a grandiose portal. The court of the mosque was surrounded by a wall, probably containing rooms for students. All these buildings differ perceptibly from the main mosque. They are known by the name which Olugh Beg bore, Badi'-uz-Zamân; that is to say, "The Marvel of the Age." The summit of the dome crumbled one day; and then it was doubtless that much of the tiled panelling which covered the dome, was spoilt; as also was the golden ball at the top. The parts of the dome which were restored, although of pleasing design, nevertheless, differed from the ancient building.

The height of the mosque "Gour-i-Amir" from the interior of the building is 22·25 metres, and the external height is 34·9 metres. The height of the minaret is 25·38 metres, and that of the portal 12·07 metres. The area of the main building is 308·16 square metres, 10·35 sq. metres for the minarets, and 765 sq. metres for the whole group of buildings.

ANNALS OF THE DELHI BADSHAHATE¹

ASSAMESE

84. *Exchange of presents between the sovereigns*

Prithivi Shah presented to Shah Jahan 1500 horses in all, including four Irâki, eight Arbi and twelve Sujarnis ponies. He also presented precious cloths and pearls and diamonds as well as other articles worthy of a monarch, amounting to six crores of rupees, besides five crores presented to the Padshah's train.

The Padshah presented to Prithivi Shah four hundred elephants and five hundred horses, and other precious articles amounting to a total of five crores of rupees, in addition to another four crores presented to the members of the Raja's retinue. The two sovereigns then took leave of each other after offering assurance of mutual friendship.

The Pâtra gave to the wazir, horses including one Irâki pony, and two Arbi, and articles to the value of one crore and a half of rupees. The wazir gave to the Pâtra, eighty elephants and articles of the value of one and a half crores of rupees. The other people in the retinue of the two sovereigns also exchanged presents.

The Pâtra and the wazir were praised by all for controlling the functions without any hitch or misunderstanding though the soldiers and retainers of the two camps were as large as the sea. Here is finished what was said by Gakulpuri.²

(1) The previous instalment appeared in our issue of April 1933, (Vol. VII No. 2)—*Ed. I. C.*

(2) For Gakulpuri, see *I.C.*, for October 1928, pp. 547-8.

SULTAN SHUJA'S EXPEDITION TO KANDAHAR

85. *Proposals to conquer Kandahar*

Salutation to Sree Rama and Sree Krishna. On the death of Jahangir Padshah, his son Shah Jahan became Padshah, and sat on the *takt* or throne in an auspicious moment. The events which took place during the first eight years of his reign are recorded in other books ; only the events which took place after the lapse of eight years of his reign will be found in this book.

One day, sitting in his court at Dewâni-âm surrounded by his ministers and counsellors, Shah Jahan Padshah put the following question to his wazir relating to the strength of the padshah of Khândâr or Kândahâr. " How powerful is that padshah ? What is the strength of his army ? How invincible is his fortress ? " The wazir replied, " The fortress of the padshah of Khândâr is highly impregnable, his soldiers innumerable, and the splendour of his elephants and horses unlimited. But who can be greater than Your Majesty ? You can easily attack and conquer the country."

86. *Prince Shuja's expedition against Kandahar*

According to the decision of the court, one Galiz Khan, an omrão commanding 7,000, was despatched as Subha to Khândâr with Muhammad Khan and Zalandar Khan. Galiz Khan proceeded to the spot, and witnessing the impregnable character of the fortress sent a written communication to the emperor.

The padshah deputed his son Shah Shuja to Khândâr at the head of an army of 20,000 sepoy commanded by ten haft-hazari, chai-hazari and panch-hazari omrãos, including Raja Jai Singha. The prince received instructions as follows, — " If Shah Safi,* the padshah of Khândâr, takes the battle against you personally, then you should proceed to the battle yourself. But if he sends another man in his place, you should not go. In the latter case you should despatch Galiz Khan with soldiers, and halt yourself at the thana of Kabul."

* Shah Safi or Safavî II. was King of Persia, 1629-42; vide Bernier's *Travels*, O. U. Press, II, p. 6. About Prince Shuja's expedition against Shah Safi, see *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Beveridge, p. 233.

With these instructions Shuja was given leave to depart; he was also presented with rich gifts. The following command was issued to the nawabs in charge of the imperial thanas in the neighbourhood of Khândâr, "You should send to the fort of Khândâr rice, pulse, radish, ghee, sugar and other necessities, to feed the soldiers to enable them to engage themselves in war."

Thus Shah Shuja, the son of the Emperor, went accordingly to Khândâr in the company of a large army. The prince was preceded by an omráo at a distance of one prahar's journey while another followed up in the rear at the same distance, while one nawab accompanied him on the right and another on the left. In this array did the padshahzada march to Khândâr. When the prince was within a distance of three days' journey, the commander in charge of the advance line of fortifications sent a written report to Shah Safi Padshah about the approach of Prince Shuja.

87. *Shah Safi prepares for war*

Shah Safi wrote back to the commander of the fort, "You should remain in readiness with soldiers, arms and munitions, and despatch six thousand troops and fall upon the invaders." The commander remained ready for action with his soldiers as instructed by Shah Safi, and deputed six thousand soldiers to attack the imperialists. The soldiers thus despatched were dismayed at the sight of the magnificence of Shuja's army, and came back without any action. The commander of the fort of Khândâr sent information to Shah Safi on the war array of Prince Shuja, on which Shah Safi thundered at Shah Jahan Padshah. He summoned his counsellors and said, "If Shah Jahan, the padshah of Delhi, had taken the field in person, I would have gone to the battle myself. It will be unbecoming on my part to fight with his son." Thus saying, he despatched to the fort skilful warriors, sirdars, elephants, horses, arms, munitions and other war materials. The two armies stood ready for action near the four fortresses of Khândâr.

88. *The imperialists occupy Kandahar fort*

From his spies Prince Shuja received intelligence of the resolution of Shah Safi not to take the field in person

and acting according to the instructions of his father, the prince made presents to Galiz Khan and appointed him commander-in-chief of the whole army, and gave him assurance of reinforcement when necessary. The prince remained at the fort of Kabul, ready for action. There was severe fighting between the two armies lasting for one day and one night and two prahars. The imperial troops could not in any way capture the fort. The Khândâr army fought from within the fort, for which they did not sustain heavy casualties on their side, whereas Galiz Khan lost as many as 20,000 soldiers.

Galiz Khan then adopted a novel device. He excavated a big tank at a distance of one prahar's journey from the fort. A tunnel was dug up connecting the tank with the dike encircling the fort. The moat-water was thus drawn through the tunnel towards the tank, resulting in the drying up of the moat, and the filling up of the tank.

Galiz Khan then said to his soldiers, "I will pay at the rate of rupees ten to an old man, eight to a boy, and five to a young man. The ditch should be filled up by each of you throwing one basketful of earth." Being thus commanded, the soldiers threw earth into the ditch and filled it up. Galiz Khan spent twenty lakhs of rupees in carrying out this measure.

Then Khosar Khan, commander of the Khândâr fort seeing that the moat had been filled up with earth, adopted a counter-device in his turn. He sewed up bigcases of rhinoceros skin, stuffed them with powder, placed them in a row on the ditch and then set fire to them. The fire burnt up the ditch which resumed its previous shape. The earth thrown in by the imperialists was blown off to unknown quarters. Being unsuccessful in capturing the fort by any means Galiz Khan reported the matter to the padshah of Delhi. On the receipt of this intelligence the padshah expressed his admiration for Galiz Khan saying:—"The method adopted by Galiz Khan was excellent; but the one adopted by Khosar Khan was superior of the two. Praised be the counsellor! Praised be the commander!" The padshah thus showered heaps of praises upon Khosar Khan.

The emperor advised Galiz Khan to capture the fort by whatever contrivance he might adopt under the circumstances. Galiz Khan then adopted a fresh method: the moat was filled up once more by throwing in plantain

trees and the bodies of elephants, horses, camels and buffaloes killed specially for that purpose. Seeing this, Khosar Khan as before, stuffed skin bags with powder and set fire to them. What effect could the fire produce on objects which were so damp? The fire only touched the surface and merely scalded them. With this trick Galiz Khan conquered the fort. After the reduction of the fort, the commander attacked the padshahi fort, where he fought for a long time without any success. At length an underground passage was dug up as far as the fort, and it was filled with loads of powder. On setting fire to the mines the fort was burnt down; and earth, elephants, horses, soldiers were all blown up. The imperial troops advanced along the path thus cleared and captured the fortress. Seeing the fall of the two advance forts, the commander offered his submission to Galiz Khan, who rewarded him with presents. The contest was now transferred to another padshahi fort. Being unable to capture the same, Galiz Khan excavated a ditch which could be crossed by soldiers on horseback. The imperial troops marched along the ditch and reached the precincts of the fort. The soldiers on horseback stormed the fort and occupied it after an engagement. The booty obtained at the four forts, consisting of elephants, horses, men, cows and other articles were sent to the padshah at Delhi. Having received the intelligence of victory Shah Jahan despatched rewards of mansabs and presents.

On the receipt of the presents from the padshah, Galiz Khan placed four nawabs in charge of the four forts of Khândâr, and proceeded to meet Shah Shuja. The Prince honoured Galiz Khan with numerous presents and appointed him Subha of Khândâr. He then returned to the presence of the Padshah at Delhi. This is how the fort of Kândahâr was reduced.

LETTERS OF THE REIGNS OF JAHANGIR AND SHAH JAHAN

89. *Jahangir's letter to his rebellious son Prince Khurram*

Emperor Jahangir wrote the following letter to his son Sultan Khurram, afterwards Shah Jahan, when he, having quarrelled with his brothers Parvez and Khusru, wandered about raising the standard of revolt against the authority of his father and emperor:—

“ Sultan Khurram, the captivator of the mind, like an idol of the eyes, son of an emperor who is the receptacle of good luck and who always treads on the spiritual path, you should note carefully, being anxious for the favour and blessing of the emperor as a token of his affection. Let shame be heaped upon that son who, deviating from the reverence shown by all good sons, stood aloof from the attitude of submission, by assuming hostility and declaring a revolt in the capital against his emperor and father. Has any son in this family attempted war against his father in the past? If our son, endowed with luck and wealth, desire to wield his sword and conquer new territories, it is well and good, and who can object to such a course? All right, he should now return to our presence and, accompanied by the omrâos, who are our well-wishers and benefactors, he should undertake a war expedition against the padshahs of Iiâk and Abbâs. They have dishonoured your father's coins, and your duty lies in dishonouring their coins in return. On the other hand, is it proper on the part of dutiful sons to fight against their fathers for the sceptre, the umbrella and the throne? Still more, the acquisition of the umbrella and the châmar does not rest with oneself. They are enjoyed by him alone upon whom God confers them. If the prince comes to the presence of the Emperor with a scarf round his neck and explains his condition, he may be again an object of our affectionate glance. What more can be written? One seeking his welfare will not long remain carefree.”

90. *Sultan Khurram's reply*

Sultan Khurram sent to Emperor Jahangir the following reply to the above letter; when the emperor's letter reached the hands of Khurram he kissed and lifted it to his eyes and head; and while reading the same he bowed down at every letter, after which he penned the following note with due submission:—

“ He, who is the pillar of the most excellent empire will, out of the abundance of his own love and affection, make my prayer fruitful. There is no one except Your Majesty to forgive the transgressions of my ignorant self, however unpardonable they might be. I have been a victim of shame and repentance since I took up an offensive and disloyal attitude towards you. Your feet alone can offer salvation to the sinful one. You have spoken

of my displaying feelings of hostility and disaffection against my father and emperor. It is very astonishing that such an idea which was foreign to my heart has been attributed to me, ill-fated as I am. As long as the padshah enjoys bliss and happiness, nothing untoward and improper will spring from me. Did Sulaiman Paygambar suffer imprisonment in the hands of the ants in days of yore ? So, what power have I to quarrel with the emperor ? As to the imputation that I am anxious for the throne, I want to say that I pray, may the emperor remain effulgent over my head by illuminating the umbrella and the throne as long as the moon and the sun exist, so that I may remain without any anxiety under the shadow of his umbrella-like feet. The padshah may be pleased, as a token of his own magnanimity, to forgive whatever offence I might have committed. I have ventured to entertain such hopes at the two feet of the emperor.

“ You have said that a thing is enjoyed by one upon whom God confers it. To this I would say that if God has conferred the emperorship on Parvez, I have also been provided with my blood-drinking sword. Parvez has obtained the padshahship from the emperor, while I have been subjected to false scandal and disgrace. If my sword, like a blood-sucking tiger, becomes appeased after tasting the blood of Khusru, then I shall not entertain any apprehension regarding Parvez. When Parvez has intended my ruin, it is not proper that I should remain inactive and careless. So I have come away being afraid of insult and humiliation. If in course of time it becomes necessary, I will certainly renounce my hostility ; if, on the other hand hostility is intended, I will take it up without delay. Competent persons, after having served me, are offering their services at the two feet of the padshah. Is all this proper ? As long as I do not become padshah, I am at least under his authority and power.

“ I have been asked to take up arms against Irâk and Abbâs. If under the command of the emperor, I, a pādshâhzâdâ wield the sword in a battle-field, I will not dread even mighty padshahs. If all the duties and operations were entrusted to me at that time, the fort of Kândahâr would not have fallen into the hands of the padshah of Abbâs from within a distance of eleven cubits. When the Deccanites rebelled, Parvez was in his mother's womb. I have subdued them twice by wielding my sword

with extreme hardship and at the imminent risk of my life. How I captured the fort of Kankarâ, and how I converted to Islam the formidable enemies living in the recesses of hills and forests which had never before been subjugated by any one, is still talked of in Hindusthan and is also known at the two feet of the Padshah-Hazarat. If it is desired, the fort of Kândahâr resembling a mountain of rocky stones, will be destroyed immediately on my arrival. As long as I have the sword of Jahangir Padshah in my hands, I will not seek anybody's aid for the key to open the door of my prosperity."

This is what the prince wrote in explanation of his intention after which he sounded a note of humiliation :—

"Wandering on the whirlpool of life I have not been able to attain success in my enterprises, whether at the beginning or at the end. People living under my shelter have been protected and maintained in the past, while others have fled for their lives eluding the search of their pursuers. I am the most abominable slave of His Majesty ; it is surprising that the Padshah has been affected by the revolt of such a negligible person. Just as the most powerful and princely falcons, which are a dread to all the birds, are captured in the net of the cruel hunter, I, a slave, wherever I may be, am in the sheath of Your Majesty. Regarding his desire to reinstate me in his special favour I beg to say that as I have been deprived of the opportunity of personally offering my obeisance to the padshah, I only pray that the emperor may show me a great favour by desisting from pursuing my footsteps. What more punishment is necessary for me ? This has proved sufficient : what shall I write more ? I pray that the padshah will not take any umbrage against this mad one."

91. *Shah Jahan's letter to the Adil Shahi Sultan*

During the reign of Emperor Jahangir the Adil Shahi sultans of the Deccan used to send annual presents and wakils with letters to the Mogul court. As they ceased to do so subsequently Shah Jahan Padshah despatched the following letter to the Adil Shahi ruler :—

"Glory to the Almighty God, the fulfiller of all prayers, supplications and desires, who as a token of His extensive powers, has placed me in the exalted office of an emperor, out of a drop of water as it were. It is extremely improper

that the rulers of the dominions of Bijapur, Golconda and Bhâgnagar, situated on the sea, have been circulating *gajmohurs* or independent coins in their realms, and looking upon one another as padshahs like the bird Hud-hud. They should even now pay heed to my command. They should circulate Shah Jahani gajmohurs if they desire to save their necks; otherwise I will let loose all the swift-footed and powerful kites of the world, the exterminators of the royal falcons, skilled in the extraction of skins and flesh with their sharp and pointed talons and beaks. They should carefully give ear to the warning. They should not remain inactive like the hare, deer and *randra*. (?) For this we have sent Muddhamatta (Muhammad) Khan accustomed to bring us glory (the chief among the omrâos intelligent and efficient in action, who is near us in our confidential deliberations and), the disgracer of our enemies. If you seek your welfare, you should carry out our wishes to the best of your ability. What shall I write more? May your heart be gratified."

92. *Reply of the Adil Shahi Sultan*

The Adil Shahi Padshah sent the following reply to the Emperor Shah Jahan :—

"The only receptacle of adoration and praise is the fear-scaring feet of the Almighty God. All promises pertaining to one's duties should be made to Him alone. Who looks upon as dust all those who instal themselves on the pinnacle of the mountain of pride. On hearing and reading your message, unapproved by the wise and indicative of your self-esteem, laughter has been caused here in all quarters.

"Besides, you have cited the instance of the kite and the *Hud-hud*. The story is as blatant as the sun and the moon. In the beginning of creation the bird Hud-hud was endowed with a variegated covering, and it was also made the lord of all with a crown on its head. This supremacy of the bird has prevailed automatically for many long ages. Though Mehtar Paygambar (God) conferred sovereignty on the kite for a couple of days, yet during the continuance of the order and rank fixed by the Ordainer of all things, can the kite, raised to eminence only recently, ever strike the Hud-hud with its claws? In these circumstances, how can a new order of things supersede time-worn ordinances? Yes, the hare sleeps peacefully

but it subsequently inflicts upon the pursuer considerable strain and disappointment. Hence, to those who have the welfare of their subjects always in their mind, the attempt (Here the letter ends abruptly).

AURANGZEB'S ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF DELHI

93. *Prince Dara deplotes his delayed prospects of sovereignty*

Salutation to Sree Krishna. Emperor Shah Jahan had four sons ; the eldest was Dara Shah with mansab 20,000. Sawar 20,000 ; Shah Shuja with mansab 15,000. Sawar 15,000. Aurangzeb with mansab 12,000. Sawar 9,000. and Murad Buksh.

Emperor Shah Jahan had his future calculated by astrologers to whom he said "How many years shall I live more?" The pandits consulted their books and reported that he would live for ten years more. Dara Shah said, "O father, I have heard the astrologers saying that you will live for ten years more. I am now fifty years old. O father, if you live for another ten years I shall be sixty years old. Of what use is the padshahship of Delhi to a sexagenerian? If my father has compassion upon me he should abdicate the throne for ten years and make me padshah."

94. *Shah Jahan divides his empire*

Emperor Shah Jahan then placed Shah Shuja at Rajmahal in charge of the twelve divisions of Bengal ; Aurangzeb at Aurangabad ; Murad Buksh at Kabul. He further instructed his three sons as follows: "I have conferred the emperorship on Dara now when I am in good condition. Nobody should object to this arrangement as long as I live. You should act as you like under my orders."

He said to Dara,—"You should not accept the imperial revenues due from the three places." With these instructions he despatched his three sons to their respective charges. He placed Dara on the throne and himself saluted his emperor-son. Shah Jahan lived inside the fort of Delhi having constructed his quarters properly. He said to Dara, "Pay me every month the sum of rupees one lakh and twenty thousand. The amount should be paid to me on the appearance of the new moon."

95. *Self-immolation of Mumtaz Mahal*

[The principal Begum of Shah Jahan, the mother of the four padshahzadas said one day to her husband, " I am not accompanying you to your new quarters. I have now come to considerable age. Through your favour I have enjoyed all the pleasures which can fall to the lot of a mortal. Four tiger cubs have been born of me. They will not abide by the arrangement you have made, and they will die by the hands of each other. What is the good of my being burnt in the fire of affliction and sorrow ? I will die with the name of God on my lips."

Saying thus the Begum prepared herself for death ; and uttering the name of Khodâ she put an end to her life by swallowing poison.]

96. *Sultan Dara Sukah imprisoned.*

Six months after this Shah Shuja attacked Delhi with an army of 1,00,000 sawars, but his forces were defeated, and he fled back to Rajmahal being unable to take his stand. Aurangzeb said to Murad Buksh, " I have already made up my mind to become a faqir, and I will not bid for the padshahship now. If the Almighty God allows I will make you padshah instead. I have been a faqir before and I will remain as a faqir. Put me in some corner, and I shall live in the religion of a faqir."

To this Murad Buksh said, " You are my elder brother. Keep me in any fashion you like, and I will abide by your counsel." Having said so Murad Buksh marched to Delhi by the western road. Dara came out of Delhi and encountered the forces of his brothers at a distance of two days' journey from the capital, and waged a severe fight with the army of Aurangzeb. There were heavy losses on both sides. Murad Buksh reached Delhi by the southern gates. Being attacked on both sides Dara could not resist the combined forces of his brothers and fled. He was captured and enchained in golden fetters. Murad Buksh was placed on the throne and made padshah. Aurangzeb in concert with Murad Buksh informed Shah Jahan, " We two desire to pay our respects to our father." Shah Jahan replied, " My words have not at all been honoured ; so you need not salute me now. You may salute me afterwards if you preserve the life of Dara."

97. *Friendship between Aurangzeb and Murad Buksh*

Aurangzeb and Murad Buksh used to take their dinners together. Aurangzeb dined occasionally at the residence of Murad Buksh; so did Murad Buksh at Aurangzeb's. Noticing the undivided friendship of the two brothers the people also ceased to look upon them as two different individuals.

On one occasion Aurangzeb invited Murad Buksh to dine with him. Cakes of numerous varieties were prepared, as well as delicious jellies. On the arrival of Murad Buksh, Aurangzeb said, "O padshah, take some cakes, and rest here for a while, we shall have our dinner when it is ready." Murad Buksh said, "All right, I shall rest after partaking of the cakes." When he slept, he was seized with intoxication, and could not regain his senses by any means.

Aurangzeb then posted his men in order, and said, "The padshah is sleeping, you should not make any noise at all." Having cast his glance he saw that the new padshah had lost his consciousness, due to severe intoxication. He was then chained with golden fetters.

98. *Sultans Dara and Murad murdered*

[Aurangzeb then placed Dara and Murad Buksh on the back of an elephant and displayed them to the people by beating drums. As the people might be provoked to sympathetic action after they had known that the two brothers were living, Aurangzeb decided to put an end to their lives. Aurangzeb brought a dish of gold and with a knife beheaded his two brothers, Dara and Murad. With their blood imprinted on his forehead, Aurangzeb sat on the throne and became the padshah.

99. *Mir Jumla's expedition against Sultan Shuja*

[Then the emperor despatched Mir Jumla to Bengal with his son Sultan Muazzam, 1,00,000 horse, elephants, cannon and all necessary war materials. The general was presented with a sirpão and received the following mandate of the padshah, "Direct your efforts to the extermination of Shuja. I also appoint you subha at Dacca. Shaista Khan Uzii is my maternal uncle whom you should see on your way." Mir Jumla agreed to pay a

visit to Shaista Khan at the instance of the emperor, whom he requested to issue orders to Shaista Khan to grant an interview to the general at any time and dismiss him very quickly. The emperor agreed to ask his uncle not to detain Mir Jumla very long in the interview.

100. *Mir Jumla insulted by Shaista Khan*

[Mir Jumla then retired to his own residence and conferred with his confidants saying, " I have no mind to go to Shaista Khan. At the same time I cannot but go, as the emperor has commanded me to see his uncle. How can I see Shaista Khan ? "

Mir Jumla's friends gave the following advice : " We have heard that Shaista Khan remains engaged in cleansing his teeth up to the fourth danda of the day. If you go to him at that time he will certainly bid you farewell from the door." In obedience to the command of the emperor, Mir Jumla stood one morning at the door of Shaista Khan and said to the janitor at the door, " Please ask a servant to tell Shaista Khan that Mir Jumla is at the door, and wants leave at once." The door-keeper asked a servant to tell the nawab that Mir Jumla was waiting at the door and that he wanted leave at once. The servant did not communicate the message to the nawab, but reported falsely that Mir Jumla was asked by Shaista Khan to wait for some time at the door as he was then engaged in brushing his teeth. Mir Jumla said, " It is surprising that such a shirker is attached to a durbar like this. Well, door-keeper, please send for another servant to carry the message." The door-keeper asked another servant, who told the nawab that Mir Jumla was at the door and that he wanted leave at once, and Shaista Khan said,— " Mir Jumla knows all these things. How is this that he has come to see me at this ungodly hour ? However, call him in."

Mir Jumla paid his greetings to Shaista Khan, but the latter did not give up rubbing his teeth, nor did he leave his seat, and neither did he place his hand on the breast. Shaista Khan said to Mir Jumla, " I repeat what the padshah has taught you. You may think that you have been deputed to subdue Shuja because there is no other nawab at Delhi. You have no bread in this land : the padshah, out of compassion, is providing your descendants with bread. Try to perpetuate this bread. If the mission with which you have been deputed be crowned with success

then only people will know that you are a trusted man. People do not know you now, whether you are honest or wicked." Saying so, Shaista Khan bade farewell to Mir Jumla, and despatched to Mir Jumla's quarters horses, swords and robes as presents to the general; but they were worthy of a commander of 5,000. Mir Jumla went home and said,—"The prestige which I managed to acquire during these seventy years of my life has all been burnt to ashes in the hands of Shaista Khan.";

101. *Sultan Muazzam's marriage to Fatima*

[Mir Jumla and Prince Muazzam then attacked Shah Shuja, and had a series of daily engagements with the latter. Shuja seizing an opportunity sent a messenger to Sultan Muazzam with the following proposal.—"My daughter Fatima is a captivating maiden, and Muazzam should come and marry her." That was a fraternal war, and Prince Muazzam hearing of a beautiful maiden and himself being of an amorous disposition could not resist the temptation. He visited Shuja in the company of 10,000 horses. On the arrival of Sultan Muazzam, Shuja thought he had practically won a victory. Shuja married his daughter to his nephew Muazzam and kept him there.

102. *Mir Jumla's warning to Prince Muazzam*

[Aurangzeb received the intelligence of Sultan Muazzam's marriage to Fatima and the Prince's stay in Shuja's residence. The emperor wrote a letter to Mir Jumla: "Alas! The war against Shuja has been well completed. Indeed, Mir Jumla has not even been able to keep my son. If he thinks he is unable to do anything, let him say so, and I will despatch another nawab with forces."

To this Mir Jumla sent the following reply,—“I will bring the war against Shuja to a victorious termination, and I would ask the padshah not to entertain any doubt or apprehension. As regards the blame he has pinned on me for the desertion of Sultan Muazzam, I would like to inform the emperor that if I, Mir Jumla, only shake the sleeves of my cloak dozens of such padshahzadas will come out.”

Mir Jumla despatched a man to Prince Muazzam with the following message: “Do you think that Shuja will

ever occupy the throne by ousting the Emperor Aurangzeb ? If not, act in a manner that will ensure your safety and well-being in future. You said you would join me in the war from the south. The words of a great man are never violated. Act properly ; then only you will remain in peace and happiness." The prince read this letter and acted accordingly.]

103. *Flight of Prince Shuja*

On a following day, while proceeding to war, Shuja speared Rashid Khan the senior from behind. Rashid Khan turned back and said, "At whose instance have you done this, O Shuja ? Now I realise that you have been bereft of all hopes, and Aurangzeb has become padshah without any obstruction." Having said so Rashid Khan breathed his last.

On another occasion, Shuja proceeded to the battle-field riding on an elephant. There ensued a terrible contest with heavy bloodshed. Rashid Khan's son who was holding the marchula, or fly-whisk made of peacock's tail, said — "O padshah, everything will be thrown to the winds if you are fired at from a distance. So you should dismount from the elephant and ride on a horse." There was severe fighting as soon as Shuja became a sawar after alighting from his elephant. Shuja was defeated. Having heard of the prince's defeat his soldiers deserted their ranks and joined the forces of Mir Jumla. Shuja boarded a boat and escaped to the country of the Mags.

Having received this intelligence Aurangshah presented a *sirpao* to Mir Jumla and conferred on him the title of Majum Khan. The Emperor commanded the general to remain as Subha of Dacca with an army of 40,000 horse and to despatch Sultan Muazzam with the rest of the troops to Delhi.

104. *Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam*

Majum Khan wrote to the padshah, "As to my appointment as Subha of Dacca, I will remain at that place only after I have subjugated Cooch Behar which has become disloyal as well as Assam which has wrested back Kamrup. I solicit the orders of the padshah." Sultan Muazzam having reached Delhi was despatched to remain in charge of Gwalior.

The padshah commanded Majum Khan, to leave his son Muhsud-ami Khan (Muhammad Amin Khan) at Dacca and subjugate the two provinces by conducting the expedition in person. The padshah on receiving the intelligence of Majum Khan's entrance into the country of Gauhati after the subjugation of Cooch Behar conferred on him the title of Khan-Khana. Having heard of Mir Jumla's march through Assam, Aurangzeb said to Shaista Khan, "The Khan-Khana has marched to Assam without my orders." Shaista Khan replied, "He has no bread in this land. He has thus acted to provide for his children and descendants."

105. *Death of Mir Jumla*

Having reached Pându on his way back from Assam, the general was honoured with the title of Khan-Khana Siphar-Sâlâh Siramauli. When he reached Bouroitolâ he died. Dilâl Khan with the remnant of the army proceeded to the presence of the padshah, having taken Muhsud-Ami from Dacca. They took with them the elephants and princess which were brought from Assam, and paid their respects to the emperor. The padshah said to Dilâl Khan, "Well Dilâl, you have come, but where did you leave the Khan-Khana?" The padshah put this question twice: he wiped away the tears from his eyes and said to Muhsud Ami, "I bestow on you all the property which belonged to your father as well as the rank of a panch-hazari. You should remain with me. I appoint Shaista Khan Subha of Dacca." Then turning to Dilâl Khan the emperor said, "Well, Dilâl Khan, you have come back after undergoing severe hardships. Go and remain as Subha at Aurangabad." He was also honoured with the present of a *sirpao*. Here is finished this episode.

MIR JUMLA'S CAREER FROM GOLCONDA TO GARHGAON

106. *Attempt to capture Mir Jumla*

Salutation to Sree Krishna. Hasan Muhammad Khan, the padshah of Golconda, had no son though he was far advanced in years. He adopted the son of a nawab who was his wife's elder brother. The old padshah said, "People would have obeyed you if you had been my son, but they will hesitate to do so as you are the son of a nawab. So you should bring the people under your

obedience during my life-time." All the nawabs and officers accepted the adopted son as their future king. Mir Jumla Dewân, the son of Mirza Hazru*, happened to be the only dissident. So attempts were made to seize the person of Mir Jumla.

107. *Mir Jumla aids Aurangzeb*

Having heard this, Mir Jumla, accompanied by 400 elephants, horses and troops fled with the object of going to Delhi. Aurangzeb was then living at Aurangabad; he detained Mir Jumla at his court. In the meantime Shah Jahan had abdicated the padshahship and conferred it on his eldest son Dara, which gave rise to enmity among the four brothers. Shah Shuja was at Dacca and Murad Buksh at Kabul. Aurangzeb said to Mir Jumla, "Let us proceed to attack Dara at Delhi." To this Mir Jumla replied,—“I have come from Golconda with my allegiance mentally offered to the emperor of Delhi, and I will not lift my sword against His Majesty. I will proceed to any other quarter you order me to go.” With these words Mir Jumla gave to Aurangzeb 100,000 gold coins, saying, “You may spend this amount and attack Dara.” Besides, Mir Jumla bore all the expenses of Aurangzeb’s campaigns which amounted to eighteen crores of rupees.

Aurangzeb vanquished Dara and Murad Buksh, and staying at Delhi he summoned Mir Jumla to his presence. On his arrival the emperor said, “You should proceed to attack Shah Shuja who is at Dacca. I send my eldest son Sultan Muazzam to accompany you, besides 100,000 cavalry. You should also take with you elephants and cannon, and all necessary materials for war.”

108. *Mir Jumla’s humiliation at the hands of Shaista Khan*

The padshah honoured Mir Jumla with numerous presents and gave him leave to depart, saying, “The general should on his way see Shaista Khan Wazir who is my maternal uncle.” To this Mir Jumla replied, “Yes, I will see him, as commanded by the emperor. But he should ask Shaista Khan to grant me an interview at any time I choose to go, and give me leave quickly.” The emperor promised to ask his maternal uncle to dismiss Mir Jumla after a short interview.

* In another chronicle Mir Jumla has been described as the son of Mirzâ Henâ.

Mir Jumla retired to his residence and conferred with his trusted friends, saying, "I have no mind to go to Shaista Khan. At the same time I cannot but go, as I have received commands from the emperor. But I have also procured the padshah's orders that Shaista Khan should grant me an interview at any time I go, and dismiss me quickly from his presence. I solicit your counsel on this subject."

His friends discussed the matter jointly and said, "Shaista Khan remains engaged in cleansing his teeth up to the fourth danda of the day. If you go to see him at this time he may give you leave to go by simply admitting you to his presence."

Accordingly Mir Jumla waited at the door of Shaista Khan early in the morning. He beckoned the *duwar-dar* or door-keeper and asked him to summon an attendant and send the information to Shaista Khan. The servant did not inform the nawab, but he said, as coming from the nawab, "Mir Jumla should wait for a while at the door. I am engaged in *datwan* or brushing of my teeth." Mir Jumla said, "It is curious that such a servant is permitted to reside in such a durbar; well, *duwârdar*, you should beckon another personal attendant of the nawab to give him the information." The janitor called an attendant and sent information a second time.

The servant informed Shaista Khan accordingly, who said,—“Mir Jumla knows all these things. But how is this, that he has come at this unseasonable hour? However, call him in.” Mir Jumla offered his *musura* or greetings to the nawab, but the latter did not give up rubbing his teeth, nor did he leave his seat, and neither did he place his hand on his breast.

Shaista Khan said to Mir Jumla, “I repeat the instructions delivered to you by the emperor at the time of despatching you to fight with Shah Shuja. Do not think that you have been deputed by the padshah of Delhi to subdue Shuja because there is no other nawab in this country. You have no *ruti* or bread in this land; the padshah, out of compassion, is providing your descendants with bread. Act in a manner by which you may perpetuate your bread or position. If you can accomplish the mission with which you have been deputed by the padshah, then only people will know your merits. They do not know you now as either honest or wicked.”

With these words the general was given leave to depart. The horses, swords, and robes which were sent to Mir Jumla's residence as presents were worthy of a nawab commanding only 5,000. Mir Jumla went to his quarters and said,—“The prestige which I have acquired during these seventy years of my life has all been burnt to ashes today in the hands of Shaista Khan.”

After Mir Jumla's defeat of Shah Shuja, the padshah conferred on him the title of Majum Khan; he was honoured with the distinction of Khan-Khana when he reached Gauhati after the conquest of Cooch Behar; he was further decorated with the title of Khân-Khânâ Sipar-Sâlâh Sira-mauli when he entered Garhgaon.

REASONS FOR RAM SINGHA'S DEPUTATION TO ASSAM

109. *Troops under nawabs despatched against Sewa*

[Salutation to Sree Krishna. After Aurangzeb had ascended the throne by slaying his three brothers Dara Shah, Shah Shuja and Murad Buksh, he asked his Uzir Amânat Khan. “Please tell me which of the kingdoms once held in fee by my ancestors have now refrained from accepting our allegiance.” The uzir consulted the official records, and subhas were despatched to those States which had not till then bowed their head of submission to the Moguls. Kandarpa Singha, the Raja of Sewa, was found incorrigible, for whose subjugation Nawab Sulatifat Khan, a commander of 6,000 was despatched with five other nawabs, five rajas as well as all necessary provisions for war. Sulatifat Khan fought for three long years, but could not achieve any success. The emperor being displeased recalled Sulatifat* Khan from the field, and sent Bahadur Khan as Subha to conduct the war. Bahadur Khan in his turn became friendly with Kandarpa Singha, the Sewâ-raja, and remained there for two years and a half. He was also withdrawn from the war, and Nawab Shâmser Khan Bâruhâni was despatched instead, but he died during his stay at Sewâ after some time.

* One Multafat Khan, the *qiladar* of Ahmadnagar fort, figures prominently in the campaigns against Shivaji. Sulatifat Khan of the *P. B.* is obviously a scribal mistake for Multafat Khan, as in Assamese MSS. the letters representing *S* and *M* can be distinguished only with training and anticipation. See Sarkar's *Shivaji*, 2nd Ed., p. 60.

110. *Ram Singha appointed commander of the Sewa expedition*

[Aurangzeb became indignant at the repeated failure of the Sewâ expedition, and he said to Raja Ram Singha, " Mândhâtâ was your grandfather. The reputation of his valour has spread to all the quarters. Your father Jai Singha was also a great warrior, and he has been honoured with the title of Mirzâ Raja. And so the fame of your family's heroism has been known in all countries. You are fortunate to be born in such a family, and so I ask you to proceed to the Sewâ war. The nawabs who were sent before could not do anything to Sewa."

Being thus commanded by the emperor, Ram Singha submitted as follows :—

" Yes, I will proceed to the Sewâ war. But you should withdraw from the field the army of the nawabs, as I want to fight singly with my Rajputs of Amber. In the latter case we shall share the same honour or blame in the event of our victory or defeat. If we fight jointly, your nawabs will get all the credit if there be a victory. Besides, the nawabs who were sent before to the Sewâ campaign will try to do me harm, knowing that I have been sent in supersession of them. It must be admitted that the nawabs have not proved themselves a match for Sewâ, which has led Sewâ to look upon them as imbecile. Thus my association with the nawabs will lead to the diminution of the prestige connected with my name. So the imperial forces manned by the nawabs should no longer remain in the field. I shall fight with my own men."

111. *Ram Singha's ultimatum to Kandarpa Singha*

[As suggested by Ram Singha, the emperor ordered back all the nawabs previously despatched to the Sewâ campaign. Ram Singha was made mansabdar with the rank of a commander of 6,000. He was provided with elephants and horses, and was offered suitable presents. Ram Singha was then sent to the Sewâ war, and the general took leave of the emperor. Ram Singha first went to Amber where he halted for a week. He took with him a body of his chieftains and the following thâkurs,—Amar Singha, Dip Singha, Madan Singha, Ugrasen Rao, Dâmodar Singha, Krishna Singha, Suk Singha, Râgharâi and Anandarâi, and forty more thâkurs attached to the rajas

who were Ram Singha's brothers and nephews. He also took with him 80,000 Rajput sepoy's as well as numerous gunners, beldars, dafadars, labourers and shieldsmen. The total strength of his army was 300,000, and with them he proceeded to the Sewâ campaign.

On reaching the jurisdiction of Sewa, Ram Singha despatched messengers to the Sewa Raja with a letter to the following effect: " I am the grandson of Maharaja Mândhâtâ, and the son of Mirza Raja Jai Singha, and my name is Ram Singha. You must have heard the sound of our family's swords. There exists also a long-standing friendship between your family and mine. Our family has never shown its back in any war. You are also familiar with the prowess of the Emperor Aurangzeb. The nawabs who were sent before against you failed in their mission; so some of them have been executed and others expelled. The emperor wanted to send his son Sultan Muhammad, but I dissuaded him from coming, and I have come myself on account of the long friendship subsisting between us. So come, and let us meet at a convenient place: if on the other hand you want war, be prepared for the same, and do not delay."

112. *Ram Singha's victory over Sewa*

[Kandarpa Singha, the Raja of Sewâ, received the imperial ambassadors, and sent the following reply to Ram Singha's message: " The arguments which you have set forth in your letter are true and wholesome. But if I enter into any friendly terms with you, people will laugh at and upbraid us both saying that we have become friends being unable to oppose each other in strength. So war seems to me the better course."

Then there ensued a terrible contest between the two parties. The soldiers of Ram Singha were great experts in spear-fighting. They were insensible to pain even when they received wounds from weapons on account of their bodies being saturated with opium of which they were habitual consumers. They preferred death to retreat from battle. On the other hand, the soldiers of Sewâ took to their heels when they had to face a very hard contest. So in the war a large number of the soldiers of Sewâ fled from the battle-field or were killed. Seizing an opportunity during the thick of the fight, the bheel soldiers of Ram Singha surrounded the Raja of Sewâ. Ram Singha gained a decisive victory in the war.

The Sewâ Raja then enquired what Ram Singha was going to do with him, whether he would be taken to the presence of the padshah or be let off. Ram Singha said, "This is out of the question now, as you did not act before according to our advice. You will be taken to the presence of the emperor. But I will intercede on your behalf with the padshah so that no harm may be done to you. You shall place your head below and I will place mine on top of yours."

Ram Singha wrote a detailed despatch on the war and sent it to the emperor, who asked Ram Singha to escort the Sewâ Raja to the court after having left Jumsher Khan in charge of the army. Ram Singha accordingly appeared before the padshah with the Sewa Raja. Ram Singha was honoured with rich presents.

113. *Sewa Raja before Aurangzeb*

[The emperor asked the Sewâ Raja, "You are the great chief of Sewâ, and of a very long standing too. Your ancestors had served mine. You have now become unfaithful to us. May I know the reason? Are you defying me on the strength of any secret alliance you have formed with any other power? Or do you think I am impotent in my authority?"

Thus replied Kandarpa Singha, the Raja of Sewâ: "My forefathers never served your forefathers in person. They only sent articles and supplies through their envoys according to time-honoured customs. On ascending the throne you have insisted on the payment of tribute, and you have introduced the system of obligatory personal service. This is why we have ceased to be under your vassalage."*

The emperor said: "You did not serve before, nor did you pay any tribute. We have now seized your person. Wherein now is your honour gone? I can now kill you, or do whatever I like with you. So consent to accept our allegiance, and live in peace and plenty by paying us tribute. Otherwise you will be killed, being trodden on by elephants."

* This story is applicable to Raja Karan Bhurtiyat of Bikanir against whom Jai Singha was sent. Rao Karan himself joined Jai Singha's campaign against Shivaji. Manucci, II pp 22-23.

The Sewâ Raja hurled the following retort, "I cannot do what we never did before nor can I accept your suggestion even on pain of death." The emperor, being indignant, ordered the raja to be put under the feet of elephants. But Raja Ram Singha implored the emperor on behalf of the Raja of Sewa, and asked the padshah not to kill the raja, who was accordingly imprisoned, being chained with shackles of gold.

114. *Kandarpa Singha's escape from prison*

[After staying in prison for some time, Kandarpa Singha said to Ram Singha, "You brought me here with assurance of safety. I cannot understand why I am now detained in prison, and I do not know what else is in store for me. All this is due to you. I have in my life subdued many people." Ram Singha earnestly entreated the emperor to release the raja but in vain, and Ram Singha became sorely grieved at heart.

A son was then born to Ram Singha, who was named Keshore Das. On that occasion Ram Singha used to send out articles of food and ornaments, loaded in huge boxes of copper, brass and silver, to the rajas and nawabs. He cut asunder the chains of the Sewa Raja, put him in a box and sent him back to his kingdom and it was not detected at any of the imperial gates and outposts.

115. *Ram Singha's first offence*

[The emperor ascribed the escape of the raja to Ram Singha and accused the latter, saying: "What have you done with the Raja of Sewâ ?

To this Ram Singha replied, "I implored you so earnestly on his behalf and, as you were not willing to let him off, he has made his escape."

The padshah replied, "It is you who allowed him to escape"; to which Ram Singha said, "If you think I have been instrumental in the escape of the Sewa Rajâ, he is under my thumb, and there should be no fear on that score."

The padshah did not say anything, but remained silent, cogitating within himself.

116. *The Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur escapes from captivity*

[Then there was a saint of the faith of Guru Nânak. and he became the guru of a large number of brahmans and kshattriyas. He would not take the name of Ram or Krishna, nor of any god or goddess. On meeting a disciple of his own faith he would simply say, "Om, ai, Guru; Om, ai, Guru," and nothing else. The brahman Bhattacharyas or priests and the Kâzis of the Musalmans reported to the Padshah, "This man does not belong to any particular school or faith; he goes about ravaging the country." The emperor asked the guru to appear before him, but he did not come. On the other hand he defied the authority of the padshah, and roamed about plundering and destroying the country, attended by thirty thousand Nânak-panthi sepoys. The padshah became indignant, and he deputed Alo Khân Pathân who captured the guru. The padshah ordered the guru to be executed, who for fear of his life sought the protection of Ram Singha, who became a surety for the Sikh leader. But the aforesaid Nânak-panthi guru also made his escape.

117. *Ram Singha's second offence*

[The padshah accused Ram Singha, saying: "How is this that you have allowed the guru to flee, though you yourself stood a surety for him?"

To this Ram Singha replied, "What is he? Only a raja or a nawab is worthy of your vengeance. He is only a mendicant faqir. To accuse me for his escape will cause people to laugh when they hear of it."

Hearing the explanation offered by Ram Singha with regard to the escape of the Sikh guru, the padshah said to himself, "This Ram Singha has begun to commit one misdeed after another. Remembering the services rendered to the State by his father and grandfather, I cannot say anything to him. Besides, any punishment inflicted on Ram Singha may lead to a concerted action on the part of the rajas against me, and I shall be alienated from them all." Thus thinking, the padshah did not propose to do anything to Ram Singha.

118. *Dangers of Assam wars*

[And it came to pass that the Swarga Maharaja of Assam attacked the fort of Gauhati and captured the

nawab Sayid Piroz Khan. On receiving this intelligence the padshah said to Ram Singha, "Raja Jai Singha, son of Raja Māndhātā, fought in the Bengal war and subdued that province. Now, you proceed to the war with Assam."

The reason for which the padshah said thus to Ram Singha was this :—not a single nawab who had been deputed to the Assam war could ever come back safely; some died of themselves, while others were killed in the battle; the waters of Assam are poisonous, its air unhealthy and its hills are covered with dense forests; and the emperor wanted that Ram Singha should die in Assam. Devising this plan, the padshah deputed Ram Singha to Assam.

119. *Ram Singha deputed to the war against Assam*

[The Raja took with him the Rajput bheels of his own State, Rashid Khan Nawab and others, and took leave of the emperor. The Padshah appointed two of his own men as dewāns to accompany Ram Singha in his expedition, Mirza Saiyid Saf, the dewān of the Perganas, and Mir Raji, the dewān of the laskars and sepoys. The emperor also deputed Bahlol Khan, the Daroga of seven hundred Iasols, and Sultan Ali the Daroga of three hundred Ahudis. Mir Gazar Beg Hazi was appointed wāqâyānavis of the expedition and the emperor said to him, "Ram Singha is an untrustworthy man. He may enter into a collusion with the Swarga Maharaja. You should send regular reports to me regarding his movements, and the success or ill-fate of the expedition."

The raja halted on the way with his detachment. The nawabs who were commissioned to accompany the raja joined him subsequently with their quota of supplies. There was a garden at Patna founded by Ram Singha's father Jai Singha. The Raja stopped there for a week awaiting the arrival of the remaining portion of his army.

120. *Ram Singha warmly received by Shaista Khan*

[From Patna, Ram Singha proceeded towards Jahangirnagar in order to have an interview with Amir-ul Omrāo Shaista Khan who was the sworn friend of the raja's father Jai Singha. On account of this old friendship Ram Singha came to Dhaka. On hearing of the approach of the raja, Shaista Khan welcomed him with

great cordiality and splendour. The son of Aburnamir Khan and the two dewâns, Raja Nandalal and Rai Muraridhar, escorted the raja with elephants and horses, marching to the notes of the five musical instruments. The path lying on the march was splashed with water by a host of chikâbardars and the roofs of the houses in the bazaars through which the raja passed were covered with golden and silvery cloths. The court chamber of Shaista Khan was also draped with costly carpets up to the ceiling. There were placed six hundred incense pots fuming with the vapour of burnt aloë. In every room tassels of pearls and corals were suspended from the overhanging canopies.

The raja approached the nawab and, addressing him as uncle or *chacha*, saluted the latter by touching his feet. Shaista Khan clasped Ram Singha to his bosom by twining him by the neck, and kissed the raja's head. The nawab presented to Ram Singha precious elephants and horses, and a sword named Khanjar whose price amounted to 25,000 rupees.

Nawab Shaista Khan then imparted the following instructions to Ram Singha: "Act in a way that you may remain in the good graces of the emperor. Aurangzeb Padshah is a shrewd diplomat. Shujanagar (Hajo in Assam?) is an unhealthy place; its hills are covered with forests, and poisonous waters flow in its streams during the two months Baisak and Jaistha. The air that blows is also infected with poison. For this reason our men die there in numbers, and you should live very carefully. Do not drink any water but that of the Louhitya or Brahmaputra. Do not admit the women of that place into your mahal; they are wicked and treacherous." The nawab further advised, "Please write to me when you fall short of food-stuff, war provisions or money; I will send them to you, looking upon you as one of mine."

Ram Singha became extremely delighted with the reception given to him, and said to the nawab, "The advice which you have given to me is generally imparted by a father to his son." The raja then took leave of the nawab whose sons saluted Ram Singha by touching his feet, and escorted him to a considerable distance. Ram Singha then arrived with his army at Shujanagar.

S. K. BHUYAN.

(To be continued.)

SARMAD—HIS LIFE AND QUATRAINS

(Continued from our last issue)

II.

No complete collection of Sarmad's poetical works is available, and it is commonly believed that his poetic effusions are confined to *Ruba'iyat* only. I should have hesitated to challenge this belief, were it not for the fact that external evidence (from the three books on which I have mainly based this essay) as well as internal evidence from the quatrains of Sarmad is conclusive on this point. The author of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* says, "Sarmad is the creator of good verses"¹ and quotes a Fragment قطعه which Sarmad composed in praise of Shaikh Mohammad Khan, the Peshwa of Dara-i-Namdar Sultan Abdullah Qutab Shah. Sher Khan Lodhi in his *Mirat ul-Khiyal* has quoted a *ghazal* which has four verses; the last verse containing the *nom-de-plume* of the poet.² Valah Daghistani in his *Riaz ush-Shu'ara* also confirms this belief by

(1)

سرمد خداوند اشعار نکوست - این چند بیت ازوست
قطعه

ایکه مدار عرش را دائره عظمیه کرده بخدمت تو صد همچو سپهر یو کری
 نصف هار وار کن شام من غریب را کز بختاب قطب چون نصف نهار بر خوری
 دبستان مد اهب

(2)

سوخت بوجهم تماشا را بین کشت بے جرم مسیحا را بین
 ایکه از دیدار یوسف غافل داغ یعقوب و زلیخا را بین
 ایکه از روی بدم در حیرتی يك زمان این روی زیارا بین
 شاه درویش و قلندر دیده سرمد سرمست و رسوا را بین
 مراة الخيال

attributing to Sarmad a variety of Persian verses. Sarmad himself in a quatrain* says, "I am not interested in the thought and actions of any one; but in Ghazal I follow the trend of Hafiz. Indeed in Rubâ'i I am a disciple of Khayyam but I do not sip long at his wine-cup either."* This testimony leaves no room for mere guesswork and makes it at once clear that Sarmad tried his hand at more than one type of Persian poetry. He wrote Fragments (قطعات), Ghazals and Quatrains, but the last indeed held a sway over his imagination. In various collections the number of his quatrains varies from three hundred and ten to three hundred and twenty-one. In these collections, it is not at all unusual to come across one or two quatrains the authorship of which has now definitely been attributed to Khayyam, Sahabi Astrabadi or lesser luminaries. The reason for this overlapping is simple. The uncritical compiler has often taken a certain quatrain to have been written by one poet or another only on the basis of a similarity of theme. I have no criterion by which to judge and finally attribute the authorship of any one of these disputed quatrains to Sarmad. I have taken great care to include only those quatrains which appear in all the collections and which, as far as my meagre knowledge of Persian poets goes, have not been attributed to any one else. I cannot hazard a guess as to the agency which preserved Sarmad's quatrains. His quatrains, most of them anyhow, belong to that period of his life when his interest did not lie in worldly things. He lived in a state of perpetual ecstasy when the method of expression appears to be that of generating the thought, in all its awful intensity and scope, and not caring for it after its creation. He could not strike an invariable balance wherein the individual subdues ecstasy; instead the sea of ecstasy kept on dancing and raging so much that even when he was face to face with the grim fact of the universe, that is, death; he smilingly courted it and said:

He burnt me without any reason, look at the fun,
He killed me without any reason, look at my Maseiha

(*)

با فکر و خیال کس نه باشد کارم در طور غزل طریق حافظ دارم
اما به رباعی ام مرید خیام نه جرعه کش باده او سیارم
(رباعیات سرمد)

O you who are ignorant of the charms of Yûsuf's face,
Look at the pangs (of love) which Ya'qûb and Zuleikha
bore.

O you who are astonished at my ugly face,
For a brief minute look at that lovely face.
You have seen king, darwish and qalandar,
Look at Sarmad, ecstatic and ill-famed.*

Indeed, ecstasy is one of the chief features of Sarmad's quatrains. His quest after eternal beauty does not leave any delight for him in worldly things. His own self is lost to him. The world, which he forsook so dramatically, had no charms for him. Religion with its hopes and fears and future promises does not attract him and, although he knows that mankind has but a few pursuits in life, yet he does not want the glitter and glamour of these, because his 'hot desire' is leading him to the search of the 'Great Self.' He says :

Some love the world, some to the church take flight,
Yet not in either may I find delight.
Only the knowledge of Thy Self can sate
My hot desire. Ah, tear the veil outright.

But no one can say that Sarmad made his choice without any deliberation. He weighed the pros and cons, he estimated the gain and the loss and stood undecided for a long time :

Sarmad, why wrestle in a long debate,
There are two ways to choose : make one thy fate :
Either to take Him ever to thy heart
Or else to leave Him and be desolate.

Finally he came to know the secret of man's happiness and realized that eternal happiness is not given to every one, nor is it given without the ungrudging payment which

(*)

سوخت بے وجہم تماشا را ببین	کشت بے جرم مسیحا را ببین
ایکے از دیدار یوسف عافی	داغ یعقوب وزلیخا را ببین
ایکے از روئے بدم در حیرتی	یک زمان این روئے زیبا را ببین
شاہ - درویش و قلندر دیدہ	سرمہد سرمست و رسوا را ببین
	(مرآة الحیال)

one has to make in the shape of undergoing great misery and hardship and annihilation of one's self.

If fly knows nothing of the moth's desire
Nor are love's tears pearls strewn among the mire.
Love waits eternally and blooms in pain
The selfish know not sorrow's sacred fire

At last the die is cast and he sacrifices all that he possesses. He has undergone all the misery and hardship that was possible, at the hands of the men of this world, and even then is prepared to face everything which may fall to his lot, not with the resignation of the pious but with the joy of a lover's heart. The state of perpetual ecstasy has come and he proclaims it in the following words :

Now am I come into one high estate,
A lover, and I envy not the great,
Love only binds me, I can stand alone
And hurl a challenge at malignant fate.

Love only holds me and my heart is light
Pliant as wax, and like the candle bright
And by the light of love that shines from me,
I know the secret of men's hearts' delight.

It is evident that one who has arrived at this stage, must necessarily have a supreme contempt for those whose entire life is devoted to hypocrisy and those who outwardly claim to seek Him, but inwardly keep on seeking worldly goods. In Sarmad's contempt for such persons we do not find hatred but sympathy. He wants to reclaim the strayed and the lost by merely pointing the right path to them. He warns them of the pitfalls which beset their path and gives this affectionate warning :

The woollen mantle, the Zunnar beneath
Are for hypocrisy and lies a sheath.
Ah, don them not, or sorrow, tears and shame
Shall be a burden to thee until death.

To Sarmad, greed appears to be the chief source of human misery because once one starts to pile up worldly goods, one wants to go adding on to this growing pyramid until death comes when the whole hoard becomes more useless than the dust in which one is buried. Sarmad puts it in the following words :—

Greed's slaves are prisoners, although their lot
Comprise a kingdom or an acre plot.

The thread of life hath all too brief a span,
Let not greed twist it to a tangled knot.

But Sarmad in his denunciation of greed does not advocate the total withdrawal of man from acquiring wealth, which after all is a necessity. He only wants that our pursuit of wealth should not blind us to other aspects of life and other values. Sarmad pleads for moderation and I do not doubt that he can well claim our consideration even today. He says :

The clever man whose heart's on riches set,
Is like a bird snared in the fowler's net.
In moderation ever lies content
Great wealth but makes the burdened spirit fret.

Along with this warning, Sarmad warns us to beware of the loss of balance which comes in old age. It is clear that in youth when everything is on the ascent and the sap of life flows vigorously and quietly, we do not clutch at all the petty chances which are offered to us. But when we are old, and when our powers begin to wane, leaving us 'sans eyes and sans teeth,' we want to make the best of every little trifle. The balance of our life is gone and the 'equation' is lost. Lust for the possession of all that glitters, be it gold, be it physical beauty, be it the tending of ego, grows day by day. Sarmad knows this secret and denounces it. Our denunciation of our own selves is often lukewarm and lacks sting. Consequently, Sarmad does not denounce himself but his 'mad heart.' He says :

My mad heart ne'er was reconciled to fate,
Plotting and scheming ever, soon and late :
And though the flower of my youth has fled
Still is my young desire unsatiate.

What utterance could be more pathetic and more true !

In youth, the streak of old age in us is the wisdom of the old and in old age the remnants of youth in us are the memories of our young days. The former is often denied to some of us but the latter is always portioned out to us as our only consolation. Sarmad has repeatedly and most beautifully sung of his delicious memories and the following is a good example of it.

Once with my friends in gardens bright with flowers,
In sweet companionship I spent life's hours,

Now only memory is left to me
And skies loom dark on those once radiant bowers.

But even when Sarmad is weeping his heart out on the memories of days gone by, he realizes the one supreme fact of all existence—death. Death has taken away many, and it will take away many more—therefore we should always be prepared for it. This will take away the ghastliness of death and will prepare us, after having lived our lives well, to welcome it as Sarmad did.

Lo ! All the loved ones to the dust must yield,
For Death's the huntsman and the world's his field.
Low in the dust each one of us must lie,
Though he should have the heavens for his shield.

And

Though all the universe should know thy fame,
Though sun and moon were minted with thy name,
Though Cæsar and Faghfâr were thy slaves,
It would avail thee not when Azrael came.

Sarmad's quatrains are full of wise thoughts and natural philosophy, but the note of love of the 'Eternal Beauty' is predominant and runs through everything as the refrain of his music. This note has all the charm of Sufic belief. It makes Sarmad see the 'Beloved' in all that exists in the universe. The cause and the effect of existence are blended together and only go to show that what exists is of Him and from Him. Sarmad says :—

Which is the idol, which the fashioner ?
Which is the lover and the loved one here ?
Ask in the church, the temple, the Ka'ba,
And all is silence, all is darkness there.

Yet in the garden where the sunshine glows
One Perfect Presence moves in all that grows.
He is the lover, He is the beloved,
He is the bramble and He is the rose.

And because He is present in all creation, therefore, to try to find Him in any one particular place is futile.

Not only underneath the temple's dome,
But in the universe He makes His home.
Fools gather, noisily to talk of Him,
The wise of heart, to Him alone will come.

All the same it is not difficult to find him out, because :

Is the heart wise ? then the Beloved is there,
Does the eye see ? it sees Him everywhere.
Does the ear hear ? it hears but talk of Him.
Does the tongue speak ? it lays the secret bare.

But to become truly a part of Him requires great effort ;
it requires self-annihilation.

Only when being has been left behind
Canst thou the only source of Being find.
The cowards perish—only the burning soul
Can see the flame and not be stricken blind.

I do not propose to go any further and be in the way of
my readers' first-hand appreciation of Sarmad's quatrains.
I have ventured to give them the translation in English of
some of them. No-one can be more conscious of the
imperfections of these translations but I present
them in the hope that some abler pen will be moved to
render them to that perfect form of poetry which Sar-
mad's quatrains richly deserve.

III

O Manifest yet hidden, come to me.
Far have I wandered in the search for Thee.
Close have I longed to clasp Thee to my heart,
Yet still Thy face behind the veil I see.

Some love the world, some to the church take flight,
Yet not in either may I find delight.
Only the knowledge of Thy Self can sate
My hot desire ; ah, tear the veil outright.

O Wooer of man's heart. beloved Friend,
Thy ways are my ways, unto Thee I bend ;
Thou dost not show Thyself, yet everywhere
Thou goest with me unto journey's end.

I sought His savour in the morning breeze,
Sought Him in flowers underneath the trees,
Yet in the quiet places of the heart
I found His presence sooner than in these.

We know His presence when our hearts are moved ;
He is the lover, aye, and the beloved.
Open your eyes with joy, O man, and see
The hundred ways in which His love is proved.

Now He seems kind, now fickle as the dew.
Each moment gleaming with a different hue.
Open thy arms to Him, see with clear eyes
And thou shalt know Him ever to be true.

Is the heart wise, then the Beloved is there ;
Does the eye see, it sees Him everywhere ;
Does the ear hear, it hears but talk of Him ;
Does the tongue speak, it lays the secret bare.

Not only underneath the temple's dome
But in the universe He makes His home.
Fools gather noisily to talk of Him,
The wise of heart to Him alone will come.

So, I rejoice that I have known His grace
The bounteous breath, the glory of His face.
I made no loss, profit alone was mine
In this transaction, in love's market place.

Lo ! in the secret cup the wine is red,
Yet none may taste of it whose soul is dead.
By God, O Pharisee, you know not God
For whilst you mumble prayers, the secret's fled.

Which is the idol, which the fashioner ?
Which is the lover and the loved one here ?
Ask in the mosque, the temple, the Ka'ba
And all is silence, all is darkness there.

Yet in the garden where the sunshine glows
One perfect Presence moves in all that grows.
He is the lover, He is the beloved,
He is the bramble and He is the rose.

Behold, within ourselves we two are one,
I know not how this miracle is done.
He is the ocean, I the cup—ah, no !
How should that make the perfect union ?

My wayward heart with love is lifted up
On colour and on scent of flowers I sup.
If with His love's clear nectar I am filled
Shall not the wine spill from the brimming cup ?

I have surrendered Being and have not thought
What Being is : my spark of smoke knows naught.
I have surrendered heart and life and faith
And found a profit that I had not sought.

Sarmad, why needst thou seek Him endlessly ?
If He be loved, then He will come to thee.
He knows the best, sit then in quietude
Till thy heart whisper softly—"It is He."

If fly knows nothing of the moth's desire,
Nor are love's tears pearls strewn among the mire.
Love waits eternally and blooms in pain,
The selfish know not sorrow's sacred fire.

I asked the wilderness of wisdom's leaves,
What, then, is Being ? The mirage that deceives
Mocked at my quest : I do not even know
Who made the pattern that the spider weaves.

Love pours strange vintage in unstinted measure :
Sorrow and yearning fill the cup of pleasure.
Yet to the tavern of the world there come
Love's victims, craving still this bitter treasure.

Seek the Beloved, who will ne'er depart
From thee, nor cause thee bleeding of the heart.
Seek the Beloved, in thine arms to rest
In union that none can tear apart.

Now am I come into one high estate,
A lover, and I envy not the great,
Love only binds me, I can stand alone
And hurl a challenge at malignant fate.

Love only holds me and my heart is light,
Pliant as wax and like the candle bright,
And by the light of love that shines from me
I know the secret of men's hearts' delight.

Sarmad, why wrestle in a long debate?
There are two ways to choose ; make one thy fate :
Either to take Him ever to thy heart
Or else to leave Him and be desolate.

Only when Being has been left behind
Canst thou the only source of Being find.
The cowards perish—only the burning soul
Can see the flame and not be stricken blind.

Thou canst not ever find the friend of friends
Whilst yet thy mind to trivial things attends :
Thoughts of aught else but Him can only raise
A barrier that no desire transcends.

Go to the tavern, not alone, but seek
The cup-bearer of the rose-petalled cheek ;
Drink not forgetfully or carelessly ;
The wine of life is poured not for the weak.

I am so wise, madness has come to me,
Who can describe Love's utter ecstasy.
Can the wide sea be measured in a cup ?
O dream of madness, O absurdity!

Now in the desert, now in the garden-close,
Now in the dale, now where the hill-wind blows,
Now by the way of spirit, now of flesh :
All these are paths to truth's One Perfect Rose.

I gaze unknown on the Beloved's face,
In secret I adore His perfect grace,
The world is busied with its own pursuits
But my quest leads me to a different place.

Through all eternity the bubbles rise,
Dances the mirage ever in the skies,
Ever the old harp waits for a new song,
And this old house empty for ever lies.

My heart must ever seek Love's pain and fret,
I take its burden up without regret.
Waste not your breath advising me, O Priest,
My feet on different paths to yours are set.

How may one find Him out by argument ?
Reason and evidence in vain are bent.
Wearing out heart, wearing out brain and eye,
Within the fold of blinding reason pent.

Though Thou art hidden, yet behind the eye
Thou wellest, knowing well my secret. Aye,
And like the lamp behind its coloured shade
Thou sheddest light for me to travel by.

How many of earth's forms Thou makest Thine,
Garden and desert, cypress, jessamine,
Sometimes the scent of flowers, sometimes a light
That Thou alone now upon all dost shine.

Once with my friends in gardens bright with flowers,
In sweet companionship I spent life's hours,
Now only memory is left to me
And skies loom dark on those once radiant bowers.

Death is the destiny of worldly things,
Desire for worldly riches only brings
Hardship and disappointment in its train ;
Wealth is a tyrant mightier than kings.

Lo ! how a *dinâr*-greedy eye doth blind !
How fervently each to each is unkind !
Fear not so much the snake or scorpion
As that incarnate sting, a greedy mind.

How futile is the thirst for wealth and power ;
Futile the plots and schemes that o'er us tower ;
Since in this flesh we have so brief a home
Why seek for wealth which lasts but for an hour ?

Ever desire and discontent I see ;
Men seek the world for wealth eternally.
This ancient house is full of sufferers
Yet few can find their golden remedy.

The clever man whose heart's on riches set
Is like a bird snared in the fowler's net.
In moderation ever lies content ;
Great wealth but makes the burdened spirit fret.

Greed's slaves are prisoners, although their lot
Comprise a kingdom or an acre plot.
The thread of life hath all too brief a span,
Let not greed twist it to a tangled knot.

The woollen mantle, the *Zunnâr* beneath,
Are for hypocrisy and lies a sheath.
Ah, don them not, or sorrow, tears and shame
Shall be a burden to thee until death.

Who from the godly hypocrites can tell ?
A pious action yet may lead to hell.
Zâhid, you say, " Drink not, but be like me."
Tell that to those who know you not so well.

Lift not thy head so high, O *Zâhid*, lest
Thou shouldst be humbled and must beat thy breast.
" Camphor " they name the negro slave, but thee
They name " The Pious " in derisive jest.

Padshah am I, no beggar, crawling, sly.
Greatly I love, and from one danger fly.
And, *Zâhid*, though I worship in the mosque,
If thou art *Musalman*, so am not I.

No robe of base hypocrisy I own,
I bend the knee before one King alone.
Desiring nothing, all the world is mine,
The tavern bench is better than a throne.

This body perishes, however fair ;
The straw flames high, but soon is lost in air.
Death spreads his net, and frail humanity
Is driven pitilessly to its snare.

I have been up and down over the earth
In times of plenty and in times of dearth,
Seen towns and cities, deserts, hills and plains
And found in all of them but little worth.

My mad heart ne'er was reconciled to fate,
Plotting and scheming ever, soon and late,
And though the flower of my youth has fled
Still is my young desire insatiate.

Who has seen how life moves on quiet wings
Through endless autumns into endless springs
Knows that the form and colour of this world
Are but the shadow of eternal things.

Though all the universe should know thy fame,
Though sun and moon were minted with thy name,
Though Cæsar and Faghfûr were thy slaves,
It would avail thee naught when Azrael came.

Lo ! all the loved ones to the dust must yield,
For Death's the huntsman and the world's his field.
Low in the dust each one of us must lie,
Though he should have the heavens for his shield.

Seek not the world, it is thine enemy,
Bringing heart-burning, shame and grief to thee.
Only by thought may the true path be found,
Then let thy sense be balanced evenly.

O Greed, why dost thou wish to serve a crown ?
Soon from the court to death thou must go down.
Kings have their brows knit and are hard to please
And all the world not worth one royal frown.

How foolish is the quest for worldly fame,
For only like the seal one makes the name.
That first is carven with the painful tool
And then is blackened with the ink of shame.

B. A. HASHMI.

(Concluded.)

THE FIRST PERSIAN NEWSPAPERS OF INDIA

A peep into their contents

THE first Persian newspapers of India were the *Jam-i-Jehan Numa* and the *Miratu'l-Akhbar* printed and published in Calcutta in 1822. Both the titles or epithets implied the "Mirror of News." The first the *Jam-i-Jehan Numa* was conducted and owned by Messrs. Alexander & Co., one of the famous agency houses of the time and was edited by a Bengali Hindu by name Hurryhar Dutta. The second, the *Miratu'l-Akhbar* was established, conducted and owned by the famous Bengali, Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

The *Jam-i-Jehan Numa* made its first appearance on the 28th March 1822 with a notice that it would be published weekly at a charge of two rupees per mensem. The second number explained the scope and objects of the publication, which were declared to be the promulgation of articles of news from the English newspapers and the procuring and making known intelligence of all that passed at the principal cities of Hindustan whether foreign or within the East India company's territories; and it invited, in obscure and affected language, all persons who might have any wish or plan to communicate or any statement of facts to publish, to send the same to the editor who would insert it in his paper and carefully conceal the name of the writer. Conformably with the intentions thus avowed, the editor acted upon the principle of copying from the English papers and publishing in Persian any articles which suited his purpose, of inserting all sorts of correspondence, and more especially of discussing openly and unreservedly the systems of government pursued in Oudh and other Indian States allied to the British Government.

Hyderabad affairs were also occasionally noticed. In the issue of *Jam-i-Jehan Numa* of the 24th April 1822,

the notice of Hyderabad affairs was confined to the praises of the character and administration of Raja Chandu Lall, who was declared to enjoy so entirely the confidence of the Nizam that not a single individual of the great nobles of the country could approach near His Highness.

The articles published in this paper respecting the kingdom of Oudh were from the beginning filled with complaints and abuse of the existing system of government, virulent attacks upon the minister, who was called a low, unworthy menial, and gross charges of folly and opposition directed against the king himself. Very soon after this channel of communication was opened for the discontented parties at Lucknow, Futhighir and Cawnpur to vent their spleen against the existing administration, all kinds of violent anonymous communications poured in in such numbers that the Editor was obliged to declare, in his number of the 22nd May 1822, that many communications from Oudh remained unnoticed because they had no name affixed, and that in future he must decline accepting any which were not signed or attested in some way so that the writers might be eventually answerable, as he considered himself liable to be called to account in court for publishing any statement "that is either false or disparaging and tending to bring the character of another into contempt."

How little this proposed sense of liability in reality operated was evinced by subsequent numbers, more especially that of the 24th July 1822 in which the editor, after expressly declaring that he had been unable to judge of the truth of what was stated, brought forward a whole series of abusive and disparaging statements against the Oudh Government, including a charge against the king of ordering the shops of the shawl-weavers in a certain quarter of the town to be rased to the ground without any cause, and their goods and implements of trade valued at Rs. 10,000 to be tossed into the river. A prior number had accused His Majesty of the inconceivable folly of taking out of his wardrobe an immense quantity of valuable articles and setting them on fire merely to enjoy the pleasure of seeing them burn.

At an early stage of these Oudh discussions, a passage appeared in one of the numbers as the sentiment of a correspondent, that there was no remedy for the evils which affected the country but the direct interference of the British Government. The English weekly newspaper the

Calcutta Journal, edited by James Silk Buckingham, commenting on the above, went still further and plainly declared the entire assumption of the Government of Oudh to be the only remedy.

The *Jam-i-Jehan Numa* of the 12th June 1822 charged the British authorities directly with injustice and disregard of the obligations of good faith, in allowing a British force to be employed against Qâsim Ali, the Zemindar of Akberpore, adding, however, that the British Government was bound by treaties and could not help itself, though in reality it groaned at the conduct of Agha Mîr (the minister) who was the cause of all the mischief.

In another number of the *Jam-i-Jehan Numa* appeared a detailed account of the domestic disputes which prevailed in the family of the King of Oudh and the distressing events of Lucknow reported by the Resident in his despatches of the 16th and 20th August, 1822. These newspaper comments excited, the Resident reported to the British Government in one of these despatches, disgust and indignation in the mind of the king at the printed exposures of the intrigues going on in the interior of his palace, and of the dissensions between himself and his nearest connections.

A subsequent number of the same paper contained an article on "Lahore News," coming from a source obviously quite different from the ordinary native *Akhbars*, (Manuscript newspapers) which ascribed to Maharaja Ranjit Singh acts, measures and language indicating most decidedly hostile views towards the British Government, and which might very naturally prove a ground of offence to that chief.

The official remonstrances received from the king of Oudh and the despatches from the Resident at Lucknow showed that the newspaper attacks above mentioned had excited very deep feelings of disgust and dissatisfaction in the mind of the king of Oudh, who saw too certainly in such unceasing clamours against his government and such pointed allusions to the only remedy for his alleged mismanagement, the prospect of extended disorders and oppression threatening the ultimate annihilation of his power. He could not separate from the authority of a government supreme and despotic throughout India the lucubrations of a press operating under its immediate eye at the very seat of its splendour and power. To tell His Majesty that he had a remedy in the Supreme

Court of Calcutta in the event of any libellous and unfounded statement being published, was to apprise him distinctly that there were no available means of redress open to him, as, with the known inveterate prejudice of Indians of sovereign rank, he would of course deem any reproach or indignation more tolerable than an appeal for justice like a common complainant to such a tribunal.

In fact, in consequence of these remonstrances, the Government of Lord Hastings found it necessary to prohibit the editors of several English newspapers from publishing attacks of this nature; one of these editors, in reply to the Government, announced publicly to his readers that he considered the Government's prohibitory order merely as a request on the part of Government, to be attended to or not as suits his judgment, and convenience.

The same attacks were still continued in a form immeasurably more offensive and distressing to the Government of Oudh, in the very language which was read and understood by every well-educated native of India. The account given in the *Jam-i-Jehan Numa* of a duel between a Mr. Jameson and Mr. James Silk Buckingham, editor of the Calcutta Journal, is not unworthy of notice here as it ambiguously announced to the natives of India that the editor of the *Calcutta Journal* was a sort of censor of the British Government who would not, as far as his powers extended, permit them to do wrong.

The contents of the other Persian paper, the *Miratu'l-Akhbar*, were much in the same style as the above, but the editor's (Raja Ram Mohan Roy's) known disposition for theological controversy, led him to seize an occasion for publishing remarks on the Trinity which, although covertly and insidiously conveyed, were deemed exceedingly offensive. The circumstance in which the discussion originated was a notice in the above paper of the death of Dr. Middleton, late Bishop of Calcutta. After some laudatory remarks on his learning and dignity, the article concluded by stating that the Bishop, having been now relieved from the cares and anxieties of this world, had "tumbled" on the shoulders of the mercy of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost (Trinity).*

* Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded the original (Adi) Brahmo Samaj in India (Theistic Association) following the Unitarian doctrines inculcated in the Vedas, and on the analogy of the Unitarian Christians of Europe.

The expression coming from a known impugner of the doctrine of the Trinity could only be considered as ironical, and was noticed in one of the newspapers as objectionable and offensive. It might have been sufficient for the editor of the *Miratu'l-Akhbar*, on finding that he had given offence, to have expressed his regret, to have disclaimed all such intention and thus have let the subject drop. But this course was not suited to the polemic disposition of the editor. In the number of his paper of the 19th July (1822) he entered into a long justification of his obituary notice of Dr. Middleton and affected to misunderstand the real purport of the objection taken to his introduction of the mention of Trinity. He made use of expressions which were regarded as an aggravation of the offence. He said :—"With respect to what was said of God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, since the Preachers of the Christian religion constantly, in every Church throughout the year, read their articles of faith with a loud voice, not regarding the presence of either Hindoo or Musalman, and declare their conviction that salvation is to be found only in the belief of Three in One, what doubt can there be then but that they believe in the Three whom I have mentioned ;" and again : "But since it seems that the mere mention in the Persian language of the essential principles of the Christian religion is an aspersion of the faith professed by the Governor-General and all its followers, I shall therefore, avoid this fault in future."

In the number of this paper of the 9th August 1822 the discussion was revived and the objections were treated in the same style. It was asked : "If any one inditing an obituary notice of a Hindu should mention the Ganges or other objects of worship of that nation would the Hindus take offence ?" And afterwards the editor quoted a verse which he ascribed to some Persian poet, with the meaning :—"Whosoever religion is such that the mere mention of the God of it is a cause of shame, we may readily guess what kind of a religion that is, and what sort of a people are its followers."

A striking instance of the idle and groundless nature of the stories put forth in these newspapers was afforded in the account given in the *Miratu'l-Akhbar* of an occurrence of importance at Calcutta regarding the visit of the Persian prince to the Governor-General. It was reported that the Marquis of Hastings sent out a battalion of European troops to meet him and conduct him to Government

House, and himself received the prince at the head of the staircase. It was thought officially at the time that this exaggerated statement was published with the design (and had doubtless had the effect) of spreading, both in India and Persia, extremely false notions of the nature of the attentions shown to the prince and of the importance attached by the Indian Government to his visit.

The following objectionable passage contained in the *Miratu'l Akhbar* of the 4th October 1822 was brought to the notice of Government by the Acting Persian Secretary.

"One day the minister who is the Governor¹ of Oudh sent for Mir Fazl Ali to give in an account of the stipend of Mohsan ud-Dowlah : the Prince refused compliance with the requisition, and the Padshah Begum observed that she alone had the control of the said stipend and would only render an account of it when all the other accounts of the country became due.

"After this the Padshah Begum and the Prince, in consequence of the enmity and malevolence of the minister, determined to move away altogether and summoning their dependents told them that whoever would engage to follow and defend them might come—the others should receive their pay and be dismissed. Every man of them solemnly engaged to adhere to their cause. The prince accordingly gave to each presents and shawls according to their several ranks. When the minister saw such numbers collected together he represented to the king that the prince had certainly conceived some evil design, and that with such disturbances threatening it was necessary to take steps for His Majesty's safety and protection. The king, being taken in by the cajoling of that "false minister" (literally "like Dimnah" in allusion to a jackal in one of the well-known fables of Pilpai) concurred in his suggestions; upon which that despicable-minded personage with the royal permission began to collect troops and to call for the aid of the English forces. The rest we shall give in the next number of our paper."

In 1822 two other weekly newspapers² were published in Calcutta in Bengali. In these newspapers much bitter

(1) The terms used were "Wazir Firman Rawai Oudh" and may be construed simply the minister of the King of Oudh. The King, however, was in no other place designated by the terms "Firman Rawa."

(2) On the 18th July 1822 appeared the first vernacular newspaper of Bombay, the *Mumbaina Samachar* as a Weekly edited by Mobed Fardunji Murzban.

and acrimonious controversy was published regarding the Sati (burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands) question. The Government thought : "Were this dispute voluntarily and really conducted by the natives without the intervention of Europeans the discussion might lead to beneficial results."

The publication of these vernacular newspapers caused a serious flutter in official dovecotes. One member of the Governor-General's council wrote immediately after as follows :—

"From a review of the actual proceedings, thus far, of the conductors of the native Press, and of the topics they have chosen to bring into discussion, I consider the subject of the native Press as a question of real importance, more with the view to eventual and probable results than from any actual offence hitherto committed in the infancy of the attempt to claim for the natives of India a right to canvass and scrutinise, through the medium of public newspapers, the acts and motives of their rulers. Up to the present date a certain degree of caution has naturally been observed, and the apathy and want of curiosity of the natives have prevented any very extensive circulation of the newspapers. Still the attention of natives of rank and education in many distant parts of India has been aroused to the contemplation of this portentous novelty, and a family so remote from the presidency as that of the King of Delhi have officially expressed a desire to be furnished with the Persian printed newspapers. But it is evident that whilst the Government is destitute of all controlling power as at present over Calcutta editors and has no remedy for the most insidious attacks, save the uncertain one of an appeal to the Supreme Court, the newspapers of the next week may contain some statements and discussions highly improper and offensive, and there is nothing in the tone of what has already appeared to indicate any such timidity or delicacy on the part of the editors as should restrain them from advancing, step by step, to the end which they or their patrons obviously contemplate."

It should be remembered that when the first printed newspapers appeared in Persian and Bengali, there were in circulation several manuscript newspapers or news letters, through the medium of which natives of rank and wealth could know what happened in the different parts of India.

In the kingdom of Oudh there were no inconsiderable number. Sir Joseph Fayrer, in his *Recollections of My Life*, writes thus :

“ When I was appointed an Honorary Assistant Resident and thus had political combined with my other duties (as Resident Surgeon, Lucknow), another of my duties was to receive and make out a precis of the reports of the *akhbar nawis*, or newswriters, of what took place at court and throughout the province of Oudh, and strange reports thus reached me of the king and his doings. His various proceedings in the *harem* and court ; the presents he gave, the honours he conferred, and the promotions he made ; the oppressions of the *amils*, the resistance of the zemindars and talukdars, their fights and the consequences, made a story that no one could have imagined. Doubtless some things were exaggerated, but probably others were far short of the truth. The following will give an idea of one of the daily reports :—

“ ‘His Majesty was this morning carried in his tonjon to the —Mahal, and there he and So-and-So (ladies) were entertained with the fights of two pairs of new rams, which fought with great energy, also of some quails. Shawls worth Rs. 100 were presented to the jemadars who arranged these fights. His Majesty then listened to a new singer, and amused himself afterwards by kite-flying till 4 p.m. when he went to sleep. Reports have come from the village of—in the district of—that Ram Sing, zemindar, refused to pay Rs. 500 demanded of him by the *amil*, whereon his house was burned, he was wounded, and his two sons and brothers have absconded. Jewan Khan, daroga of the pigeon-house, received a Khilat of shawls and Rs. 2,000 for producing a pigeon with one black and one white wing. His Majesty recited to the Khas Mahal his new poem on the loves of the bulbuls,’ and so on. This is no exaggeration : this, and such as this, though frequently much worse, was the daily report, a summary of which went in to the Resident, and which no doubt formed a part of the charges on which were founded the indictment laid against the Oudh Government of misrule and neglect of the welfare of the province.”

The *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* was largely patronised by the Government for a number of years from the beginning, for which the Royal Arms appeared on its title-page and the news published in it was more or less official. From

the second year this newspaper published an Urdu Supplement and the following notice was published in English :—

“ The Editor *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* begs leave respectfully to notify to the public that he has, with a view to rendering this publication more interesting, entertaining and instructive to the European portion of its supporters, resolved to publish in future a supplementary sheet in the pure Hindoostanee or Oordoo tongue, at the additional trifling charge of four annas the number, or one rupee per month if taken together with the two Persian sheets, but if taken separately, two rupees will be charged for it per mensem.”

The Supplement contained interesting stories and curious information. It also contained an Urdu translation from an English translation of the Persian *Tarikh-i-Alamgiri* which was completed in its pages. Also some Urdu *ghazals* occasionally appeared in it. The Supplement was not successful and was discontinued from the 23rd January 1824 with the following notice :

“ As our patrons find no interest in the Urdu language, and even Indian gentlemen, whose mother tongue it is, have a predilection for Persian.”

Accordingly the Persian portion was enlarged to twelve pages and the additional portion was utilised in publishing a serial translation of *Alf Laila* (Arabian Nights), and some interesting stories and humorous sketches.

In 1828 this newspaper began to appear from its own press without the Royal Arms, and the editor wrote with a freer pen. Comments were made, and banking, commercial and trade returns were published.

In 1831 another Persian weekly appeared in Calcutta called the *Aina-i-Sikander*. Its get-up and method of publication were like its old contemporary. Comments and criticisms were scrupulously avoided, and pages were filled with mere chronicles of current events.

The most influential Persian paper of the times was published on the 2nd August 1835 called the *Sultan-ul-Akhbar*. It came out after the liberation of the Indian Press by Lords Metcalfe and Macaulay. Rajab Ali of Lucknow was its first editor and proprietor. He was a shrewd writer and a master of picturesque style. He

frequently extracted from the best English and Persian newspapers. He commented on Government measures.

About this time two other Persian newspapers appeared in Calcutta, (1) *Mah-i-Alam* and the *Mihar-i-Munir*, the latter a tri-weekly. But these could not make much impression on the public and were short-lived concerns.

In 1835 the American Mission Press of Ludhiana, Punjab, published a Persian weekly newspaper from Ludhiana. It published foreign and Indian news, and contained interesting articles on inventions and discoveries. Its get-up and manner of publication were superior.

In 1822 the publication of these newspapers in Eastern languages and the comments contained therein obliged the Government of India to take notice of them and Lord Hastings was pressed by the members of the government to send a despatch home to enable the Court of Directors to take a serious view of the position of the Native Press in India and the dangers following from the unlicensed and uncontrolled state of the same. Lord Hastings himself was opposed to any shackles being placed on the Native Press, but most of his colleagues of the council were for restricting its freedom. In 1823, on his departure from India, John Adam, the senior member of the council, became acting Governor-General and immediately passed the Newspaper and Printing Press Licensing Regulations and registered them in the Supreme Court of Calcutta.

Most of the Indians then holding prominent positions in the Indian society of Calcutta protested against the promulgation of these reactionary laws, and as a serious protest Raja Ram Mohan Roy stopped the publication of his Persian newspaper, *Miratu'l-Akhbar*, considering it more honourable to do so than to submit to the humiliating conditions imposed on newspaper editors and printers by the aforesaid regulations.

The Licensing of the Newspaper and Printing Press Laws enacted in 1823 were continued till 1835. During this period publication of newspapers in vernacular languages became rare. The insecurity involved was a serious hindrance to their growth.

THE ROYAL LIBRARY AT BIJAPUR

THE first conquests of the Arabians threatened hostility to literature. But, as soon as their conquests were secured the Caliphs became the patrons of learning and science. Greek MSS. were eagerly sought for and translated into Arabic and colleges and libraries everywhere arose. Baghdad in the East and Cordova in the West became the seats of a rich development of letters and science during the age when the civilization of Europe was most obscured. Cairo and Tripoli were also distinguished for their libraries. The Royal Library of the Fatimites in Africa is said to have numbered 1,00,000 MSS. while that collected by the Omayyads of Spain is reported to have contained six times as many. It is said that there were no less than seventy libraries opened in the cities of Andalusia. Whether these figures be exaggerated or not, it is certain that the libraries of the Arabians and the Moors of Spain offer a very remarkable contrast to those of the Christian nations during the same period. Among the Arabs, however, as among the Christians, theological bigotry did not always approve of non-theological literature and the great library at Cordova was sacrificed by Almanzor to his reputation for his orthodoxy, 978 A.D. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 11th edition).

The progress of Islamic culture in India and particularly in the Deccan was always associated with the establishment of libraries by many Muslim rulers who were great patrons of learning. The Royal Library, at Bijapur, bestowed by its Muslim kings, is only one of many such instances. A brief history of the Royal Library at Bijapur will not be without interest to lovers of Islamic learning.

By the lapse of the Satara territory consequent on the death of the late Raja, the Government of Bombay came into possession of the library at Bijapur which contained a considerable collection of Arabic and Persian MSS., and the British Government were deeply concerned as to its preservation for the benefit of scholars.

Mr. H.B.E. Frere, who was Commissioner in Satara at the time (later became Governor of Bombay), reported to Government on 17th December, 1849, on the state of this library in the following terms :

“ The MSS. are apparently the remains of a Royal Library and seem to have been bestowed by the kings of Bijapur, with other valuables, on the Assur Mahal or Assur-i-Sherif. This establishment was a kind of ecclesiastical corporation, founded to guard a *Tabruk* (some precious relics of the Prophet), consisting, I believe, of some hairs of his beard. They had been previously enshrined in the citadel or royal palace in a building which was burned down, and in lieu of which this Assur Mahal was built by King Mohammed Adil Shah, without the palace walls but connected with the palace by a bridge. Large assignments of land and revenue were made for the support of the establishment, which comprised a species of college and theological school. It was probably to this branch that the establishment owes its library which consists chiefly of theological and philosophical works ; but the collegiate establishment exists now only in name and the endowment has long since dwindled down to a miserable pittance, not sufficient to keep the building clean, or afford any surplus for defraying the expenses of the annual *‘Urs*, when the relics are produced to public view from a kind of gallery or balcony. The lower or ground floor is occupied by a room under that in which the relics are kept, whence unbelievers are excluded, lest they should do disrespect to the relics above. Adjoining this room is the one appropriated to the library.

They (the books) appear to have been entirely neglected till visited by the late Mr. C. D'Ochoa, a French subject of Spanish descent who travelled in India about 1840, being deputed by the French Government to various parts of the world to make literary and scientific collections. Monsieur D'Ochoa drew the attention of Col. Ovens to the state of the MSS. and assisted by the Resident's influence with the Satara Raja, was allowed to

examine them and arrange them; and it is principally owing to him that the destruction of the library has not been more complete. Besides preserving what was left of the library, M. D'Ochoa made out a nominal catalogue of the greater portion of the books, but it was not complete and, as only the names were given, it was not of much use except as a guard against further depredation.

From that period the library appears to have been forgotten. It appeared then to have been long abandoned to rats, moths and white-ants though, thanks to M. D'Ochoa's labours the actual injury done since he left did not appear great as it was clear that a few more years of neglect would have completed the destruction which he had arrested. Later, under His Highness's sanction, particulars of size, condition, handwriting and date, etc., of each work were added to the catalogue; but these were not of much value as not a single Arabic scholar competent to give any trustworthy account of the contents of the volumes could be found throughout Bijapur, among its many thousand Mohammedan inhabitants.

About this time, Mr. Frere was introduced to Hamid-ud-din Hakim, a Mohammedan gentleman of great respectability and of reputed skill as a physician, on account of which and of his general learning he had been brought from Hyderabad and received an allowance as a physician on the Raja's household establishment. The Hakim was said to be a very accomplished Arabic scholar and he undertook a journey to Bijapur, and remained there for many months to see what could be done with regard to these works. His labours resulted in an Urdu *catalogue raisonne*, which according to him was sufficiently full and complete to enable any scholar to identify any work named and to obtain a knowledge of the subject and the value of any work with which he might not already be acquainted. Mr. Frere recommended the removal of the collection either to Bombay or to the library of the Court of Directors if the collection was worthy of the notice of scholars. In the concluding paragraph of his report Mr. Frere said, "Any volumes which might not be valuable or curious might be left where they are; and if Government would supply the place of the volumes removed with a set of all Arabic, Persian and Hindsee books published by or on behalf of Government, and of

which many copies are probably mouldering in the Government stores at Bombay and Calcutta, the poor and ignorant Mohammedans would be better reconciled to the measure, and the foundation might be laid of a library which hereafter might be as useful and as much used by the modern inhabitants of the city as the old library was by their ancestors."

Hamid-ud-din Hakim's labours were subsequently acknowledged by a present from Government of Rs. 300, a shawl and some Persian and Arabic books. Government also directed that the whole of the books should be considered as under the special charge of the Mamlutdar of Bijapur. Government later wrote on 7-4-1851 to Rev. Dr. Wilson and Dr. Stevenson, enclosing a copy of the English version of the catalogue (prepared at the direction of Government by Mr. Erskine Deputy Secretary in the Persian Department) in order to ascertain the rarity and European value of the collection, as it has occurred to Government that some of these MSS. might prove an acceptable addition to the library of the India House."

Rev. Dr. Wilson's recommendation, under date 10-12-1852, after a critical notice, was in the following terms :—

"While I have mentioned what I considered to be the most interesting articles of the collection and while I attribute no great value to the others, I think the question may be fairly raised....Is it expedient to break up the collection in Bombay? On the whole I am inclined to answer this question in the negative. With much deference I should recommend the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to send it entire to the Court of Directors who may perhaps be inclined to present it as it now stands or to distribute such of the volumes as it may not require among the public libraries of Europe."

Dr. Wilson particularly requested that the "Psalms of David" should be presented to the Bible Society by the Court of Directors.

Government, in their letter to Dr. Wilson dated 2-2-1853, accepted his advice and sent the whole of these MSS. to the Hon'ble Court of Directors on March 1853, for the purpose of being deposited in the East India House.

After an examination of them the librarian of the Court reported as follows :—

“ The MSS. constitute a collection made by the kings of Beejapoor, whose seals many of them bear and they afterwards passed into the possession of Aurangzeb whose seal so frequently occurs. Consistently with the character of these princes, zealous supporters of the Mohammadan faith, the collection is almost confined to works of their religious literature or *Tafseer*, commentaries on the Koran; *Hadis*, traditions of the acts and sayings of Mohammed; *Kalam*, Divinity; *Waez*, admonition; *Saluk*, Religious conduct and the like. There are some works on law, grammar, logic, metaphysics, astrology and arithmetic, none whatever on history; nor are any poetical works included in the collection, which consequently offers little interest to European Oriental scholars. With one or two exceptions only, the works are in Arabic. ”

K. S. K. SWAMI.

RELIGIOUS RELATIONS BETWEEN ARABIA AND INDIA*

THERE are four new sources of this article, in addition to the books whose description occurs in earlier pages.

1. The catalogue of Indian religions prepared in the 2nd century A.H. by the orders of Yahya bin Khâlid Al-Barmaki. A summary of this catalogue has been incorporated in Ibn Nadîm's *Kitabu'l-Fihrist* and this is all that remains to us of that catalogue.

2. A monumental work by a learned Arab philosopher, theologian and historian of Palestine named Motahhar bin Tâhir Muqaddasî مطهر بن طاهر مقدسى (335 A.H.). The name of the book is *Kitabu'l-bada'wa't-tarikh* and has been published in Paris in six volumes in the year 1899 A.D. There is one chapter, in that book, on the religions of India.

3. A third source is *Kitab-ul-deyanat* کتاب الديانات by Abu'l-'Abbâs Irân Shahrî ابوالعباس ایران شهری. The original book is lost to the world but extracts from it are fossilised in Ibn Nadîm's *Kitabu'l-Fihrist*. The book mostly describes the Buddhists.

4. The most important book is '*Melal'wa Nahal*, ملل ونحل (469 and 549 A.H.) by 'Abdul Karîm Shahrîstânî. It has gone through many editions in Egypt and Bombay. Other sources are 'Abdul Qâdir Baghdâdî's '*Al-farq beynal-farq* الفرق بين الفرق (429 A.H. or 1047 A.D.) which is a history of Islamic sects and which has been printed in Egypt, and Murtada Zeydî's '*Kitabu'l-Mu'tazilah* کتاب المعتزلة edited for the '*Dâ'iratu'l-Ma'ârif*' (Hyderabad Deccan) by Professor Arnold.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to elucidate a point. Since the Turkish, Afghan and Mughal conquerors

* Translated by Sayeedul Huq Desnavi, B.A. (Hons.).

who came to India were Muslims, all their doings have been set down to the responsibility of Islâm. But it should be clearly borne in mind that, viewed as a whole, none among the Turkish conquerors save some high officers were representatives of Islâm. Nor did their system of government represent the Islamic principles of government. The Turkish officers were mostly slaves newly converted who had probably not the slightest knowledge of Islamic rules of war and peace. The country in which the Ghaznavite kingdom was established was the furthest point in the circle of Islamic conquests. Islâm had not set its foot firmly in that country. The soldiers recruited in Sultân Mahmûd's army came from various tribes of Khiljis, Turks and Afghans.¹ Most of the Turkish tribes were non-Muslims. They were sold as slaves in thousands, and Sultâns and Amîrs purchased them, converted them to Islâm, and enrolled them in their army. Or, impelled by their love of plunder, they came from Central Asia to Islamic countries, became converts to Islâm, and joined the forces of Sultâns and Amîrs till at last they attained to the highest posts, not even kingship excepted. Alaptagin and Sabuktagin, founders of the Ghaznavite Kingdom, were Turkish slaves. The successors of Sultân Ghôri (Iltamash etc.) were also slaves. The Seljuq Turks who, after a few years, founded the mighty Seljuq Empire, came, during this time, to Islamic countries and became Muslims. Similar was the case of the army of Sultân Mahmûd.² The Turkish volunteers of Turkistân and Tûrân (*Mawara'u'n-Nahr*) who joined his forces became Muslims during the same time.³

The Mughals had not yet embraced Islâm and were looked upon as heretics till the seventh century A.D. Till the time of 'Alâu'ddin Khiljî (d. 716 A.H.) the Mughals were converted to Islâm and were enrolled in the army. By the orders of 'Alâu'ddin Khiljî fourteen or fifteen thousand neo-Muslim Mughals were killed outright.⁴

Though Islâm had made headway in the Afghan towns, the Afghans had not yet become Muslims and were counted as infidels.⁵ Though the King of Kâbul proper had taken to Islâm towards the beginning of the 3rd century

(1) *Kamil*, Ibn Athîr كامل ابن اثير Vol. 9, p. 135 (Leyden) 1862 A.D.
(2) *Tarikh-e-Firshia* Vo. 1, pp. 29 and 32 (Nawal Kishore Press).

(3) *Ibid* Vol. 1, p. 24.

(4) *Ibid* Vol. 1, p. 120.

(5) *Kamil*, Ibn Athîr, Vol. 9, p. 218.

A.H.—that is, a hundred years before the Ghaznavites,¹—yet most of the Afghan tribes only began to embrace Islâm during Mahmûd's reign.² The Ghôri tribes did not enter the pale of Islâm until the middle of the fourth century A.H. or after the birth of the Ghaznavites.³ Again, before Sultân Mahmûd, there were no Islamic seminaries in this part of the country, nor any arrangement for Islamic studies. For these reasons, the manners and methods of warfare among these people cannot be called Islamic.

On the contrary the Arab conquerors, who on the one hand, within a century, had reached Spain by the North African route, and on the other hand had conquered Khorâsân by the 'Irâq route and, having crossed Irân and Turkistân, brought Kashghar and Sind within the orbit of Islamic conquests—these were men with whom Islâm was a living and dynamic force. They were staunch followers of the Islamic laws. Among them there were some officers who had sat in the Prophet's presence and there were many who had shared the company of his companions. Hence their ways of living, manners and system of government were quite different from those of the races which poured into India through the Khyber.

Qatibah conquered Samarcand in 93 A.H. At that time the inhabitants of the neighbouring tracts were Buddhists. For some reasons (perhaps, of financial stringency) Qatibah was compelled to set fire to the idols and gather the mass of silver and gold stuck on them. He did not do it forcibly; rather he very fairly put down as one of the conditions of the treaty that these idols should pass into Muslim hands. The other side submitted to this condition. But when the time for burning the idols arrived, the Turkish king said, "I owe you gratitude and so I warn you not to burn these idols as some of these idols, if burnt, will spell your disaster." Qatibah said that, if it was so, he would burn them with his own hands. He himself set fire to them and, when nothing evil came of it, many Turks disbelieved in idol-worship and turned Muslims.

(1) *Fatuh-ul-boldan* by Balâzari p. 402 (Leyden).

(2) *Kamil*, Ibn Athîr Vol. 9, p. 218.

(3) *Safarnama-e-Ibn-e-Hawqal* p. 363 and *Kamil* of Ibn Athîr Vol. 9, p. 156 (Leyden), and *Tarikh-i-Baihaqî* (Calcutta edition) p. 127.

Apart from accidental happenings during war-time, the Arabs never, during the time of the Great Caliphs and the companions of the Prophet, raided or demolished the places of worship of the races with whom they made a treaty. The fire-pits of Irân remained as bright as ever. The churches of Palestine, Syria, Egypt and 'Irâq which were overlaid with statues and pictures, still rang with the organ voice, though there have never been nor ever will be more staunch followers of a religion and more spirited crusaders than were those newly converted Turkish conquerors.

If the Arabs took Jizya or poll-tax from non-Muslims, they did not exact anything else except land revenues for gross produce. The Turks, Afghans and Mughals who, obsessed by religious passions, realised 'Jizya' from non-Muslims, were ruthless in exacting ten-fold taxes from Muslims and non-Muslims; but in the Islamic system of government, kept alive by the Arabs for a long time, there were only two kinds of taxes, *Zakat* (the 40th part of the net income) and '*Ashr* (one tenth of the gross produce), from Muslims, and 'Jizya' (poll-tax) and tributes from non-Muslims.

Islâm classified all the people of the world into four divisions :—

(1) Muslims, (2) Believers in a revealed book (*Ahlu'l-kitab* i.e., those persons who believe in the Sacred Books mentioned in the Qur'ân), (3) people who are similar to the believers in a revealed Book or 'mushâbih ahli'l-kitab' (people who claim to believe a divine Book not mentioned in the Qur'ân; so that it cannot be definitely said that they are *ahlu'l-kitab*, but it may be guessed that they are so) and (4) Infidels who do not believe in any divine message. Islâm has laid down that all Muslims, without distinction of nationality, are all alike in their rights and privileges. Regarding *Ahlu'l-kitab* it is laid down that after paying the *Jizya* they can enjoy equal rights with Muslims. The Muslims can eat the flesh of animals slaughtered by them; they can take their daughters as wives. The State is responsible for the safety of their lives, their wealth and their shrines. The people of the third order can enjoy equal privileges of citizenship with numbers 1 and 2, except that the Muslims cannot eat the flesh of animals slaughtered by them and cannot marry their daughters. So when Islamic rule was established

over any non-Muslim nation, it was the business of the rulers to see in which of the four divisions that nation could find a place. The pity is that the nations which poured through the Khyber into India could not decide this issue until the very end. On the one hand they insisted on exacting *Jizya* (poll-tax) from the Hindus whereas it could be realised only from divisions No. 2 and No. 3 ; on the other hand, they did not, as they ought to have done, after taking ' *Jizya*,' defend their religion and customs. Up to the time of 'Alâu'ddin Khilji (696 A.H.) it could not be decided in which of the four divisions the Hindus should be placed.¹

When the Arabs set foot on the soil of Sind, they did not hesitate for a moment to decide in what order the Hindus were to be placed.

To the Arab conquerors the Hindus were ' Mushabih Ahl'l-kitab ' (people of the third order.)

When the Arab general Muhammad bin Qâsim, in the course of his Sind campaign, reached Alwar, a famous town of Sind, the inhabitants of that town fiercely opposed the invading forces. Then they concluded a treaty and offered two conditions :—

First, that nobody should be killed ; secondly, that their shrines and idol-houses should not be interfered with. When Muhammâd bin Qâsim accepted these conditions, he said,

“ The idol houses of India are also like the shrines of the Christians and Jews and like the fire-pits of the Mâjûs (fire-worshippers).” (Balazari, p. 439.)

In *Chach-Namah*, the Persian translation of the oldest Arabic history of Sind, it is recorded ; “ Muhammad bin Qâsim accepted the petition of the people of Barhmanabad (Sind) and allowed them to live in the Islamic government of Sind in the same capacity in which the Jews, Christians and Parsis of 'Irâq and Syria live.”² This Arab conqueror awarded the same status to the Hindus as was enjoyed by the people of revealed books in an

(1) *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* by Ziya-uddin Barni pp. 290 and 291 (Calcutta) and *Tarikh-i-Firishta* p. 110 (Nawal Kishore Press).

(2) *Chach-nama*—Elliot Vol. 1, p. 186.

Islamic State ; and their shrines enjoyed the same position as was given to those of *Ahlu'l-kitab* or *Mushabih Ahlu'l-kitab* ' in an Islamic kingdom. From the histories of the conquests of Sind it transpires that the Arab conquerors fully observed this condition. A Buddhist once counselled a Hîndu rāja thus :—" We fully know that Hajjāj had sent a firman to Muhammad bin Qasim ordering him to protect those who seek shelter. We are fully confident that you will think it advisable to be on terms of peace with him. The Arabs are honest and honour their pledges ."¹

The highest building in Daibal, the first place in Sind invaded by the Arabs, was the idol-house of the Buddhists. Muhammad bin Qâsim fired cannon at the highest pinnacle of the idol-house to compel people to open the gates of the town but when the gates were opened he spared that idol-house. Even after the annihilation of the Buddhists this idol-house remained till the 3rd century A.H. During the time of the Khalifah Murtasim (218-227 A.H.) a portion of it was used as a prison-house.² Md. Qâsim built a mosque in this town.³ In like manner when he conquered Neyrûn he built a mosque in front of the temple.⁴

So also the great idol-house of Multân remained safe and immune even after the conquest of the city. For three centuries of Arab rule it remained just as it was, and for three centuries it was the centre of attraction for Arab travellers. The last person who saw it, about 375 A.H., is Bashari. The Arabs benefited by it both politically and financially. The political benefit was that, when any raja made preparations for the conquest of Multân, the Arab Amîr frightened him by the threat that if he entertained thoughts of invasion, he would raze the temple to the ground. This checked the intending invader. The financial benefit was that when people from all parts of India came on pilgrimage to this temple the presents offered went to the treasury. From this income the cost of maintenance of the temple and its priests was defrayed.⁵

(1) *Chach-nama*—Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 159.

(2) Balazari p. 437.

(3) Balazari p. 437.

(4) *Chach-nama*—Elliot, p. 158.

(5) *Mu'jamu'l-baldan* by Yâqût as referred to by Astakhri, Vol. 8, p. 201.

Arab travellers have fully described this idol-house of Multân. There was plenty of gold and silver in this temple. A'ûd (wood aloes) worth two hundred gold mohurs was sent here for burning, but the priests sold it away to Arab traders.¹ The statue was very precious. The eyes were two very precious stones ; on the head was a gold crown.² Till about 375 A.H. this idol-house remained under the sway of Arab Amîrs and was in a very flourishing condition. But when Abû Reyhân al-Bêrûnî came here after 400 A.H. he found a mosque just on the place where formerly this idol-house had stood. He thus explains the cause : " When Muhammad bin Qâsim conquered Multân, he found this idol-house to be the main cause of the city's prosperity. So he spared it and hung a cow-bone³ round its throat, so that people might not ascribe to him any feeling of devotion for the idol-house. He built a separate mosque for Muslims. Then again when the Qirmitîs (قرمىطى), a misguided section of the Shî'as, became the rulers of Multân, Jalâm bin Sheybân جلم بن شيبان demolished the idol-house and killed the priests. Then he transformed this brick-built idol-house, situated on high ground, into a mosque and locked the mosque built by Muhammad bin Qâsim, as it was reminiscent of the Omayyads whom the Qirmitîs hated from the core of their hearts. Then again when Mahmûd of Ghazni conquered Multân he swept away the Qirmitîs, locked up their mosque and caused the former mosque built by Muhammad Qâsim to be re-opened. Now in place of the idol-house there is open ground.⁴

In this connection Balazari, who flourished towards the end of the 3rd century A.H., has recorded the strange thing that people thought the idol to be an image of Job. (page 44).

After the conquest of Sind a deputation of Brahmans waited on Muhammad bin Qâsim who gave it due respect. The Brahmans stated their demand that, according to Hindu customs, their status should be higher than that of other castes. Muhammad bin Qâsim, after making

(1) *Safar nama-i-Abu Zaid Sairafi*, p. 130.

(2) *Safar nama-i-Bashari Muqaddasi*, popularly known as *Ahsan-ul-taqâsim*, p. 483 (Leyden).

(3) This event is not recorded in the books dealing with the conquest of Sind. The source of Bêrûnî's information is not known.

(4) ' *Kitabu'l-Hind* ' by Bêrûnî, p. 56.

inquiries, granted their request and placed them on high official rungs. The Brahmans thanked him very highly and made a tour of villages, eulogising their rulers for the rights and privileges they had granted.¹

The Arab Amîr made it known everywhere that anybody who embraced Islâm would be among his brethren, and that those who wanted to be loyal to their old faith should pay *Jizya*. Some took to Islâm; others remained true to their faith. It is recorded in *Chach-Namah*:

“Those who took to Islâm were exempted from slavery and *Jizya*. Those who remained loyal to their old faith were classified into three divisions. 48 dirhams was exacted from the rich; 24 dirhams from the middle class, and 12 dirhams from the lowest class. Those who embraced Islâm were exempted from *Jizya*, and those who followed their ancestral faith had to pay *Jizya*. But their lands and property were not taken from them; they remained in their possession.”²

According to modern calculations one dirham at most equals 3 annas. So the rich paid ten rupees, the middle class five rupees, and the poor $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per annum.

Women, children, old people, those occupying religious posts, priests and disabled persons who did not earn, were usually exempted from this tax. The Muslims had to pay, instead of the *Jizya*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per hundred as *Zakat* and a tenth of the gross produce. The non-Muslims had to pay tribute or land revenues. There were no other taxes in the government of the Arabs.

This religious toleration practised by the Arabs had a very salutary effect upon the Hindus. In the 2nd century A.H., when the hand of the Arab Government was withdrawn from a certain place and the Hindus conquered it, they did not interfere with the mosque situated there. The Muslims always used to offer daily prayers, and Friday prayers inside it, and used to speak out the name of their Khalifah.³

Moreover, Astakhri and Ibn Hauqal, travellers of the fourth century A.H. state that, though the area from Khanhayat and Chaimoor is ruled over by different Hindu

(1) *Chach-nama*—Elliot, p. 182-184.

(2) *Chach-nama*—Elliot, p. 182.

(3) *Fatuh-ul-baldan* by Balazari p. 446 (Leyden).

Rājahs, yet in every town there are Muslims, and mosques where they offer congregational prayers. The interesting story of the destruction and construction of a mosque in Khanhayat during the rule of Hindu rājahs follows later.

The result of this mutual friendship was that there sprang up in the hearts of the Arabs a desire to make researches into the religions of the Hindus. Yahya al-Barmaki, whose period of ministry dates from 170 A.H. to 190 A.H., sent a certain person to India especially to bring with him a record of Indian medicines and religions. Baghdad was at that time the arena of cults and beliefs. The courts of the Abbasid Khalifahs and some philosophically minded Amīrs rang with hot religious controversies. Day and time used to be fixed for convening such meetings and representatives of every religion had a right to have their say as to the merits of their religion, to criticise Islām and hear their criticisms answered. Muslim theologians took a leading part in these conventions and the Barmakids patronised them. It would be no wonder if this fashion caused the need of acquaintance with Indian religions.

The exact record of the person sent to India is, perhaps, not preserved; but Ibn Nadīm, who wrote his book seventy or eighty years after, quotes from a document written by Ya'qûb bin Ishâq Kindī, the famous Arab philosopher. This document is dated 349 A.H. In it is recorded the event of Yahya al-Barmakī having sent a person to collect information about Indian religions. The top headline in it is 'Indian faiths and beliefs' and below are recorded brief accounts. It is guessed that this is a summary of the record compiled by the person sent to India.

In this document there is an account of the idol-house of Mahanagar, capital of Vallabha Rai's kingdom of Gujrat, that "there are twenty thousand idols of gold, silver, iron, copper, elephant-tusks, and all kinds of precious stones and jewels. There is a golden idol 12 cubits high and it is seated on a golden throne. This throne is lying in a dome-shaped room of gold. This room is adorned with white pearls, and jewels of red, green, yellow and azure. Every year a fair is held here. The rājah goes there on foot and comes back in the same way. Every year sacrifices are made before him, and people do not hesitate to immolate themselves." Then

there is a description of the idol-house of 'Mûlastân' or Multân and of the idols of other places. Then he has described some religious sects of India and the idols they worship.

1. The first sect mentioned is that of the Mahakalyas or worshippers of Mahakali. This idol has four hands and is azure-coloured. Plenty of hair on the head, teeth popping out, belly uncovered. The skin of an elephant from which blood drops are falling covers the back. In one hand is a boa-constrictor, in the second hand a club or mace, in the third hand a human skull, and the fourth hand raised above. In both the ears are two serpents and two boa-constrictors are wrapped round the body. On the head is a crown of skull-bones, and round the neck a necklace of the same.

2. The second sect is that of Ad-Daniktîyah. (الدنيكتيه) or Al-Adatabaktîyah (الادتبكتيه). *Adit Bhaktis* worshippers of the Sun.) There is a car to which four horses are yoked. On the car is an idol before which worshippers prostrate themselves. They move round it. They burn, woods, incense, etc., and play on the flute and pipe before it. Lands and property have been assigned to it. There are many priests who look after the idols and manage the property assigned to them. The sick come here in frightful numbers and think they go back cured.

3. The third sect is that of *Chandra Bhaktiyah* (چندربھکتيه) Chandra Bhaktis or moon-worshippers. The car which contains the idol is drawn by four ducks. There is a large ruby called Chandra Kîr (چندركيت) in the hand of the idol. On the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the moon attains to its meridian, the worshippers observe fasting, worship the idol that night, and bring food, wine and milk before the god. On the first and the fourteenth days of the lunar month they go on the roofs of buildings to see the idol, and chant mantras (magical formulas).

4. The fourth Sect is that of *Bikrantaniyah* (بكرنتيه)¹ who chain themselves in shackles. They shave their

(1) An account of the origin of this word and of this sect follows. There is mention of Bikar Jain (بيكر جن) instead of Bikrantiya in other books under the heading Bhikshu. Buzurg bin Shahryâr has named them as 'bîkûr' (بيکور) (p. 155). Bêrûni has described them as worshippers of Mahadeo. Vide *Kitabu'l-Hind* p. 58.

heads and beards. But for a yard of cloth round the waist they remain naked. He who joins their sect is asked first to give away all his goods and riches in charity.

5. The fifth sect is that of *Gangayatrah*. (گنگایاتر) or Ganga jatris. Worshipers of this cult are found all over India. They believe that a dip in the Ganges purges away all sins.

6. The sixth sect is that of *Rajputiyah* (راجپوتیه) or Rajputs, who pin their faith to helping rājahs in all possible ways. They believe that to be of service to rājahs is the greatest dharma (religion) and salvation.

7. There is another sect whose followers wear long hair which flows on the face in twisted knots. The hair is all ruffled. They do not drink wine, they go on a mountain for pilgrimage, fly from the sight of women and do not visit populated areas.¹

An Arab theologian of Palestine named Mutahhar (مطهر) who was a contemporary of Ibn Nadīm or flourished near about, gives a more detailed account in his book *Al-bada' wa't-tarikh*. (البدء والتاريخ).² "There are nine hundred sects in India, but we know the accounts of only ninety-nine sects. They are all included in forty-five sects, and the latter also are governed (encompassed) by four principles. There are two rough divisions, Samani (سمنی) or Buddhists and the Brahmans. The Buddhists are either atheists or believe in a powerless God. There are three divisions among the Brahmans. The one believes in the Unity of the Godhead and also in retribution, but does not believe in Prophethood. The second, on the basis of metempsychosis, believes in retribution but neither in the Unity of God nor in Prophethood."³

Then the author gives a brief account of the literary achievements of the Indians. Then he mentions the old

(1) *Kitabu'l-Fihrist* by Ibn Nadīm, pp. 345-349.

(2) Hajj Khalifa mentions Abu Zaid Ahmad bin Sehl Balkhi ابو زيد احمد بن سهل بلخي as the author of this book. The editor of Paris editions has given the name of Balkhi over a few volumes and finally given the name of Motahhar bin Tahir مطهر بن طاهر.

(3) Vol. 4, pp. 9-19 (Paris edition). The mention of the third sect has been left out.

methods of trial by ordeal which were current in ancient India, such as trial by hot iron, etc.

He says: "The Muslims are unholy in their eyes. They do not touch them or the things which they touch. The cow is held by them in reverence as a mother. The punishment for cow-killing is death. It is quite meet for wifeless people to cohabit with other women so that the race may multiply.* But if a married man is guilty of incest, he is punished with death. If somebody who has once fallen into Muslim hands comes back to the Hindus, they do not beat him but shave the hairs all over his body and make him repent. (The same method as is followed today was applied—mixing up cow-dung, etc.). They do not marry near relations. Wine and slaughtered-animals are forbidden to them."

Then follows an account of Hindu gods and their worshippers. The shape of each god is described separately. Then there is an account of Mabadeo, Kali, Mahakali and phallic (*ling*) worship. Then there is a description of two sects, Jal Bhaktīyah حل بہکتیہ (Water worshippers) and Agni Hôtariyah (اگنی ہو طریہ) or Fire-worshippers. Then there is a mention of Rishis (anchorites) who, by means of meditation, deaden their outward senses and think they develop their spiritual side at the expense of the material. They think that the further they are from materialism, the nearer they are to spiritualism. They always keep their eyes shut. In the end there is mention of Jogis who immolate themselves.

It is written about the Brahmans "that they worship cows, think it sacrilegious to cross the Ganges and to take others into the fold of their religion." In the end the author says, "Even those who do not believe in Prophet-hood and the Day of Judgment have faith in retribution as a result of metempsychosis. They explain the cause of idol-worship by saying that since God is above consciousness, feeling and comprehension, and is beyond the grasp of the senses, there is need of an intermediate link."

Then we have 'Abdul Karīm Shahristānī, the famous authority on religions (489-549 A.H.) who has quoted Mutahhar Moqaddasi at great length and has mentioned

* Perhaps it is a description of *Niyog*—(Author). It is the theory of eugenics as looked upon by the Hindus of those days. The whole theory centres round the principle of race multiplication. (Translator)

a new sect—Barqshaqîyah (Barkash bhakt) or tree worshippers.¹

In the eleventh chapter of *Kitabu'i-Hind*, Abû Reyhân Bêrûnî has described all the Hindu sects and the shapes of all the gods, and has discussed the philosophy of idol-worship or image-worship. He writes, "Idol-worship is practised only by the ignorant and illiterate people of India. The lettered Hindus do not think in this way." Then he has quoted a few sentences from the Gîta. One sentence runs like this: "Many have forsaken me and worship others. I do not care for them." Then he has quoted a speech by Krishnaji in which, addressing Arjun, he shows his displeasure with the worshippers of the sun, moon, etc.

Now let us see what Qâzi Sâ'id (d. 462 A.H. or 1070 A.D.), an Arab author of distant Spain, has to say in this connection. He says in his book *Tabaqatu'l-Umam* طبقات الامم, which is a history of the arts and *belles-lettres* of the civilized races of the world:—"In all ages the Hindus have been the custodians of wisdom and sagacity Their theology inculcates the belief in the Unity of God and also that nobody is like Him. There are various sects—Brahmans and Sabians, believers in the transience of the world, believers in the permanence of the world. Some do not believe in Prophethood and think it impious to hurt or slaughter animals. Then the author regrets his lack of information, as India lies at such a great distance. He has given a list of the arts and literature which reached Spain from India through the agency of the Arabic language."²

The description of the religious condition of India as given by Arab travellers includes mostly an account of some of the idol-houses of Multân and Sind. For instance, they have given a description of the famous wooden idol of Multân: that it was covered with a red skin, that there were two rubies in place of eyes, and that there was a crown of gold on its head.³ Al-Bêrûnî has mentioned it

(1) *Melal wa Nahal* ملل و نحل Vol. 2, last Chapter.

(2) *Tabaqatu'l-Umam*. pp. 11-15 (Beyrût).

(3) Vide *Ahsanu't-taqasim* by Muqaddasi, p. 488 and *Atharu'l-balad* by Qazwini, p. 81, etc.

as the image of the sun-god. Hence the name A'lit (Sun) was given to this idol.¹

Another hateful feature described by Arab travellers with a feeling of disgust is the institution of devadasis (girls dedicated to the gods) in temples. The travellers who went south mostly mention such temples.² But Muqaddasi who came to India in 375 A.H. mentions the existence of such temples in Sind too.³

A third thing mentioned time and again by these Arab travellers is the sacrifice of their lives by devotees at the altar of deities. The description of such sacrifices makes the flesh creep. Death by drowning in the Ganges was a simple affair; suttee too, is a common-place thing.

Abu Zeyd Seyrafi says: "Their belief in metempsychosis is so deep-rooted that it is a trifle for them to burn themselves alive in fire. When somebody wants to burn himself he takes permission from the râjah. A huge mass of fire awaits its victim. Conches are blown. The relations of the victim surround him on all sides and put upon his head a crown of flowers with flames leaping up from inside. The pate starts burning and he remains standing while fire devours him. Then he jumps down into the mass of fire."

Another dreadful sight is that a certain person slices off his breast with his own dagger and snatches away the heart with his own hands. All this he does calmly and sedately.⁴

Ibnu'l-Faqlh has painted a most horrible picture which makes the hair stand on end: "A person came inside a temple in Multân who had his fingers and head wrapped in oil-soaked cotton. Then he set fire to the cotton which started burning till the fire reached his body. Thus calmly and gravely he burnt himself to ashes."⁵

Mutahhar Muqaddasi (مطهر مقدسى) has classified the Hindus in two divisions—*Brahmaniyah* (برهمنيه) (Brahmans) and *Samaniyah* (سمنيه) (Buddhists). It

(1) *Kitabu'l-Hind*, p. 56 (London).

(2) *Safar-nama-i-Sulaiman Tajir* and Abu Zaid Seyrafi, p. 130 (Paris).

(3) *Ahsanu't-taqaseem*, p. 483.

(4) *Safar nama-i-Abu Zaid*, pp. 115-118.

(5) *Athar-ul-bilad* by Qazwini.

is a strange fact that on the strength of apparent verbal likeness, some Arab authors supposed the Brahmans to be followers of Abraham. But Shahrastânî has corrected this error and tracked this word down to its origin, 'Brahma.' The Buddhists are called *Samanîyah* in Arabic (detailed research follows later). Since the followers of Buddhists believe it as an article of faith that incarnations of Buddha will come down upon the world at different times, some people opined that Buddha is the same as Al-Khidr.¹

Such likenesses and comparisons between the cherished beliefs of two nations are instituted only when the two are bound together by ties of goodwill and friendship. These two examples are redolent of the era of goodwill between the Arabs and the Hindus.

When, in 147 A.H., during the reign of Mansûr the 'Abbâsîd, the ambitious 'Alawî (علوی) Sayyids planned to establish a government, they thought of Sind. But the scheme collapsed and the 'Alawîs sought some refuge. The Muslim ruler of Hind, who had feelings of sympathy for the Sayyids, asked them to get rid of their fear and told them to seek shelter in the territory of a certain Hindu rājāh who had great respect for the Prophet of Islām. The 'Alawîs did so and the rājāh gave them a splendid welcome. The 'Alawîs lived in peace and tranquillity thereafter.²

It has been mentioned above that the Arabs used the word *Samanîyah* to designate Buddhists. I have arrived at this result and the arguments leading to it after a long and arduous study of the researches made in this connection :

I first came across this name in *Kitabu'l-Farq beyn-ul-farq* written by 'Abdul Qâdir Baghdâdî (d. 429 A.H. or 1037 A.D.). The connection in which this name occurs is that he has levelled against Imâm Nizâm, an Imam (leader) of Mu'tazilah (معتزلة) a reason-worshipping sect of Islām, the false charge that he took the theory of the denial of Prophethood from the Brahmans and that he picked up from the *Samanîyah*, the theory that the distinction be-

(1) Vide *Melal wa Nahal* by Shahrastânî. Translator's note.—Khidr is variously pronounced as Khazr, Khizr. According to popular Muslim belief he appears at different times in Protean shapes.

(2) *Kamil* of ibn Athîr—*Waq'at* dated 147 A.H.

tween good and evil is impossible as there are potent arguments on both sides. Then I happened to read in Mur-tada Zeydî's *Kitabu'l-Mu'tazilah*, "The Samanîyah of India made known to Hârûn ar-Rashid a certain objection to Islâm." This sentence attracted my notice to the fact that the Samanîyah are connected with India. Later on, in connection with the accounts of Sind, I often chanced upon the name of this sect. Elliot has quoted Muller to prove that *Samanîyah* means Buddhists and that the original Sanskrit word for it is 'Sarmanî' (a religious anchorite). Elliot is also of opinion that the Greek travellers and historians have called them variously by the name of Saramîns, Sarmînya, and Seymûnî.¹ Elliot's research served as a sign-post to later discoveries. Ibn Nadîm's *Kitabu'l-Fihrist* solved this jig-saw satisfactorily. It describes how the word passed on to the Greeks.

Hamzah Isfahânî wrote his book, *Tarikh Muluku'l-'ard* (History of the Kings of the World) in 350 A.H. or thereabouts. It is an authority on the history of Khorâsân and Irân. He writes in the Introduction :² "Formerly there were only two races in the world, the Samanîyans and the Chaldeans. The former flourished in eastern countries and some members of that race are still found in some corners of India and China. The people of Khorâsân call them Shamanan in the plural and Shaman in the singular number."

This gives the clue to the discovery that the Arabs heard this particular name of the Buddhists from the Khorâsânîs and that very word became current among them. Compare Ibn-Nadîm's informing description with that of Isfahânî :

"I read a document written by a Khorâsânî which records the ancient and the present condition of Khorâsân. In it was written that the Prophet of this religion was Bûza Saf and that in olden times, and even before the dawn of Islâm, the inhabitants of Mâwarâû'n-Nahr (Tûrân) were followers of this creed. The word *Samanîyah* is related to *Saman*. Of all the people who inhabit the globe they are the most generous, and this because their Prophet Bûza Sal has warned them against the most heinous evil of saying 'nay.' They follow this teaching and, in their opinion, saying 'nay' is of a piece with the Devil's

(1) *India*—Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 506.

(2) *Tarikh-i-Muluk-ul-ard* by Ibn Nadîm, p. 345.

handicraft. Their cult orders them to chase away Lucifer.”¹ This is exactly the picture of Buddhism. It has been mentioned above that the original of Bûzasaf is Buddhi Satva. This also is known; that before the advent of Islâm the religion followed in Central Asia was Buddhism. Now there is not the least shadow of doubt that *Samaniyah* and Buddhists are synonymous.

‘Abdul Qâdir Baghdâdî (429 A.H. or 1037 A.D.) has mentioned incidentally a tenet of the *Samaniyah* (which is known in Arabic terminology as takâfû adlahu (تکافؤ ادله) and which, in a way, corresponds to agnostic beliefs—i.e. that good and evil are mixed up so inextricably that everything in the world may have two sides, positive and negative and neither of them may be called right or wrong. Unquestionably this belief is one of the tenets of Buddhism, but it finds favour mostly with the Jains.

Another cardinal principle of Buddhism upon which is built the superstructure of that religion is the escape from the ills that flesh is heir to. Ibn Nadîm calls these ills by the name of Satan who is the central pivot of all vices. He says that Buddhism means the expulsion of Satan, that is, an escape from evils and troubles.

Shahristânî, who flourished towards the end of the fifth century A.H. or eleventh century A.D., has used the word ‘Bûd’ instead of *Samaniyah* and it seems he was fully conversant with that religion. He says, “Bûd (Budh) is an entity which does not owe its existence to birth. He does not marry; he does not eat; he does not drink, he does not age; he does not die.” This is practically the stage after Nirvana or escape from earthly ills. Then he describes the teachings of Buddha, ten being positive and ten negative. He describes each separately and says that, as far as he knows, there is no dissent among them about retribution arising from metempsychosis and eternal permanence of the world.²

Mutahhar bin Tâhir (مطهر بن طاهر) has very rightly quoted from an Arabic geography named *Kitabu'l-Masalik* (not Ibn Khardazbah's book but one

(1) *Al-Fihrist* by Ibn Nadim, p. 345.

(2) *Melal wa Nahal* by Shahristani ملل و نخل شهرستانی. *Madhahib-e-Hind* مذاہب ہند.

whose authorship dates back to the beginning of the 4th century or the end of the 3rd century); and Ibn Nadīm has quoted from somebody else besides Kindī that "the *Samaniyah* (Buddhists) are divided into two sects. The one sect believes in Buddha being a messenger of God; the other believes that Buddha was himself God who came down on earth as an incarnation." ¹

This refers to the controversy as to the existence or otherwise of God according to Buddhist tenets of faith. One sect does not believe in anything like God; the other has faith in God. The real fact is that Buddha himself never tried to dispel the mists of uncertainty that hang over this problem. Towards the end of the 4th century A.H., Muhammad Khwārazmī says: "The *Samaniyahs* are idol-worshippers and believe in the eternal permanence of the world and in the transmigration of souls. They also believe that the earth is gradually sinking down. The name of their prophet is Būzasaf and he was born in India. They are found in India and China and even the Chaldeans ascribe themselves to this faith." ²

The famous Arab scholar Mas'ūdī (333 A.H.), who was a noted historian and traveller, writes in his description of China:—

"They (the Chinese) follow their ancestral faith which is the *Samaniyah* cult. The ways of their worship are similar to those of the pre-Islamic Qureysh. They worship idols and, in their invocations, turn their faces towards them. The thoughtful among them take these images as mere representations of God and believe that the prayers are really offered to Him.

The foolish among them give these images the status of God and worship them." ³

Among all the leaders of mankind Buddha is the only person whose figure, even after the lapse of thousands of years, is preserved in the world. His images are found in museums all the world over. Even the Arabs were familiar with Buddha's figure. Ibn Nadīm has drawn a picture

(1) Ibn Nadīm, p. 347 and *Kitabu'l-bad'a wa'l-tarikh*
كتاب البدء والتاريخ p. 19.

(2) *Mafatihul-'Ulum* by Khwārazmī, p. 36 (Leyden).

(3) *Tārikh Mas'ūdī (Murju'ah-dhahab*, Vol. 1, p. 298). (Leyden)

of Buddha in the following words :¹

“ A person seated on a throne. No hairs on the face. The chin bent downwards. A little smile quivers up. The fingers are closed and also opened a bit.”

An image of Buddha went to Baghdad too. Ibn Nadîm had seen it and it bore an inscription.²

The Arabs knew perfectly well the countries in which Buddhism worked as a living force. We have just now come across Ibn Nadîm's statement that the religion followed in Khorâsân and Central Asia before the advent of Islâm was Buddhism. They also knew that Buddhism was followed in China too and that it travelled to China from India. Many Arab travellers have mentioned this fact. The earliest Arab traveller whose diary is before us is Suleymân the Merchant (237 A.H. or 837 A.D.) who writes :—

“ The religion of China originally started in India. The Chinese say that the images of Buddha were made for them in India. The people of both countries are alike in their belief in metempsychosis, while they differ on minor points of faith.”³ Likewise they found influences of this religion in southern India and the Southern Islands.

Bhikshu

Abû Zeyd Seyrafi, who has written an account of Southern India, the Southern Islands and China, mentions the Buddhist mendicants and calls them Bîkarjî which is a corruption of Bhikshu. The form and meaning of the word (Bîkarjî) exactly apply to those mendicants. Seyrafi says, “ There is a sect in India named Bîkar Jeyn بیکر جین. They remain naked, the hairs of their head are so long that they cover up the private parts of their body. Their nails are very long. They do not pare off their nails even though they break. They keep wandering from town to town. Round the neck of each is hung the skull of a human head by a thread. When they feel the pinch of hunger, they stand before the door of somebody.

(1) Ibn Nadîm, p. 347.

(2) Ibn Nadîm, p. 19.

(3) *Safar nama-i-Suleyman Tajir*, edited in Paris in 1811 A.D., p. 57.

The master of the house gladly comes with cooked rice and offers it to the mendicant who eats the food in the skull. When they have had their fill, they go out of the town. They come out only when they are hungry."¹ Buzurg bin Shahryâr Nâkhôda, while passing through Sarandip, had seen such mendicants. He too, has given us exactly this picture and has mentioned them as Bîkûr (بیکور). He writes that they remain practically stark naked during summer and wrap round the waist a loin-cloth only four fingers long ; that they cover their bodies with mats in winter ; that they sew for themselves a motley-coloured cloth and wear it ; that they smear their bodies with the ashes of burnt corpses ; and that they hang a human skull round their necks and eat their food in that skull for the sake of humility and edification.²

But Bêrûnî has called such mendicants the worshippers of Mahadeva, whom they resembled in appearance. They also wandered from jungle to jungle with a Jogi's beads on their necks.

(1) *Safar nama-i-Abu Zeyd Seyrafi*, pp. 127, 128.

(2) *Aja'ibu'l-Hind* by Buzurg.

SULEYMAN NADVI.

(To be continued)

AL-MANFALUTI—AN EGYPTIAN ESSAYIST

NO MOB VIOLENCE IN ISLAM

(Written on the Occasion of a Massacre of Christians by Muslims in one of the Provinces of the Turkish Empire).

MUSLIMS, if you supposed that God (may His name be praised and exalted) created Christians in order that they might die violent deaths, impaled on lances or burnt by fire, you wronged the Creator by your thoughts, denied His wisdom and made nonsense of the scheme of things. You degraded him to the level of the idler who builds to knock down, sows fields to burn the harvest, makes a garment to tear it up, strings a necklace of pearls and then breaks and scatters it.

From the moment when man is a drop in his mother's womb, God looks after him with care and protects him with his loving-kindness. He sends food and air to him in that dark prison by specially adapted passages, and guards him from the accidents of existence through the metamorphoses from sperm to clot, and clot to flesh and flesh to embryo, till he is formed a perfect man.

Seeing that God takes such trouble with his creature, treating him so tenderly and lovingly, how could he command the life which he gave to be taken away, or be pleased that the blood which he distilled into vein and artery should be poured out in vain on sandy waste or bare hillside ?

What passage of what book revealed by God, or what word or action of his prophets or messengers justifies man in injuring his quiet, unassuming fellow-man—or in religion slaughtering his neighbour because he follows a different from his own ?

If it were lawful for us to kill every man who had different beliefs and habits from our own, the world would be depopulated and remain a desolate waste.

The existence of variety amongst men as to religion, personal characteristics and habits is a law of nature which cannot be abrogated or changed. If there was only one man left on the face of the earth, he would manage to divide himself into two in order to have someone with whom to disagree and dispute—"Had thy Lord pleased, he would have made men one nation."*

Life is like heat : in this world it cannot be generated without friction between two different bodies ; the attempt to achieve religious uniformity is an attempt to do away with this world by abolishing the principles on which it is based and its very essence.

Muslims, the wars which took place between Christians and Muslims in the beginning of Islam were not in the nature of vengeance or reprisals ; they were necessary in order to free the faith of Islam from the obstacles which blocked its path and hindered its diffusion in the Eastern and the Western regions of the earth ; the fighting was defensive and protective, not aggressive or for revenge.

A proof of this statement is found in the orders which were sent to the outgoing expeditionary forces by the Caliph. The Muslim armies were forbidden to do any injury to monks and priests or to their churches or the monasteries in which they lived. Non-combatants were not to be molested in any way ; warfare was only to be waged against the forces which resisted the Muslim advance. If the Muslim purpose had been vengeance or the annihilation of Christians, the army would certainly not have spared the lives of their opponents' religious leaders.

Suppose that you annihilated all who followed a different religion from your own and that you remained in sole possession of the earth's surface, would you not at once form sects and parties ; and would not these then fight amongst themselves with the same determination that the religious leaders had, until there finally remained upon earth neither sect nor sectary ?

Muslims, Islam came expressly to put an end to the savagery which you wish to cloak with the name of Islam.

Islam came to purge envy and malice from the human heart and to fill it with pity and common-sense so that mankind could live in tranquil happiness. The blood shed in this cause was like the blood which the surgeon

* Qurân, XI. 120.

sheds to bring about a cure in accordance with the physician's instructions.

I could find excuses for you if the people whose blood you shed had been your oppressors and had been making your daily life a misery. On the contrary, these were people living under your protection in such conditions that they could not have been intending to attack you as you attacked them. There is no excuse.

I could have made allowances for you, if at least you had spared little children who are not accountable to God for their religion, and helpless defenceless women, and feeble old men who were already tottering to the grave when you marched upon them and anticipated God's decree.

You treated innocent people as guilty ; you were criminals not warriors in the Holy War ; murderers not soldiers.

Your hearts must have been quarried from granite not to have shrunk from the groans of the mother who lost her child nor have been moved by the sobs of the widowed wife.

You must have had eyeballs made of stone to look on while little children were slowly burnt to death in the sight and hearing of mothers, helpless to move a hand to save, because they were themselves caught in the flames.

I cannot congratulate you on this exploit—victory, if you will. I believe that to kill defenceless people is a sign of cowardice and weakness ; I believe that the shedding of blood is a piece of barbarity whose author is to be pitied not congratulated.

Muslims, kill Christians if your barbarous instincts lead you to do so. But do not invoke the name of God upon human sacrifice. God (may His name be praised and exalted !) does not ask the slaughter of the innocent nor desire the oppression of the weak, for verily " God is the wisest of judges and the most merciful of the merciful."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HIJRA

The Blessed Prophet Muhammad had no need to work terrestrial or celestial miracles. To unite within himself qualities which have never at any other time been united in one person was a miracle of greater significance than any alterations in the course of natural phenomena.

The fact that the Prophet was understanding, compassionate, enduring, long-suffering, modest, altruistic, sincere and benevolent made a greater impression on the Arabs than the fact that a stone called out in his praise, or that the moon was split asunder, or a tree moved from its place or a rock melted. The latter miracles were received with a certain hesitation because of their suspicious resemblance to the manipulations of magicians and priests and to the trickery of charlatans. Without the backing of the Prophet's own character and disposition, such miracles would not have had the desired confirmatory effect nor have impressed the Arabs in the way they did—as the Most High has indicated in a verse of the Qurân,* “Hadst thou been stern and fierce of heart they would have dispersed from round about thee.”

The Prophet was courageous. He did not hesitate to summon the people of Mecca to the worship of the One God, though he well knew them to be rough, harsh, quick to anger and, when angered, savage—a people as touchy about their religion as about their honour, as fond of their idols as of their sons.

The Prophet never lost faith in the success of his mission. It is to the time when the mockery of the Qurraish was at its most intense that we should attribute his saying to them, “I swear to you by God that you will soon acknowledge what you now deny and come to love what you now hate.”

He was forbearing and long-suffering. Not only did the Meccans mock and slander him but they struck him and buffeted him; they threw dust on his head and on one occasion flung the intestines of a sheep and the after-birth of a camel on his back as he was praying. His comment was to ask God to pardon their lack of understanding.

His constancy was as great as his aspiration was high. During the thirteen years in which he continually summoned his people to God he only made individual converts at distant intervals. He did not therefore yield to discouragement. The following saying is evidence of his constancy: “I swear that if the sun were to be given into my right hand and the moon into my left, on condition that I abandoned this cause before God had established it or I had perished, by God I would not abandon it.”

* Qurân, III. 153.

Such was the behaviour of the Prophet during all the time until it became evident to him that it was not from Mecca that his message would be propagated or the sun of Islam rise. There followed the Emigration to Medina and with it the passing over of Islam from its passive to its active stage, from obscurity to publicity.

It is for this reason that the Hijra (the Emigration) has been chosen as the starting-point of Islamic chronology, being its first public manifestation. It thus became a festival which the Muslim celebrates annually, as a reminder of constancy in maintaining truth and of valiant effort in the Way of God.

The Prophet's departure did not take place without fresh difficulties and hardships. The Meccans were most unwilling to let him leave their city, not from anxiety on his behalf, but from fear that he would find the helpers and supporters in his new home which he had failed to find amongst themselves. They seem to have been aware that he was a seeker after truth and that such a seeker would inevitably find support amongst men of good will. Therefore they set spies and informers to watch his movements, so that he had to go out from among them by stealth, at night, leaving his cousin 'Alī ibn Abi Tālib in his bed, to deceive them and so prevent them from pursuing him. He himself with his faithful companion Abu Bakr went toiling up the hillside, sleeping in foxes' holes and wild beasts' lairs, wandering along the hollows and hiding-places of the bare mountains, until the pursuit was broken off.

The Prophet's life is the best example which a Muslim can set before himself, if he desire to develop the noblest qualities of which human nature is capable. It is the best school in which to learn the meaning of truthfulness in word and deed ; in which to realise the value of constancy as a means to success ; and to appreciate how far vigorous effort in a just cause can raise man above all falsehood.

Why turn to the lives of Greek or Roman or modern European philosophers ? We have in our own history the example of a noble life, filled with enterprise and endurance, adorned by constancy, mildness and mercy, strengthened by judgment and policy, a very pattern of

humanity ennobled and made perfect. Such was the life of the Prophet Muhammad, our very sufficient exemplar.

NEVILL BARBOUR.

(To be continued.)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

MONUMENTS OF KASHMIR*

THOUGH this work, very ably planned and executed, will interest the general student, its special mission is as a guide to the fortunate ones who seek the playground of India with a mind to study more than its scenic and sporting delights. Kashmir has been "written up"; accounts of its art and architecture and gardens are not lacking, both in current travel-books and Surveys and Reports. But this is the first connected description of the ancient monuments of the Happy Valley, where Mr. Ram Chandra Kak was for some years Director of Archæological Research (Jammu and Kashmir State), and has therefore the pen of knowledge and authority. Let it be clear, however, that he does not write for the specialist; his descriptions are for the intelligent traveller, as also is his grouping of the monuments in districts rather than in periods and styles.

The monuments of Kashmir reflect strikingly the political and religious history of its people, as surely as its mighty mountain ramparts and the consequent abundant water-system have moulded their fortunes and characteristics. According to Brahman tradition "every lake and river and spring of the valley has a divine origin and a sacred mission to fulfil—viz., washing away the sins of the faithful.....Indeed, Kashmir itself is considered to be the holiest of all the holy lands; it is called the Rishibhumi, 'the land of sages,' Saradapitha, 'the eternally pure seat of the goddess Sarada.' It has not only its own Prayaga and its own Kurukshetra, but it has also the replica of almost every other important river or spring that is held in reverence in India."

The romantic setting of so many of Kashmir's temples is attributed to the "extraordinary reverence in which

**Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*—by Ram Chandra Kak. The India Society, Victoria Street, London. 25/- net.

both the Buddhists and the Hindus have always held Nature. To them the wide prospect over the rolling plains, as at Ellura, or the wild grandeur of glaciers and eternal snows, as at Amarnath, or the view of a magnificent sunset over the hills, as at Martand, not only made a general æsthetic appeal, but had a special religious significance; for they viewed Nature as the multifold manifestation of the Almighty."

From many sources—Greek, Chinese, Arab and Kashmiri writers—the early chapters of Kashmir history are well filled in. Its architecture came to its fullest strength in about the eighth to ninth century, and declined in vigour as internal strife followed on the weakening of Hindu rule. Structural features lost their intended purposes and dwindled to become mere decorative motifs.

The modern period of Kashmir dates from the advent of the Mughals (1587), when, instead of remaining singularly outside the world of India, it became part of a mighty Empire and a pleasure resort of the great. In this period we have the observations of the chronicler of Akbar, Abu'l-Fazl, the writings of the emperor Jahangir himself, and the accounts of Francois Bernier, the French physician and traveller, who was in the retinue of Aurangzeb during his visit to Kashmir in 1664. He notes that "the whole kingdom bears the appearance of a fertile and highly cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. Meadows and vineyards, fields of rice, wheat, hemp, saffron, and many sorts of vegetables, among which are intermingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals..... The whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants, and covered with our apple, pear, plum, apricot, and walnut trees all bearing fruit in great abundance.... In truth the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated.... Jehan-guyre became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it the place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kachemire."

The Buddhist and Hindu architecture of Kashmir shows the long and close connection of the land with the kingdom of Gandhara—from early Kushan times to the eleventh century. Except for difference of material the Buddhist art of Gandhara and that of the Hindu temples of Kashmir are practically identical, for the needs of the

two religions were the same. Buildings of the new religion followed the style of those of the older one. This "has happened twice in Kashmir, once when Buddhism slowly and gradually gave way to Hinduism, and again when, with the accession of Shah Mir, Islam, at first imperceptibly, but with increasing speed, supplanted Hinduism in the valley." Mosques were at first largely constructed with materials from disused Hindu temples, with peculiar results, as exemplified in "the mosque of Madin Sahib, outside the Sangin Darwaza of the Hari Parbat fort and its adjacent ruins, the mosques on the roadside at Vitsarnag, and Zain-ul-abidin's mosque on the island in the Wular lake." The brief detailed descriptions of Muslim architecture of Kashmir are from the "Archæological Survey of India."

In the early centuries of the Christian era Kashmir formed part of the Kushan empire. It will be with the utmost interest that students will turn to that section of this work devoted to the Harwan excavations, carried out by the author himself. They are the only remains of their kind in India, and this is the first detailed account, excellently illustrated by a number of clear plates. A striking feature of the find was the pavement of the temple courtyard, consisting of large terra-cotta tiles each stamped with a special motif, and each tile numbered, presumably "to prevent the comparatively unskilled layer from making mistakes and thereby spoiling the design. Incidentally, it shows that in ancient India, over fifteen centuries ago, labourers were expected to know at least the rudiments of writing and reading. The existence of Kharoshthi numerals also affords a reliable clue to the date of the tiles, and consequently to that of the monuments.

"Kharoshthi script ceased to be in vogue in north-western India, where it had principally flourished, about the fifth century A.D. It follows therefore that the tiles belong to a period anterior to that century, possibly a considerable period. The fact that the Kharoshthi numerals at Harwan were intended for the guidance of common labourers indicates that the script must have been at the highest pitch of popularity at the time the tiles were made. I should accordingly place the date of the tiles, and of the diaper pebble masonry with which they are associated, at about 300 A. D.

"This conclusion receives further support from the style of the human figures and other designs stamped on the

tiles. For example the physiognomy and, to some extent, the dress of the men and women are wholly unlike that of any of the races at present residing in Kashmir, or for the matter of that in India. Their facial characteristics bear close resemblance to those of inhabitants of the regions round about Yarkand and Kashgar, whose heavy features, prominent cheekbones, narrow, sunk, and slanting eyes, and receding foreheads, are faithfully represented on the tiles. Some of the figures are dressed in trousers and Turkoman caps. The only period when Kashmir had any intimate connection with Central Asia was during the supremacy of the Kushans in the early centuries of the Christian era, when Kashmir formed part of the Kushan Empire, which extended from Mathura in India to Yarkand in Central Asia.

"Indeed then, as now, it appears to have occupied a pre-eminent position; inasmuch as Kanishka (circa A.D. 125), the greatest of Kushan emperors, is said to have convened here his great council of Buddhist divines. It may be that some pious and prosperous Kushan built this shrine at Harwan where, according to the ancient history of Kashmir, resided the great Buddhist patriarch, Nagarjuna..... Among the other decorative motifs which reveal foreign influence are the figures of mailed horsemen with flying scarves tied to their heads, which are strongly reminiscent of the contemporary Sassanian art of Persia."

There are more than seventy plates, clear and informative; also an Introduction by Professor A. Foucher and a Foreword by Sir Francis Younghusband, who informs us that "His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir gave the necessary permission and financial help for this valuable book to be published by the Society."

R. C.

AN EASTERN TREASURE HOUSE*

THE editor of this collection has cast a wide and discriminating net in the vast sea of Oriental thought, ancient and modern, and has spared no pains in the labour of arranging the result. In publisher's jargon this is an "omnibus" volume. Western readers will find here an

**The Oriental Caravan*.—Edited by Sirdar Tkbāl Ali Shah, 331 pp. Published by Denis Archer, London. 8s. 6d. net. Limited Edition *de luxe*, 25s. net.

omnibus of an unusual kind : it is a unique collection, and we can recommend it to the notice of all who wish to have at hand examples in English of the best of Oriental writings.

Religious Literature, Philosophical and Mystical, Romantic Literature, and National and Miscellaneous,—these are the general headings which somewhat loosely bind representative extracts in divers literary forms, from the sacred and profane literature of Asia. Religious writings are represented by passages from the Koran, the Bible, the Vedas. Teachings from the Gita, and the Talmud.

Lovers of Persian prose and verse will find known favourites, and amongst Indian modern poetical work are some examples of the graceful fancies of Sarojini Naidu and her gifted brother Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, as well as poems by Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, devoted for the most part to war, there are some interesting extracts from the translations of Sir Charles Lyall. Jewish and Chinese literature are not forgotten, the latter represented by the English renderings of L. Cranmer-Byng and Arthur Waley.

When we add to our brief summary that there are also considerable extracts from *Eastward to Persia* (Syed Iqbal Ali Shah) and the notable lectures by Sir Mohammed Iqbal on "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" (readers may recall the review in these pages by the Editor, Vol. V, No. 4. pp. 677-683), it will be seen that "the Oriental Caravan" threads a fascinating and, at times, little worn trail. The publishers have given excellent value in the quality of the paper, printing, and general presentment of this book.

R. C.

THE REFORMATION IN ISLAM*

SAYYID Jamâlu'd-dîn Al-Afghânî, at whose fire so many torches of reform were lighted, had no more distinguished disciple than the Egyptian reformer, Sheykh Muhammad 'Abduh. Dr. Adams describes the aims, opinions and

* *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*: A study of the Modern Reform movement inaugurated by Muhammad 'Abduh. By Charles C. Adams, B.A., Ph.D., of the American Mission, Egypt. The American University of Cairo, Oriental Series. London, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford. Price 7sh. 6d.

beliefs of the latter and shows the influence which his ideas have had upon the life of Egypt since his death in A.D. 1905. As grand mufti of Egypt, Muhammad 'Abduh proclaimed true Islâm to be reconcilable with scientific thought and modern conditions while he urged the people and the Government to put away the un-Islamic accretions which alone made it seem irreconcilable. Islâm was not an affair of blind observance but of reasonable faith and righteous conduct. This was no new teaching; but abuses had become so prevalent and were identified with vested interests so powerful that to oppose them required great courage at that time and still requires no little courage in an individual. The position of Islamic peoples in the world has changed enormously since the glorious days: their mental attitude, their scale of values, even their legal system, needs readjusting; but the mental attitude of most of them has not changed. They are bewildered, angry, but still unconvinced that any change is necessary.

In this bewilderment Muhammad 'Abduh turned to the Qur'ân for guidance. Dr. Adams seems to doubt the efficacy of such recourse. He seems to think the traditional system of Islâm too rigid to admit of any readjustment; for, when writing of the position of non-Muslim peoples in the modern Muslim State, he asserts that non-Muslims can have no place in any Muslim State, except as subject peoples. But this is true only of those who come into the Muslim polity by conquest, not of those who come by invitation or agreement; so the problem is quite other than he supposes, for none are likely to come in by conquest for some time to come. Muhammad 'Abduh believed and stated that Muslims can find in the Qur'ân all the guidance that they need at this crisis of their fate. His confidence inspired others, and the result was a widespread reform movement, quite free from the secessional tendencies characterising some reform movements in India which also owed their inspiration to the preaching of Jamâl-ud-dîn Al-Afghâni. The object of the Egyptian movement is to revive the Muslim body from within. It has led to controversies, not to schisms, and the controversies still go on, though the reforming party gathers strength from day to day.

Dr. Adams' treatment of a highly controversial subject is impartial and discreet. Only the historical background

strikes us as all wrong. The ideas of Jamâl-ud-dîn Al-Afghânî were not unprecedented as they here appear. Long before that visionary came to manhood European students and observers had formed similar ideas, declaring that Islâm is capable of modern progress on Islamic lines, and advocating such progress for the Muslim peoples in preference to progress upon un-Islamic lines. David Urquhart is quite as strong on this point as Muhammad 'Abduh. The confidence which animates the Egyptian reformers was felt and commonly expressed by English people at the time of the Crimean War. The vision of the "fanatical" Jamâl'uddîn is one with that of the astute Disraeli who saw a possible justification of the British Empire in the East in a world-wide Islamic revival under British patronage. The later anti-British sentiments of the reformers can thus be traced to disappointment of once cherished hopes.

The author's translation of texts from the Qur'ân is much too off-hand, and does not always quite convey the meaning. For example: "The infidels resemble him who shouteth aloud to one who heareth no more than a call and a cry," when the meaning is, "The likeness of the (Prophet in relation to the) disbelievers is as one who" etc. The passage here translated, "Or if thou fear treachery from any people, render them the like" is no injunction to forestall their treachery but should rather be: "If thou fear treachery from any (allied) people, throw back (their treaty to them) flatly"; this is the accepted meaning which has passed into Islamic Law.

Dr. Adams ascribes the outcry against a certain published work of Dr. Ta Ha Huseyn of Cairo solely to the narrow-mindedness of the orthodox, whereas it was really due very largely to the fact that the premises and conclusions of the author were demonstrably unsound and many people thought this especially deplorable since the author was in charge of Arabic studies in the new University. Some of the names here given as among the followers of Sheykh Muhammad 'Abduh seem to us out of place in that connection; but Dr. Adams has chosen to make the late Grand Mufti responsible for a much wider growth of modernism than he ever contemplated or approved. His true disciples are men like the Sayyid Muhammad Rashid Ridâ, and the Sheykh Mustafa Al-Marâghî who believe, as he believed, that "the world will not come to

an end until the promises of God to make His light complete will have been fulfilled, and religion will take science by the hand and they will aid one another in rectifying both the intellect and the heart."

The book is a noteworthy contribution to our literature on Modern Egypt. It is furnished with an index and a bibliography.

M. P.

IN CHINESE TURKESTAN*

COLONEL Schomberg, traveller of wide experience, and man of deeds, here gives an account of the land and peoples of that area to the north of India known as Sinkiang, a vast expanse bordered by Mongolia, Russian Asia, India and Tibet. During 1927-29 and 1930-1 he made extensive journeys, in all weathers, with none but native friends, whose worth he appreciates to the full. To travel in that region of mountain and desert, fog, snow and dust one must possess patience, tolerance and an iron constitution, be prepared to set the clock back to European Middle Ages, and accept the fact that distances are so great that the traveller must go back as soon as arrived.

The author's plain, allusive style far underrates both discomfort and achievement—a casual phrase hides what to the ordinary wayfarer would be a world of misery. The peoples of Sinkiang live their own lives; except for an efficient Chinese postal service they know nothing of the complicated, harassed life of what we call civilization, with its hectic travel (there is neither metalled road nor railway), its factories, cinemas, banks, telephones and daily press.

As regards the races he encountered: "in the south" he writes, "in what is known as Eastern Turkestan or Kashgaria, there is a large, settled Mohammedan population known indifferently as Turki, Sart, or Chanto, who are by occupation cultivators or traders. In the mountains there are the nomads, dwelling in their round, felt tents, wandering with their flocks during the summer, and resting in a sheltered valley during the winter. These people fall into two groups, the Mohammedans, who are either Kirghiz or Kasak, and the Mongols, who are lamaistic Buddhists by religion, and are known as Kalmucks....

* *Peaks and Plains of Central Asia*.—by Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg. 288 pp. Martin Hopkinson Ltd., London. 15/-—net.

the Kasak and Kirghiz are closely allied to the Turki, while the Kalmuck, by religion, habits, and language is far removed."

His contact with the rebellious Tungans (the Chinese Mohammedans of whom the West hears little that is good) is of interest. He says, "They are not orthodox in certain respects, but they observe most of the tenets of Islam. It is said that the Tungan has Arab blood in his veins, but whatever he has he is a conspicuously able man; I do not say lovable, for he is a hard, relentless business man, keen on a bargain, practical and thorough. He is disliked by all other races, especially by the Chinese, against whom he has frequently rebelled, and the consequences of these rebellions is seen in the ruined cities and abandoned fields north of the Tien Shan. The Tungan is certainly a problem. Few Europeans ever speak well of him. Personally, we always got on well with them; and, looking back, I can recall many acts of real kindness and hospitality at their hands."

And again—"We used to meet many of these Chinese Mohammedans on the road. With their black wideawake hats, long black coats and waistcoats, goatee beards and austere aspect, they looked like Dissenting ministers. As I have already said we got on well with the Tungans, who have in their disposition something firm and solid such as is seldom found in other Central Asiatic communities. But there is no question of their intense unpopularity amongst other races."

Central Asia is a land of contrasts. On a spring day of sunshine one may turn a corner into Siberian winter, squalls of blinding snow or stinging sand or gravel. The traveller is alternately baked and frozen; and from bleak, stony, starvation areas he may shortly wander into a land of cheap plenty, where the bazaars are overflowing with melons, peaches, apples, grapes, damsons, rice, flour, beans, and other good things. Our author met with much hospitality, and with meals and appetites surpassing belief. At one place the food "was first-rate, but the quantity overwhelming. What horrified and fascinated me was the behaviour of my host's small daughter aged twelve months—not years—who devoured pickled cucumber, radishes dipped in sour cream and roast beef, with synthetic port to finish up with. Her mother and grandmother helped the little creature to ruin her digestion in this fashion."

Dirt, and its close attendant, disease, are only too prevalent in most of the towns, and as these are essentially trade centres they are at the locus of the ways, and unavoidable. Here is the traveller's sketch of Qarashahr, in the Torgut Kalmuck region north of the Tien Shan—"The Torgut Mongols have an unenviable reputation for great filth, which an intimate knowledge of them confirms, so that it is natural enough for their chief rallying-place to reflect the habits of the people. Qarashahr was full of Kalmucks—and the streets of refuse. The cold, nipping wind froze the loathsome ordure and blew about the long grimy black pigtailed of the women, which were encased in greasy umbrella-covers. The whole aspect of the city, with its ruined houses and crumbling walls, its grimy, bleary-eyed population, its rancid smell and mountains of frozen filth and offal, was dismal in the extreme." Such conditions were not peculiar to the lesser towns. Even the capital of Sinkiang, Urumchi or Hung Miao Tsu, an important centre, had little better to offer. When a thaw set in the streets revealed themselves as made of black, viscous mud that stank abominably; when dried, it was made into bricks. "It was deep and cloying, and horses which fell were sometimes stifled in the muck before they could be dragged out. Pedestrians walked gingerly on narrow paths, and there was a squabble every few yards when they tried to pass each other. It was naturally unwise to be polite and step off the path, since no one could tell if he were stepping into a foot or a fathom of muddy putrescence.

Everywhere was black, stenching mud. Dirt, and more dirt, was on all sides. There were grimy yamens half-tumbling down, and the whole town presented a striking aspect of grisly squalor.... Fortunately for Turkestan there is no other town like Urumchi, but certainly one is more than enough...."

The free life of the nomads, with few worries and many comforts, is pleasing by contrast. The Kasaks proved to be pleasant people, genial liars and first-rate horse thieves, but hospitable and lacking the astounding filth of the Mongols. And in spring the upland pastures which nourish their large herds are often a delight with deep grass and a marvellous array of flowers—columbines, roses, ranunculus, honeysuckle, potentilla, geum, primula, larkspur and iris. But over vast areas the country is monotonous

and lifeless, a nondescript, undeveloped land with extremes of heat and cold, arid mountains, gloomy deserts and great plains which will need all man's ingenuity if they are to take any place in the economy of Chinese Turkestan.

This excellent travel book is equipped with maps and an index, and some attractive colour plates by Captain George Sherriff.

R. C.

THE QUR'AN AND THE PROPHET*

THE personality of our Prophet in relation to the Qur'ân has exercised the minds and pens of Orientalists ever since the spirit of research took hold of them. The opinions which have been at divers times, and contemporaneously, expressed and supported vehemently by learned Professors are as various as were the opinions of the "disbelievers" of the Prophet's own day. Formerly it was usual to take imposture for granted and, arguing from that assumption, to try to show that the Qur'ân was a mere hotchpotch of scraps of Christian and Jewish folklore and theology, picked up at random, misunderstood and ill assimilated, but delivered in a style which awed the Arabs. This theory collapsed before the harvest of historical research. It had to be admitted, on the evidence, that our Prophet was sincere. Then it was said that he was an epileptic who had had some intercourse with Christians and that, when the fit came on him, things that they had said recurred to his mind and seemed like inspiration. Another theory which has been propounded rather widely is that what he supposed to be Divine Revelation was only literary inspiration of a religious kind, it being natural that he should ascribe it to the intervention of an angel since the Arab poets of his day, and even later, ascribed their inspiration to the intervention of a jinni and not, as do the moderns, to "a slight congestion of the brain." Yet another, and perhaps the most enlightened, diagnosis is that he was a Prophet just like every other Prophet—that is, in the opinion of these cultivated agnostics, a visionary, subject to occasional hallucinations and strange bursts of energy.

* *The Jewish Foundation of Islam.* By Charles Cutler Torrey, Professor of Semitic languages in Yale University. New York, Jewish Institute of Religion Press; Bloch Publishing Company, Agents. 1933.

Books have been written on the "sources" of the Qur'ân—sources covering so vast a field, geographical and literary, that belief in the authenticity of all of them appears to us much harder than belief in Divine Revelation. Some have deemed our Prophet a profoundly learned man, some an illiterate barbarian, some a madman, some a clever statesman.

In almost all these lucubrations up to now it has been argued that the Qur'ân was chiefly due to Christian influence; and also that the versions of Christian and Jewish lore and doctrines contained therein were inferior and faulty. Now we have Mr. Charles Cutler Torrey, Professor of Semitic languages at Yale University, declaring "that the very foundations of Mohammedanism were laid deep in an Arabian Judaism which was both learned and authoritative, altogether worthy of its Palestinian and Babylonian ancestry."

In a series of five lectures, delivered before the Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, Professor Torrey has put forth a new and startling theory which is, briefly, that our Prophet was a highly educated man who had been from childhood in close touch with learned Jews; that he was literate in Arabic, possibly also in Hebrew and Aramaic; and that he had been thoroughly trained in rabbinical lore by a learned Jew of Mecca who must have helped him materially in the composition of the Qur'ân, which Prof. Torrey believes—perversely, as it seems to us—that the Prophet wrote with his own hand. He writes:

"The Prophets of Israel had spoken by divine inspiration, not from book-knowledge. Mohammed himself certainly never doubted, from the beginning of his ministry to the day of his death, that his 'Koran' was the product of divine illumination, nor would he have others doubt. We are reminded of one of the great teachers of the New Testament. The apostle Paul had read Christian gospels"—an assertion, by the way, which cannot be substantiated—"and had talked with disciples and companions of Jesus; but neither in his own thought nor in his writings would he allow these facts any weight. The truth was revealed to him, he repeatedly declares; 'I conferred not with flesh and blood,' 'They who are of repute imparted nothing to me' (Gal. 1, 16; 2. 6). Mohammed would have used the same words; the Koran came to him from above, not from the reading of books.

"This is very different from a profession of unfamiliarity with reading and writing, nor is it easy to believe that he could have made any such profession. When we think of the period of preparation—certainly not a brief period—which preceded the beginning of the *Koran* and the public appearance of the Prophet, it seems truly incredible that he should not have made himself familiar with these very ordinary accomplishments. It is altogether likely, indeed, that he had possessed them from his boyhood. The family of Hashim, to which he belonged, was respected in Mekka, though neither wealthy nor influential. His grandfather 'Abd al-Muttalib and his uncle Abu Tâlib, in whose care he was brought up, might certainly have been expected to give him some of the education which in Mekka boys of good family were wont to enjoy.... Supposing that all this is granted, the probability that Mohammed had learned to read Hebrew or Aramaic in any effective way may nevertheless seem remote.... In view of Mohammed's great interest in the Jewish scriptures and the length of time during which he must have been receiving instruction in them; in view also of certain features in the *Koran*, it is easy to believe that he may have gained this gentle eminence in comparative Semitic philology."

"His 'studies' were indeed observed and commented upon. In two very important passages the *Koran* refers to human instruction received by the Prophet, in both cases in answer to the cavilling charge that his divine wisdom was only what might be acquired by any one who was willing to waste his time in listening to 'old stories.' The first of the passages is in 25.5 f. 'The unbelievers say: This is only falsehood of his own devising, and other people have helped him to it.... And they say Old stories which he has written out for himself'—It should be, "has caused to be written down"; there is no 'for himself' in the Arabic*—and they are dictated to him morning and evening.' This is instruction *given in Mekka*, extending over some time. What the scoffing Mekkans said was certainly (*sic*) true as to the process by which the narrative material in the *Koran* was generally obtained. The teacher was someone whose continued intercourse with Mohammed they could observe there in their own city.... Since the material referred to is Jewish, and since also we know that during nearly the whole of the Mekkan

* وقالوا ساطيرا الاولين اكتبها فهي تلى عليه بكرة واصيلا

period it was upon the Jews and their knowledge of holy writ that he relied, it is a fair inference that the reference is to a representative of this 'people,' the Israelite colony in Mekka."

We have not the least evidence, historic or traditional of the existence of an Israelite colony in Mekka *at any time*, nor have we record of a single Jewish *resident* there. What Prof. Torrey calls "fair inference" we (to use no stronger term) call wild conjecture. In order to clear the ground for his imagination, Prof. Torrey at the outset thrusts aside the whole vast mass of Muslim tradition as unreliable; thus getting rid of all the evidence available, and giving himself a perfectly free hand. Having thus rejected all the historical facts concerning Mecca which are known to us, he is at liberty to postulate the existence of a flourishing Jewish colony in the very centre of idol-worship in Arabia. Tradition, the acceptability of which on points of history has never, so far as we know, been questioned, tells us that, when the Meccan disbelievers wished to annoy the Prophet with posers on the kind of subjects about which he preached to them, some of them went to Yathrib (Al-Madīnah), the nearest place at which there was a Jewish colony, and got the rabbis there to prime them with conundrums which they propounded to the Prophet on their return, and the answers to which are contained in Surahs XVII and XVIII of the Qur'ān.

According to Tradition, the man to whom the disbelievers pointed as the Prophet's teacher was a Christian slave from Babylonia who afterwards suffered martyrdom for his faith in the Qur'ān as Divine Revelation. The story of the Prophet, as a child, meeting the Syrian monk, Baheyrah and being recognised by him is well-known. Waraqah ibn Naūfal, the aged cousin of his wife Khadījah, who was among the first believers in his Mission, was a Christian, not a Jew, according to Tradition. His known and reported intercourse with Christians led the Meccans in his day to think that he had learnt from them—a claim that is still made often by the Christian Arabs with whom it has become an article of belief. But Professor Torrey, finding—as he states—in the Qur'ān only a very superficial knowledge of Christianity—He seems to have ignored the Gnostic form thereof—but a profound knowledge of Judaism, cannot accept the facts as handed down to us.

In support of his idea of the Prophet as a learned scribe, Prof. Torrey quotes the Qur'ân XXIX, 48. "And thou (O Muhammad) was not a reader of any scripture before it, nor didst thou write it with thy right hand, for then might those have doubted who follow falsehood"—as if it meant that the Prophet *did* write *this* Scripture with his right hand; whereas it obviously means, and has always been taken to mean, the very opposite. Generally, when a man could write Tradition mentions it as something notable. It is recorded with regard to 'Umar ibn ul-Khattâb that he "was a scribe," and in the same tradition (*apud* Ibn Hishâm) we learn that people of as good position, his sister and his brother-in-law, employed a person of a somewhat lower rank to read to them. Literary education was by no means so general or so easy to obtain in Mecca as our author is pleased to imagine, and it was not regarded as at all essential to a man of culture or of business acumen. If our Prophet had received sufficient of it to be called a "scribe" it would surely somewhere have been recorded of him, especially when we consider the publicity in which his last ten years were spent. If he had "written every word of the Koran with his right hand," as Prof. Torrey conjectures, could the fact have been kept completely hidden from his contemporaries? To suppose so seems to us to be to fail altogether to realise the conditions of life in Mecca and Arabia in those days. The utmost that can possibly be postulated, on the evidence, is that the Prophet, by the end of his career, could write his own name and dignity and read, with help, the letters he received. The names of the scribes whom he employed to write down the Qur'ân, after the words had been uttered by him at the time of inspiration, are recorded.

We think that Prof. Torrey insists too much upon the evidences of direct borrowing from Jewish sources which he thinks he finds in the Qur'ân itself, forgetting the mighty Jewish influence which we know to have been exercised on Muslim interpretation of the Qur'ân in early times. There even arose a class of literature known as *Israiliyat*. The Arabs, wishing for elucidation of certain passages and further information with regard to ancient Prophets turned not unnaturally to the Jewish convert for an explanation, which, when given, in many cases changed the purport of the text. For example:—When dealing with the story of Joseph, Prof. Torrey writes:

"Thereupon follows the attempt of the man's wife to entice Joseph.... Joseph refused at first, but was at last ready to yield when he saw a vision which deterred him. (The nature of this is not told in the Koran, but we know from the Jewish Midrash that it was the vision of his father with Rachel and Leah). " There is no mention of a vision in the Qur'ân account of the incident. We quote the Arabic

وراودته التي هوى بيتها عن نفسه وغلقت الابواب وقالت هيت لك قال
معاذ الله انه ربي احسن مثواى انه لا يفلح الظالمون
ولقد همت به وهم بها لولا ان راى ربه كذلك لنصرف عنه السوء والفحشاء انه
من عبادنا المخلصين .

'And she, in whose house he was, asked of him an evil act. She bolted the doors and said : Come ! He said : Allah forbid ! He is my lord who hath treated me honourably. Wrong-doers never prosper.

"She verily desired him, and he would have desired her if it had not been that *he saw the argument of his lord*. Thus it was that We might ward off from him evil and lewdness. Lo ! he was one of Our chosen slaves."

Here the word "lord" (*rabb*) in both cases refers to Joseph's absent master. The same word is used later on in the same Sûrah as referring to the king. Elsewhere in the Qur'ân the word (*rabb*) is applied only to Allah. It was thus easy for the Jewish exponent, in all good faith, to put in his Hebrew legend of a vision at this point as explaining the nature of "the argument of his Lord," though the text of the Qur'ân actually implies no more than Joseph's imagining what his master, who had treated him honourably, would think of him in certain circumstances. The application of the word *rabb* to human masters in this Sûrah might serve Prof. Torrey in his argument, for it is the Hebrew use.

The author fails to note the differences in the Qur'ânic narration of the old Semitic stories, though they are noteworthy. There is no snake in the story of the fall of Adam ; the Flood is for the destruction of the "folk of Noah," not of all mankind ; Lot's wife is not turned into a pillar of salt, but simply "left behind" in the doomed township. The narrative portions of the Qur'ân were given for instruction and warning to make a strong impression on an

audience which delighted in the marvellous and the grotesque. How, then, was so much of the marvellous and all the grotesque omitted from the narratives if these were taken wholesale, as the author thinks, from Hebrew Scriptures?

It is hard to see how Prof. Torrey can reconcile complete sincerity in our Prophet with the multitude of wiles and subterfuges he ascribes to him; and some of his remarks, designed gently to tickle his audience in the lecture-hall, appear to us beneath the level of his theme. After a long passage from *Surah Yusuf*, in a loose translation, he writes:

“ This is characteristic of the angel Gabriel’s manner of spoiling a good story. Aside from the fact that we are left in some uncertainty as to Joseph’s firmness of character, it is not evident what the episode of the banquet had to do with the course of events: nor why the ladies were provided with knives; nor why Joseph, after all, was put in prison. These things are all made plain in the Midrash, however.”

We think that, if the author’s mind had not been so full of the *Midrash* and he had read this *Sûrah* without prejudice or preconception—supposing him to have a sense, as well as a knowledge, of Arabic—he would have been struck by its simplicity, rare beauty and didactic force. In his derisive treatment of it, we have noticed mistranslations—e.g., on p. 10. “ They said: If the wolf should devour him when we are such a company, *we should indeed be stupid*,” when the real meaning for the words italicised is “ we should have already perished.” And here again the author fails to note the differences from the Hebrew versions.

The author’s theories, most of which appear to us untenable, being based on pure conjecture, are expounded in an interesting and a learned way, though such locutions as “ Presumably,” “ No doubt,” “ We have good reason to suppose ” “ It is altogether likely ” recur with irritating frequency. The most interesting point for Muslims which emerges on perusal of these lectures is, that here is a learned Professor championing a theory destructive of many, if not all, previous theories of learned Professors on the subject; and that this theory, in its very nature vulnerable, is bound itself to be destroyed ere long. There

is, indeed, much similarity between these modern critics of our Prophet and the critics of his own time. The words of the Qur'ân apply to both :

“ See how they coin similitudes for thee, so that they are all astray, and cannot find a road. ”

M. P.

AN ARABIC HISTORY OF THE SELJUQIDS

THE text of this important work, which fills up many gaps in our knowledge of a very interesting period of Muslim history, has with difficulty been established by the efforts of Mr. Muhammad Iqbal, Professor of Persian at the Panjab University. In his English introduction, Prof. Iqbal declares that he is dissatisfied with the result. He writes: “ with my limited knowledge of Arabic I have not been able to evolve a satisfactory text.” Who on earth, be he Arab or non-Arab, would dare to say that he possesses an unlimited knowledge of Arabic? After reading every word of the Arabic text, as here printed, we think that Prof. Iqbal is to be complimented on a fine achievement, considering that he worked upon a single codex, of which he says :

“ The scribe does not seem to know Arabic well, for the text abounds in grammatical mistakes. Occasionally he seems to be writing by dictation, substituting الف for ع and ك for ق. The زبدة الصرة has been my chief guide in emending the text, while Ibnu'l-Athîr has been occasionally helpful.”

Add to these difficulties the multitude of Turkish words and names distorted in the Arabic, and the task appears sufficiently formidable. Yet Prof. Iqbal, though he may not have been able to establish every word with certainty, has given us a text which is always intelligible and can be read with ease and pleasure.

The only known MS. of this work is in the British Museum Library. At Prof. Iqbal's suggestion, the Panjab University acquired rotographs of that MS. from which he has evolved the present text. He tells us, on the authority of Dr. Süssheim, that the name of Sadru'd-dîn Huseyn is most probably wrongly given as the author of *Akhbaru'd-Daulati's-Saljuqiyyah*, being, in fact, that of the author of *Zubdatu't-Tawarikh*, an earlier work.

"The real author of the present work is unknown. It is obvious that he lived in the end of the 6th century and beginning of the 7th century, for he mentions الناصر لدين الله as the reigning Caliph and calls him مولانا, which shows that he was a Sunni and probably lived in Baghdad as a dependent of the court. Moreover, he has related an event connected with the last struggle of Sultan Tughril with the Khwârazm Shah in A.H. 590 on the oral authority of one Amîn'uddîn Muhammad Az-Zanjani, who was a contemporary of Tughril, and probably an eye-witness of that struggle. The author therefore lived late in the 6th century and early in the 7th century and wrote his book after the year 622 A.H., which is the last date referred to by him.

"Dr. Süssheim has tried to identify the author. He says that among the Arabic historians of the Seljuqs living in the first half of the 7th century there are two of whom either may be looked upon as the author of this work. They are:—

1. "Jamâl'uddîn Abu'l Hasan 'Alî al-Qiftî, the celebrated author of the *Tarikh ul-Hukama*. His work the *Tarikh-us-Saljuqiyya* is known to us only by name. The present work may, therefore, be none other than the hitherto unknown history of Al-Qiftî, which was written before A.H. 626.

2. "Abu'l-Hasan 'Alî b. 'Alî Mansûr Zâfir b. al-Husain al-Khazrajî al-Misrî. He was born in Egypt, and was the author of many works...."

"No. 2 according to Dr. Sussheim, is more likely to be the author of our Chronicle."

Here we incline to disagree with Dr. Süssheim. The author, whoever he may have been, had command of such a large Arabic vocabulary and used such homely idioms that one must suppose him to have been an Arab either by birth or parentage; but from the mode and diction of his Arabic, even allowing for disfigurement by the scribe, it seems to us impossible that he could have been of Egyptian birth; while, on the other hand, his free, familiar use of Turkish words suggests, as Prof. Iqbal points out, that he had lived long in the eastern provinces of the Abbasid Empire. His Arabic might be that of a native of Spain or Morocco,

The book narrates the rise and fall of the Seljuquids in a lively manner, with details and occasional anecdotes which give the narrative the stamp of truth. The struggles of the sons of each Sultân to gain the throne is a phenomenon common to all Turkish dynasties. Well-known historical figures —e.g. Nizâmu'l-Mulk Tûsi and Sultân Malik Shâh—appear in a new light. The description of the *jihad* against the Byzantine Emperor Romanus and that against the Georgians provides fresh material for the historian. A very clear idea of the position of the Abbasid Khalîfah, in face of these all-powerful Sultâns, can be derived from this chronicle; in the period of Seljuqid domination it was neither lustreless nor ignominious. The Turkish Sultâns, with all their power and pride, were ready to press forehead to the ground at sight of the Khalîfah of the Muslims, to hold the bridle of his horse, to do him menial service. The account of the repulse, by the Khâlîfah Al-Muqtafi, of an attack on Baghdad shows that the Prince of Believers could defend himself against them and count on strong supporters at a pinch.

The system of translation in the English title-page and Introduction contains a feature new to us, the placing of a comma before instead of after the inflection of nouns substantive; for instance: “ Akbhar'ud-Daulat'is-Saljuqiyya where we should have had “ Akhbaru'd-Daulati's-Saljuqiyya.”

The work is of great interest and its publication reflects credit on the Panjab University. It is provided with an Arabic index of proper names.

M. P.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN HYDERABAD*

THE Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad form collectively a most valuable inventory of the treasures of ancient art and architecture to be found in His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, as well as a record of good work done by the department; and the fine photographs with which they are always supplemented increase their usefulness and make them beautiful. The

* *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government for 1340 and 1341 F. Shitab Khan of Warangal.* By Dr. Hirananda Shastri, M. A. M O L. D. Litt.; Hyderabad Archaeological Series. Published by H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. 1933.

inventory is still very far from complete, the wealth of Hyderabad State in historical monuments being immense ; but every year's Report sets some new gems before the public in their proper light. We have now before us the Annual Reports for the years 1339 and 1340 Fasli (corresponding approximately to the years 1930 and 1931 A.D.), and also (a separate publication of the department) a monograph on *Shitâb Khân of Warangal* by Dr. Hirananda Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.LITT. Government Epigraphist for India. It is the custom for each Report, besides recounting the year's work of the department, to "feature" some centre of antiquarian interest :—in the 1339 Report it is Raichur ; in the 1340 Report, Bidar (where some excellent work has been done lately in the way of clearance and preservation). The interest of Raichur is chiefly Hindu, that of Bidar, Muslim. The "Fort" or "Citadel" is still the glory of a Deccan city, but it is the glory of a sun that has already set. The Fort may still look proudly on the outer world, but inside it is all in ruins. Before Lord Curzon's epoch-making work as Viceroy there was no care shown for ancient monuments in India, and very many have been lost or marred irreparably. Hyderabad was not behind British India in responding to Lord Curzon's call, and since the Archaeological Department was founded and placed under the expert direction of Mr. G. Yazdani, and since the State has had a Finance Minister who cares much for Archaeology, there has been a genuine concern for that form of wealth in the country which only men of taste and culture can appreciate. From the Report for 1340 F. we quote the following account of the work being done by the Nizam's Government for the conservation of the famed Ajanta Frescoes.

"The most important measures carried out during the year relate to the cleaning and preservation of the frescoes at Ajanta. In the report for the previous year (1339 F., corresponding to 1929-30 A.C.) it was stated that the frescoes in the Main-hall of Cave II had all been conserved, but those in the two chapels of the verandah were under treatment. This work has been completed during the year, and in addition to that, a large number of frescoes in Caves VI, IX, X and XVI have been cleaned and preserved. The work was originally commenced by Italian restaurateurs. Subsequently, a great deal of scientific and artistic knowledge and experience have been employed

in the preservation of the frescoes, and the result is satisfactory not only in giving the paintings a long lease of life, but also in showing them in their original beauty, so far as practicable, by a special cleaning process. For example, in Cave X, the portions of the Chhadanta Jataka noticed by Fergusson, Burgess, and Griffiths in the seventies and eighties of the last century, and supposed to be irrevocably lost by later writers, have been resuscitated from under a thick pall of dirt, smoke, and varnish, and are now being protected with a glass frame. Among the early paintings of this cave, a new subject has been discovered which relates to a bathing scene. In this painting some women are shown enjoying a bath in a delightful pool near a large tree. The part of their bodies above the water-surface, though nude, is bedecked with charming strings of pearls. Their clothes are shown hanging from the branches of a tree. As the headgear of the women in this subject is similar to that found in earlier paintings of Ajanta or in the sculptures at Sanchi, the picture apparently belongs to the 2nd century A.D.

“ In this cave the detail of the Syama Jataka, although ruthlessly destroyed by visitors in the last century who scratched their names on walls with a pen-knife or nail, has been restored to such an extent that one can now study all the episodes of the Jataka.

“ The cleaning of the Chhadanta Jataka has also brought to light several artistic features of extraordinary beauty. For instance, the delineation of birds and animals, the dresses of warriors and hunters, the ornaments of women and the symmetry of the nude bodies. The artist has shown the colour of the skin by an ordinary wash, but the outline in black is very firm and shows the contours of the body admirably.

“ In the front gallery of Cave XVI another new subject has been discovered in which Bodhisattva in the form of a large elephant is offering himself a prey to hunters. The story is painted in several episodes, in one of which we notice Bodhisattva throwing himself down a precipice. In another the hunters have lit a fire, and are cutting huge pieces of flesh from the body of the Bodhisattva and roasting them on it.”

In the same Annual Report there is mention of the two inscriptions of Asoka which were lately discovered on the estate of Nawab Salar Jung near Kopbal.

Shitâb Khân of Warangal has been thought by many people to have been a Muslim because some of his inscriptions are in Persian and because he flourished in the Muslim period and distinguished himself in the service of Muslim Kings. Dr. Hirananda Shastri, in his scholarly and very interesting monograph, shows him to have been a Hindu. "He was born probably in some ordinary Boya family about 1440 after Christ and through the flukes of fortune and self-help rose to power. First, he became the Governor of Warangal under Humayun Shâh of the Bahmani dynasty but afterwards became independent and, about the year 1504 (A.C.) succeeded in carving out for himself a small principality over which he ruled as the Chief of Ekasilapuri or Warangal, though not for a long time. Eventually, he was overtaken by misfortune...."

The monuments of his brief reign are described and his "Pillar Inscription" at Warangal fully translated. Moreover, as in all the publications of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Archæological Department, the book contains a number of beautifully clear photographs, not thrust in among the text but grouped together as a supplement. All the publications of the department are carefully prepared, well produced, and contain matter which is of permanent interest. They deserve to be widely known.

M. P.

THE TOGHLUQ-NAMAH OF AMIR KHOSRU*

It is recorded that the Emperor Jahangir one night sent for Hayâti Kâshi, one of his most favoured poets, and told him of the existence of a book in verse by Amir Khosru called the *Toghlug-Namah*. The only manuscript of the work was imperfect and Jahangir recommended to Hayâti the task of "restoring" it as a meritorious and pious work, likely to reflect much credit on the living, and bring comfort to the soul of the dead,

* متنوی تغلق نامہ خسرو دہلوی تہذیب و تحشیہ سید ہاشمی فرید آبادی بسلسلہ
مخطوطات فارسیہ (۱) بہ اہتمام محمد صدیق حسن صاحب درو طبع اردو
اورنگ آباد دکن طبع گردید۔ سنہ ۱۲۵۲ھ - سنہ ۱۹۳۳ع

The *Toghlug-nama* of Khosru Dehlavi. Edited, with notes by Syed Hashmi Faridabadi. Persian Manuscript Series No. 1. Aurangabad, Deccan, 1852 A.H.—1933 A.D.

poet. Hayâti undertook and accomplished the task; that much was known. But his rescript was long thought to have been lost, till in the *Habîbganj Library* at Aligarh, of which Maulana *Habîbu'r-Rahmân Sherwâni* (*Nawâb Sadr Yâr Jung*) is President, a Persian MS. without a title page was examined and was found to be a copy of that very work. Maulvi *Rashîd Ahmad Ansâri* undertook to edit the MS., but died before he could achieve his purpose. Then, after an interval during which no more was done towards the publication of the work, the President of the *Habîbganj Library* entrusted the MS. to Maulvi *Syed Hâshimi Farîdâbâdî* of Hyderabad, who has edited it completely, establishing a clear text with the help of the late Maulvi *Rashîd Ahmad's* previous attempt to do so, and supplying all the necessary commentation both historical and literary. The text of the poem is of course in Persian, while Mr. *Hâshimi's* commentation is in Urdu. The book appears as the first publication of the *Persian Manuscripts Society* (Hyderabad, Deccan), which appears to have been founded in order to do for Persian what the *Dâ'iratu'l-Ma'ârif* has long been doing for Arabic MSS. The main part of *Amîr Khosru's* poem is concerned with the death of *Sultân Qutbu'd-dîn*, the extermination of the family of the *Khiljî Sultâns* and, in a lesser degree, with the setting-up of the new government and with the hardships and misfortunes which befell the Muslims of Delhi. It is of considerable interest not only to the student of Persian poetry but also to the historian; in view of which we hope to publish a full description of it in the next issue of "*Islamic Culture*."

M. P.

Islamic Culture

Some Opinions

"Leads us to hope that it will rank among the most prominent publications appearing in India."
Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London

"It is a review that helps a Western reader to get into the heart of this religion, and well deserves its position as the New Hyderabad Quarterly. It is well printed and full of good work"
London Quarterly Review, London

"The review has attained and maintained a high standard of scholarship and research. The earlier numbers show that Oriental scholars all over the World have contributed to the Review"
The English Review, London.

"Many interesting and informative contributions which combine to make a journal of high literary standard and advanced knowledge relating to all forms of Islamic culture"
The Journal of Education and School World, London.

"The names of such distinguished authors among the contributors are a sufficient guarantee of the literary excellence of its contents. It deserves the support of every serious student of Muslim history, art, and literature"
The Asiatic Review London

"The Journal is sure to breathe a new life into the lethargic Muslims."
Islamic Review, England

"It is, beyond all doubt, one of the most scholarly periodicals in English devoted to the cultural aspects of Islam, in the various spheres of its activities—alike in the past and the present. It is one of the exceedingly well-conducted periodicals which have brought credit and renown to periodical literature issued in India."
The Hindustan Review

"A periodical of this kind in the English language has long been a great want. 'Islamic Culture' will be a most important addition to Indian periodical literature."
The Indian Daily Mail

"The Journal is of a really high standard the get-up is good, and the matter is excellent. Hyderabad may well be proud of this production."
The Indian National Herald.

"There is no doubt that the journal will be occupying an honourable place in the list of periodicals which save humanity from stagnation. Not merely Muslims but everyone interested in human progress will find much food for study and thought."
The Bombay Chronicle

"The Journal will do a great deal in bringing Islam into line with modern thought. It is tastefully got up."
The Hindu.

"The Magazine is well edited and leaves nothing to be desired in get-up and printing and we highly commend it to all those interested in the subject of Muslim contribution to the culture and civilisation of the world"
The Star.

"In general get-up and style the magazine is on a par with its British contemporaries, but the choice of subjects and the co-operation of brilliant Muslim and non-Muslim contributors, makes it the most interesting periodical published in India."
The Muslim Outlook.

"Islamic Culture is in every way up to date and can be compared with the first class magazines published in England, France and Germany. The magazine is unique of its kind."
The Muslim Chronicle.

A PROTEST AND A WARNING

It has been my custom to refrain from adverse criticism publicly and I have preferred to express my difference of opinion in private correspondence. The present posthumous work of Abbé Nau,¹ however, compels me to make public protest against many of his assertions, because there is the danger of the work being translated thoughtlessly into English or Urdu and thus forming a basis for future study upon the genesis of Islam.² In so many works by authors who deal with accounts of religions not their own we find a hostile bias, which can be excused only by their excessive religious zeal, and much has been sinned on all sides.

There can be no doubt that we need as clear a picture as possible of the social and religious conditions prevailing in Arabic-speaking countries at the time when the Prophet felt called upon to proclaim his mission. At the same time we must always bear in mind that the Prophet did not claim that his religion was a new one.

(1) Francois Nau ; *Les Arabes Chrétiens de Mesopotamie et de Syrie du VII au VIII siècle* ; Paris 1933 ; Cahiers de la Société Asiatique 136 p. 8 vv.

(2) As examples of translations of this kind I will only mention one which appeared in "Islamic Culture" on the invasions of Southern France by the Muslims of Spain by Renaud. In his work Renaud made use of authentic and legendary sources to establish his thesis. The use of the Romance of Turpin, for example, could only lead to false conclusions. It is probable that many of the ravages attributed, in this work, to Muslims were really due to Gothic and Hun invaders, the monastical records being written in nearly all cases centuries after the event. Another example is the translation of Père Lammens' work entitled *Islam* by Sir Dennison Ross, who has translated this learned, but greatly biased, work without comment as to the real purpose of the work. For this reason it should be used with great caution by Muslim students, who should have sufficient knowledge to use original sources.

This mission was to bring back humanity, and primarily the Arab nation, to the purity of a religion which had been abandoned, or the truth of which had been distorted by theologians and others, either on purpose or through ignorance. Islam, the resignation of the will to God, was to bring back the purity of faith as taught by Moses, Jesus and other prophets who had gone before. It was to be the religion of the Hanîfs who, though small in number, still clung to the old faith, assumed to be that of Abraham (Ibrâhîm) and the patriarchs of the Old Testament. This, I believe, is common knowledge among all educated Muslims and I need not enlarge upon it nor cite the passages of the Qur'ân and Tradition.

Different and more obscure is the picture of the actual religious and intellectual conditions in Arabic-speaking lands in the sixth century of the Christian era. A false picture, to a great extent, is derived from the only literary remains of the times before Islam, the ancient Arabic poetry—which does not carry us backward far beyond the beginning of that century—because it contains only occasional references to the settled districts of that vast country. In addition it is primarily concerned with tribal affairs, when it contains any historical or ethical references at all. Yet we find in these poems very frequently a deep religious feeling, as *e.g.* in the poems of Zuhair, and most of them have clearly defined notions as to honour and personal good behaviour. Bravery only does not make the perfect man. On the contrary magnanimity and kindness make a man what he should be. If we find, contrary to the teachings of Islam, no reference to future life, but only to the inexorable fate whose prey man must fall some day, it only echoes the general Shemitic pessimism.

How long Jews had been settled in Arabia is not known; probably Jewish merchants travelled about the country long before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A. C. Christianity had been preached in the lands surrounding Arabia for centuries before Islam. As early as the fourth century of the Christian era there is mention of a bishop of 'Omân (called in Syriac Mazômâ) and there were Christian congregations in Najrân and probably in other parts of Southern Arabia. The 'Irâq also had had for a long time Christian communities, and the last kings of Al-Hîra were converts to Christianity; while Egypt, with

which much commerce was carried on with Western Arabia, was one of the citadels of Christian faith and teaching. Most important, however, for Arabia in this matter were the Arab phylarchs of Syria with their residence in Damascus. The Ghasânî kings, originally from the Yaman, had seized the government of Syria early in the fifth century, and the work of Abbé Nau is principally concerned with their history and their influence upon Christian Arabia, his material being entirely derived from Syriac sources. He has never made direct use of Arabic sources, probably on account of his ignorance of the language. Such a collection of translated extracts from Syriac authors is most desirable for the use of such students as are unacquainted with the Aramaic tongue; but it would have been advisable for the author to have at least obtained more accurate knowledge of Arabian sources from those competent to furnish it.

The first lines of the book (p. 4) made me pause in amazement. "*The Arabs of the Hijaz had no Arabic alphabet and did not write Arabic.*" Whence has he got this knowledge? With what letters and in what language did Ubays and Zeyd write down the Sûrahs of the Qur'ân? In what language did the Arabs, not only in the Hijâz, draw up the *Hilf*-contracts, several of which are mentioned in early records in ancient forms and in the Naqâ'id? How is it that we find the earliest authentic Arabic documents, papyri which the sands of Egypt have preserved, written in a script differing very considerably from the so-called Kufai script,¹ used in Mesopotamia (Iraq), which more closely resembles Syriac script.

I must most emphatically assert that Arabic was written, and with Arabic letters, which gradually and without much modification developed into later Naskh.

A few lines further on the same page he writes: *One even forgets that the poems, called pre-Islamic, have been put in writing at a period far after the introduction of Islam by a Persian who died in 771 or 774, who had commenced life as a bad character and a robber and who has been accused of having mixed them with his imitations.*²

(1) I am firmly convinced that the earliest copies of the Qur'ân were also written in this Meccan script, not in Kufic, which came into use later, when Syrian Christians, converted to Islam, adapted the Syrian letters by making them more close to the Meccan script.

(2) cf. Cl. Huart, *Littérature Arabe*. Paris 1902, 58-59. English translation 1 p. 60.

The stupidity of these remarks, which is too obvious, ought really to be passed without remark but for the repetition of similar statements dating from the time of Hammer over a century ago. As recently as last year Smorgyi, in an article in the J.R.A.S., repeated the assertion that the Arabs knew nothing of history and that it was a Persian—I assume he means Tabari—who was the first to write Islamic history. Now in the first place Tabari, the historian, was neither the first to write Arabic history nor can he justly be called a Persian, as his whole education and life had been in lands where Arabic was spoken; and further Tabari's history is completely based upon earlier records written by Arabs, some of which have fortunately survived, but are only partly available in print. Moreover, Persians, like Firdus, had not the slightest historical instinct, nor the faintest idea of the value of correct dates.*

In the passages cited by Nau, Huart refers to Hammâd al-Râwiya, a man who is accused by *Arabic critics* of having forged verses. These critics admit that verses were forged, but this does not mean that the whole volume of ancient Arabic poetry is forged, as some of my learned friends, with Abbé Nau, are fond of believing. Hammâd was an exception, not the rule; and all credit is due to those critics who exposed these forgeries. Ancient Arabic poetry was committed to writing long before Hammâd, and the internal evidence is all in favour of its being genuine. For those who are unable to judge for themselves I can only recommend the reading of the translation and notes of Sir Charles Lyall's edition of the *Mufaddaliyat*. To go into further details is beyond the scope of this review.

The very next page of the book (p. 5) brings us another pearl. The author says: "*As regards Musalman traditions, of which the study is still in its infancy, one hits everywhere upon forgeries.*" Then he cites in a foot-note from the book of Père Lammens; *Fatima et les filles de Mahomet*, Rome 1912, p. 133: "*The Musalman traditions are perhaps to be considered as one of the greatest historical frauds of which literary annals have preserved the memory.*"

* I only wish to draw attention to the unreliability in this respect of the *Char Maqala* of Nizâmî Arûzî, the *Tarikh-i Guzida*, the *Tazkira of Daulatshah*.

These sentences clearly indicate the aim of the work ; it is not so much to be an unbiassed investigation into historical facts, as a polemical tirade against Islam. Lammens, though stigmatising the Hadith as one of the greatest literary frauds of history, does not shrink from making ample use of it when it suits his purposes and then does not take the trouble to scrutinise whether a tradition he cites is genuine or not, as long as it fits in with his arguments. The frequent mention of Fatima's complaints of her father about the hard work she has to do gives him the proof that she was ugly, that her father could not find a suitable husband and palmed her off cheaply to Ali. We are here before a riddle. The Prophet at the time of Fatima's marriage was no longer in such a position that he had to look out for a suitor for his daughter and I am of opinion that the traditions about her hard work, waled hands, etc., are forgeries. My reason for this opinion is that theologians of a later time wanted to surround 'Ali and his wife with the nimbus of ascetics which had come into favour when the family of 'Ali was being obscured by the splendour of the courts of the Banu Umayyah. Therefore Hadith were narrated concerning their austere life. The pity remains that Muslim theologians for centuries, practically without exception, have only troubled about the chains of the traditionists and their trustworthiness and not with the internal correctness or even possible correction of the traditions themselves. This left a wide gate for forgers and the customary simplicity of theologians was fully exploited, especially by natives of Persia.

On the same page the author states that it is generally assumed that the Arabs at the rise of Islam lived only in Arabia ; while in fact they inhabited Palestine, Syria and the 'Irâq and, as they were inveterate robbers, *Islam was to give them a fresh pretext for further plundering these countries.* Also that the Ghassâni kings, being monopolists, felt that they were equals with the Roman emperors, who in reality were only the rulers of the opposite Christian soil, the Chalcedonians.

" Before Muhammad," writes the author, " the Arabs had worshipped Allah, a solitary God, had fasted, given alms to the school (*sic*) of missionaries and monks and we shall see (*his words*) took pride in the practice of these virtues better than other Christians."

Nau has forgotten that he said two pages earlier that the Arabs only lived on pillage and robbery.

In a note on page 6 he makes the curious statement "He (Mu'awiya) was able to furnish his relation, 'Uthmân, with Syrian scribes, when the aged caliph wanted to put into writing the repertoire of the reciters of the Qur'ân. Remember that Mu'awiya knew how to use this book at Siffin when the Arabs of the East and West were once more at war one against the other."

When an author has the intention to invent history he does not shrink from anything as we see in this case. So Abbé Nau knows that Mu'awiya sent to Medina the scribe who made the first copies of the Holy Book. He does not state whence he derived this knowledge. For a serious student it really does not matter as the scribes are too well known, and Nau could have ascertained this without possessing any knowledge of Arabic to enable him to read the original sources of information. It is well known that Mu'awiya did *not* send them.

So far the introduction of only four pages.

In the first chapter the author discusses the climatic conditions of Arabia and the cause of the depopulation of the country, due, according to Nau, to the laziness of the Muslims who at first had the land cultivated, when the conquests brought an abundance of slaves. When, however, they had to do the work themselves everything was left to fall into decay.

As a matter of fact the conquests were responsible for the depopulation in quite another way. From verses of the Kudabi poet Abu Khirûsh and others we learn that the young strong men had gone to war and the country became denuded of the necessary labour. Moreover, certain parts of the country, suitable for cultivation, have always remained populous.

The author is quite certain that the desiccation of the country is due to neglect and not to natural causes, a point which is far from being cleared up by authorities far more competent in this respect than Abbé Nau. We do know that to-day in Arabia there are districts well cultivated and densely populated and it has been due to its seclusion that we have not had an adequate return of the country.

The following chapter contains a survey of the monasteries and convents founded by Nestorian Christians (not Catholic like the author) in Mesopotamia, and on p. 26-27 he relates how Babai discovered in the monastery of Eliya in al-Hîra that the monks had women and children in their cells. He drove them out of the monasteries. This, he says, happened between 604 and 624 A.C. and, he states, it is not hazardous to suppose that these monks, who were driven out and all those who were like them, acclaimed the Qur'ân.

I will not comment except that the author once more permits his ardour to outpace sound argument.

The author should have known that the Nestorian Church permits the marriage of the clergy.

The chief merit of the work consists in the translation from Syriac sources of the relations of the Syrian kings as representatives of the Monophysite churches with the Greek emperors, which further elucidate, though from quite a different point of view as I see it, why the conquering Muslims found such ready support from the Christianised Arab population of Syria, the 'Irâq and also, to a great extent, of Egypt. The intolerance and oppression exercised wherever possible by the supreme government must have rendered the Unitarian Muslims welcome not only as deliverers from this oppression, but also as proclaimers of a faith which was more akin to their own. It was not the *bad characters* who so eagerly embraced Islam, but those who saw deliverers in the conquerors. It is also fairly certain that the burdens in the way of taxation, etc., imposed by the conquerors were lighter, not heavier, than those the inhabitants had to bear under the imperial Greek Government.

The work could and can be a source of information if the serious student takes no account of the childish conclusions arrived at by the author.

I regret that I have devoted so much space to the review of a comparatively small volume, but for the sake of historical truth I had to do so and could have enlarged upon it further except that I might be accused of bias and malicious purpose.

F. KREMKOW.

ROUND MECCA

BARE sand, grim rocks ; no friendly palm-trees nod
By pool or stream the wanderer to invite.
Here famined Nature scowls, vague fears affright
The bold whose weary feet these wilds must plod.
Yet here, from scorching sand and barren sod,
From doubt and fear to Faith's unclouded height
Up rose, on wings of majesty and might.
One fervent spirit in its quest of God !

Each glance a longing, and each wish a prayer,
What wondrous stores lay scattered all around ;
The Maker's bounties spread before man's eyes,
Like grains of sand, or motes in sunlit air !
With new-born strength the heart's desire was found ;
The herbless desert bloomed a paradise !

NIZAMAT JUNG.



No. 1. The Sword inscribed with the name of Aurangzebe.

were not properly opened up to the Eastern World until some time after the invention of gunpowder; and though there are matchlocks here, by far the most interesting pieces in this fine collection belong to what may be described as the less sociable and more exclusive ways of killing.

In those days every man one killed was at least an individual; you paid your enemy the compliment of bestowing upon him your full and individual attention for the few strenuous moments which you spent in his company. Even a king had to concentrate his sole energies on dealing with the humblest foot-soldier who opposed him, and whom the result of the meeting might prove to be more than his equal.

I speak of course of the days when sword was matched against sword. The introduction of firearms destroyed this democracy of the battle-field, as the fate of Tippoo—"the Tiger of Mysore"—who perished in the taking of Seringapatam, well illustrates.

"Tippoo, seeing the enemy approaching, (writes Egerton) and his followers retreating, rallied them and made a stand near a narrow gateway, when, having with his matchlock and sword killed several of the enemy, he was attacked by an English soldier who attempted to detach his sword belt. The Sultan made a cut at him and wounded him on the knee, upon which the soldier shot him through the head."*

Now-a-days however, kings do not come into the life of the pedestrian warrior, even to take it away; modern weapons have eliminated this equivocal point of contact. Moreover the superior and more scientific modern methods of killing invisible opponents by hundreds at a time are open to the objection that anything pushed to excess tends to become vulgar; the standardised murder of multitudes by automatic machinery has destroyed much of what James Grant chose to call "the Romance of War"; it is devoid of that selective element which has made the great fighting epics of the worlds, both eastern and western, permanently interesting.

Where, one asks, is the individual touch,—the taste which sets natural boundaries for all the arts, to be found in this wholesale age? Not only the individual, but all

* *Indian and Oriental Armour.*

individualism is extinguished on the modern battle-field : and the clouds of conflict, which used to be illuminated by vivid flashes of individual brilliance, are replaced by the heavy pall of universal sameness which has added the depressing element of general mediocrity to an ordeal which was already terrible enough.

However, to return to the sequestered Armoury in which I write : here are Persian scimitars and Indian *tulwars* of such ingratiating and exquisite pattern, and shaped withal of such delicate materials, that one almost feels that, if anything *could* make up for the irreparable loss of one's life, it would be the receiving of one's quietus through such elegant agents as these !

But " death," as Claudio observed, " is a fearful thing " for most people who have found themselves confronted by it ; and there can scarcely be a more telling tribute to the all-powerful influence exerted by art over most human activities than that man should have striven to adorn the very tools which he invented to destroy others and *himself*, with all the beauty which his skilful hand was capable of producing.

It would be hard to trace the first appearance of the sword in the primitive world. Probably the bronze swords found by Schlieman in the Tombs of the Kings at Mycenae, and those in the Etruscan tombs, bring us as near as we can get to the origin of that symbol *par excellence* of military power and pomp ; these primitive types are familiar to everyone through Flaxman's illustrations of Homer. And in truth the Greek short, leaf-shaped sword, handsome though it looks in classical works of art, must have been a poor sort of stand-by for its hard-pressed owner,—a kind of cross between sword and dagger, in fact.

It is proper for all people of normal enthusiasms, however soft-hearted and humane they may be, to respect and admire the sword, the honest weapon of open single combat, and the time-honoured badge of courage ; but of the dagger, the concealed ally of the stealthy assassin, the same thing cannot be said. Speaking generally, the less a sword resembles in type that crafty and treacherous weapon, the more it wins our good opinions, and to that extent one appreciates the main distinctions between the typical sword of the East, which is formed for the downright cutting blow, and the straight-edged cut-and-thrust weapon of the Western world.

"So long as Easterns adhere to their rigid grasp of a small handle and sweeping cut delivered from the shoulder, the Persian scimitar or Indian *tulwar* will remain the natural weapon of the Eastern horseman," says an old authority. So there is nothing remarkable in the fact that the gallery which we are discussing should glitter with crescent blades, whether tempered by the ancient armourers of Damascus or Khorasan, or from those forges of typically Indian steel, which "was of such surpassing value and excellence that in the days of yore a man who possessed a mirror or sword of 'ondanic' regarded it as he would some precious jewel."¹

Europe, Asia and Arabia have always extolled the sword. Let us glance backwards towards misty Iceland, for from that chill region issued those inspiring Northern sagas that can still make the eye kindle. The worshippers of the stern deities of the white North, Odin, Thor, and Freyia, were weavers of some of the greatest of the world's martial epics. The Skalds² of Iceland sang of the Volsungs, and how Sigmund the mighty wrenched the magical sword out of the tree (which grew in the centre of the hall) in which Odin himself had buried it up to the hilt; how the hero wielded it in many victories—until in his last battle he was encountered, in the midst of the press, by a grey one-eyed man³ in a blue cloak, on whose spear the blade was shivered in pieces; how the dying king told his queen to keep the shards of the sword, and revealed its name; for in heroic times the heroes named their trusty swords just as the Indian Princes did a great many centuries later.⁴ So Sigmund's shattered weapon passed to his son Sigurd. The story tells how Regin, the smith forged the sword "Gram" out of these fragments and how, as he left the smithy, it seemed to the smiths that the marvellous blade he carried burned with fire along its edges; and how he gave it to Sigurd who killed the dragon, Fafnir, with it and did other mighty deeds. For Sigurd passed through the ring of fire to win the martial maiden Brynhild, who lay asleep in her armour within

(1) *Indian and Oriental Armour*: Egerton.

(2) Bards.

(3) Odin was always represented as one-eyed.

(4) Manucci gives a lengthy list of the names of the Sabres of the King. *Storia do Mogor*: Irvine's Translation; Vol. II, p. 358.

the charmed circle. Sigurd won the maiden, but not—alas!—for himself: whence followed the tragedy of the hero's marriage and death by treachery.

In the later mediæval story, Sigurd reappears as the hero Siegfried, and his sword "Gram" has changed its name to the no less victorious brand, "Balmung." But in spite of its new guise we can recognise all the features of the primitive Northern Saga in the heroes and heroines of the *Nibelungenlied*. For the romance of the sword never really changes, whether it be of the north or south, the east or the west: whether it was recited in the halls of the Norsemen while they quaffed foaming horns of mead to the departed heroes in Valhalla:¹ or sung by the Master-Singers in some grey castle of the Rhineland; or chanted to the lutes of the Troubadours in the Courts of Love of old Provence.

The story, of which the world is not yet tired, is the same, whether it be the tale of the Paladin, Roland, wounded in his last resistance to the Moors, and trying with his dying effort to save his faithful sword from falling into the hands of the enemy, or of the British paragon, King Arthur, before his death, directing the last of his knights, Sir Bedevere, to fling his invincible sword, "Excalibur"—which is to say, "Cut-steel,"—far out into the lake. Only Tennyson should be allowed to paraphrase that incident:—

Then quickly rose Sir Bedevere, and ran
And, leaping down the ridges lightly, plunged
Among the bulrush beds, and clutched the sword,
And strongly wheel'd and threw it. The great brand
Made lightnings in the splendour of the moon,
And flashing round and round, and whirled in an arch,
Shot like a streamer of the northern moon
Seen when the moving isles of winter shock
By night with noises of the Northern Sea.
So flash'd and fell the brand Excalibur:
But ere he dipt the surface, rose an arm
Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,
And caught him by the hilt, and brandished him
Three times, and drew him under in the mere."²

(1) The Vikings' Paradise.

(2) This sword (Caletywlech, Caliburn, Excalibur) is a Pan-Celtic marvellous object, and is one of Arthur's most famous possessions. . . . Geoffrey of Monmouth recognised it as a fairy sword, and says that it was made in Avalon, namely, the Celtic Other World." *Arthurian Chronicles*.

The sword is the theme of all early poetry and mediæval romance ; and it is curious to reflect that while many a hero's name has passed into oblivion, the world still knows the names of the swords wielded by Charlemagne and the Cid.¹

As to the practical feats which the Paladins accomplished :

"Guart, in his rhymed chronicle describes the terrible blows the Germans, at the battle of Bovines, inflicted on the French by means of these swords. He relates of Charlemagne, that with his sword he could cleave a knight right down to the pommel of the saddle, and cut into the very back of the charger. Such statements may be of a fictitious character ; yet the efficiency of the weapon is proved by trustworthy contemporaneous authorities.... Du Cange says that after examining various ancient swords hung up in the churches and convents, he did not discredit the valiant deeds ascribed to Godfrey of Bouillon."²

II

THE SWORD OF AURANGZEBE

The reader may be inclined to complain that in thus reviving the fierce ancient tales and ballads of the West, in which a pound of fact was perhaps buried beneath a ton of exaggeration, we have strayed rather far from the Armoury in the Indian Museum in which we found ourselves at the commencement of this discussion. But as a matter of fact we have been there all the time. It is indeed the influence of these surroundings which induced this recessional attitude of mind ; for although no European arms are displayed in these show-cases, the distinction

What this famous sword could accomplish is thus vaunted by the old historian : "Arthur waxed wroth at the stubbornness of their resistance, and the slowness of his own advance, and drawing forth Caliburn, his sword.... whomsoever he touched, calling upon God, he slew at a single blow, nor did he once slacken in his onslaught until that he had slain four hundred and seventy men single-handed with his own sword Caliburn." *History of the Kings of Britain* : Geoffrey of Monmouth.

(1) They were called *Joyeuse* and *Tizona*, respectively.

"Nearly all heroic legends of that age make mention of swords which bore special appellations."

Chivalry and Ancient Armour : A. Lowy.

(2) *Ibid.*

between the hemispheres of East and West, which was never so absolute as is commonly believed, is often hardly distinguishable.

The characteristic sword of the East, the scimitar, or *tukear*, is of course distinctive; and since many of these swords are Mogul blades, they appropriately represent the arms as well as the art of the Children of the Moon.¹

One feels that the appropriate Western antithesis to these sabres ought to be the broadsword of Chivalry. "At the time of the (Norman) Conquest the sword was straight, broad in blade, two-edged and pointed."²

But one of the curious facts which constantly surprise the visitor to the East is that one so frequently stumbles upon Western parallels. I do not speak merely of that mingling of ideas, whether in art, literature or economics, which is obviously unavoidable in an age of internationalism, speed, and wireless telegraphy—especially when a general restlessness and instability is ruffling the face of the globe, much as the troubled face of the calm water foretells the approach of the maelstrom.

But just as, when we read the Eastern classics, we are brought to a pause every now and then by a story, a phrase or a thought that can transfer us, more swiftly than any magic carpet, straight back into ancient Greece, so there are swords in this Indian gallery, any one of which looks as though it might have been worn by one of the old Western champions. They can recall the vivid picture left by ancient historians of the advance of the Norman host at the battle of Hastings, preceded by Taillefer, the minstrel, who, as he rode onwards, throwing up his heavy sword and catching it again, sang the Song of Roland.

This blade, for instance, with the grip of the cross-hilt ending in a trefoiled pommel, might have been the sword of Taillefer himself, except that it is so light in form, and that the quillons of the hilt curve downwards instead of upwards towards the point of the blade.

This other, with the elegant flame-like blade, looks marvellously akin to those ornamental Fifteenth Century brands, which seem to have been constructed chiefly to

(1) "The *Persians* and Rajputs are children of the Sun, the Moguls and Sunnis of the Moon or Crescent."

Indian and Oriental Armour: Egerton.

(2) *Armour and Weapons*: Ffoulkes.

inspire poets and artists. The swords of this type, which were effectively used by the Swiss warriors, must have had a grip more than three times the size of this miniature hilt, and a blade proportionately longer.*

But still this Indian blade does epitomise, as it were, the Miltonic ideal; it is the sort of sword with which he armed his angels and archangels, and was the symbol of eternal banishment to Adam and Eve :—

“ They looking back all th’ eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,
Waved over by that flaming brand; the gate
With dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms.”

But to continue our inspection of the armoury: we come at last to the typical weapon of the East. At first glance these sabres seem to be as like one another as a flock of sheep. That is to say, they are all crescents, and much the same in size. If we take one at random from the stand of arms on which these blades are fixed like the rays of a star—a circular shield forming the centre from which they radiate—we feel that we shall know them all. Here is one, however, which seems to possess a small special feature, a tarnished embroidered tassel. This gew-gaw, though slight enough, is just sufficient to distinguish it from its fellows which are much more conspicuous in the adornment of their hilts and blades.

We open the case, and take down this sabre—an Indian *tukwar*, with plain useful blade, merely bearing a single simple inscription in gold, and damascened in gold on the blunt side. The steel hilt with its wide circular pommel, from the boss of which the tassel dangles, is damascened with floral sprays in gold: and so is its knuckle guard; but there is no ostentation about this very practical weapon. The bare, business-like blade is not covered with beautiful gold calligraphy inset in elaborate *cartouches*; not divided into compartments and chiselled with representations of the fierce jungle animals or with hunting scenes, like the handsomer sabres in the show case.

This might be the sword of some poor but gallant officer with nothing except the gold damascene to proclaim his moderate rank. But the tassel lends the unpretentious

* I measured the grip of this weapon which was only $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, while the blade was $38\frac{1}{2}$ inches! The small grip of many oriental swords as contrasted with the length and weight of their blades is remarkable.

weapon just enough distinction to make us wish to get the Persian inscriptions translated. We are well repaid for this trouble: "Shahan Shah Aurangzebe Alamgir," runs the legend, and the year of the Hegira 1094 (A.D. 1682) is recorded. It is the sword of Aurangzebe.

So *this* simple soldier's weapon was, for countless numbers of individuals, the emblem, perchance at times the *agent* of the supreme power. This sword may have dealt death to more than one; symbolically it must once have figured forth, on a grand scale, the might and majesty of the Grand Mogul. Once, there was nothing higher in the whole length and breadth of Hindustan than this sword!

Even if the cautious reader objects, that supposing that this sword really did belong to Aurangzebe, still he was a soldier and an emperor, and must have had other swords besides this single blade, it does not affect the significance of the weapon before us. As for its simplicity, that, to my mind, seems to enhance the interest of this exhibit. Had it been a sword encrusted with jewels which could dazzle the eyes by their lustre, as the poets describe the magical sword, "Excalibur," it would merely have been a court relic of considerable intrinsic but of little practical value. For we all know that the Moguls exceeded all the kings of this world in the lavishness of their display.

Let us hear what Manucci, the Italian physician who lived near the Mogul court, and has told us all about Aurangzebe, has to say:

"Most Europeans," he writes, "imagine that the grandeur of kings and princes in other parts of the world cannot compare with what is found at the courts of their sovereigns. Excluding the principal ones—those of the Emperor, the King of France, and the King of Spain—nowhere else can be found, as they think, those airs of grandeur and of majesty which follow in a sovereign's train. But, without speaking of the Emperor of China's court, which, according to the accounts we have, is extremely splendid and majestic, I assert that in the Mogul Kingdom the nobles, and above all the king, live with such ostentation that the most sumptuous of European courts cannot compare in richness and magnificence with the lustre beheld in the Indian Court."*

* *Storia do Mogor*: Niccolao Manucci, Irvine's Translation Vol. II.

All the more reason, the incredulous may observe, to doubt that the sword before us ever appertained to Aurangzebe. But Egerton has written: 'It was not, however, the best sword that was most adorned. A sword was sent by the king of Cabul to the Governor-General, which had once belonged to Tamerlane, and had been taken from Ispahan by the Afghans; it had no ornament except some gold about the hilt, and an embossed gilt sheathing about six or seven inches up the scabbard.'¹

It must have been just such another weapon as this, in fact. As to the suggestion that Aurangzebe may have possessed other swords (as though that could diminish the importance of this one!) there are of course numerous witnesses to the fact that he undoubtedly must have done so. Abul Fazl has left us in no doubt as to the importance which the Mogul Emperors attached to their arsenal. "All weapons for the use of His Majesty (Akbar) have names, and a proper rank is assigned to them. There are thirty 'Khacah' swords (applied to His Majesty's particular use) one of which is carried to the Haram every month, and the former one is returned. There are also in readiness forty other swords which they call 'Kotal' out of which the complement of thirty is made up."² Since the spirit of unbelief is at least as potent a factor as human credulity, Abul Fazl's evidence is cumulative testimony as to the probability that this interesting relic is an authentic member of a numerous family.

III

THE SWORD IN MOGHUL ART

But even without the help of Abul Fazl, an inspection of other branches of Mogul Art, not very far removed from the scene of our investigations, shows that Aurangzebe was in the habit of using many different swords. We have only to cross the adjoining circular hall to reach the part of this Museum in which the Mogul paintings are displayed.

These pictures are hung in a series of small cabinets; and among them we shall find no fewer than five separate portraits of Aurangzebe. These interesting delineations reveal the Emperor during several distinct stages of his career. In the first of these pictures, which shows him in

(1) *Indian and Oriental Armour*.

(2) *Ain-i-Akbari*: Blochmann's Translation.



No. 2. Aurangzebe as a young man.



No. 3. Aurangzebe in middle age.



No. 4. Aurangzebe in old age.

early youth, the sword he wears is the *tukwar* : it is of a design similar to the Museum specimen, and also shows the tassel (a fairly usual appendage) hanging from the pommel.¹

In the tinted drawing—which depicts Aurangzebe as a young man (Portrait No. 2), he looks very much the warrior, equipped with the curved sabre and shield which are obviously not mere empty emblems of Mars.²

The third of these likenesses is a highly finished painting of the Grand Mogul in middle age. He rests his left hand on a long straight sword with basket hilt, but seems more interested in the flower which he carries in the other hand. (Portrait No. 3) The picture belongs to a late period of Mogul painting.³

If we now turn to the cabinet in which Sir Akbar Hydari's Collection (which has been lent to the Museum) is arranged, we shall find a very different representation. Aurangzebe is here neither depicted as the soldier, nor as the man of leisure : the Emperor, who is old and bent, leans upon a slender gold-hilted rapier,⁴ and appears to be in deep thought. The reverse of the picture bears the legend, in Persian : "There ought to be two lives for a skilful and wise man. One for learning and gaining experience, the other for putting into practice the knowledge and experience he has acquired."⁵

The last of these portraits (Portrait No. 4) gives us an even more pathetic view of this famous personage. Here he has neither the *tukwar* nor the straight sword, but is entirely unarmed save for the dagger in his girdle, and, bent with age, seems feebly to support himself with the help of a staff with a crutch handle.⁶ The portrait cannot but

(1) Number 289 in the Catalogue Sir Ratan Tata Collection

(2) Number 315. This picture is in the late Mr. Purshotamdas Mavji's Collection

(3) This picture was acquired by the Trustees from the Collection of the late Rao Bahadur Patasnis of Satara.

(4) I am not aware that the Moguls used the rapier, but the very fine blade represented in this picture seems to justify the title, it is obviously better adapted for thrusting than for cutting

(5) Number 466 in the Catalogue.

(6) This portrait resembles the description of Aurangzebe as seen by Ginvelli Carrieri who "saw Aurangzebe in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He describes him as of low stature, slender and stooping with age, with a long nose and a round beard, the whitening of which was more visible on his olive skin. He was dressed in plain white muslin, with one emerald of great size on his turban. He stood amidst his Omrahs, leaning on a staff, received petitions, read them without spectacles, endorsed them with his own hands, and by his cheerful smiling countenance, seemed to be pleased with the employment."

History of India : Mountstuart Elphinstone.

strike one as appropriate for the "last scene of all that ends this strange eventful history"; indeed the five portraits we have looked at hardly seem to require any written commentary, so well do they present to our gaze the struggles, success, and disillusionment of one of the most politic and successful characters in history.

I have only followed high authorities in regarding the curved blade of scimitar pattern as typical of the East, in contradistinction to the straight weapon of the West. But Mogul Art goes far to destroy this distinction, as it does many others. The sword is often depicted in these pictures as a straight blade, which from the pose of its owner, appears to have been carried in the hand like a walking stick.

Some of the straight swords represented in the Mogul portraits are of much heavier type, and appear to be almost identical with the basket-hilted claymore. It is not uncommon to find the Mogul Emperors represented in art, without their swords. Thus Jehangir, in a characteristic but damaged picture of that ardent huntsman, is shown with his falcon on his wrist, as swordless.¹ In the portrait which reveals him at an earlier stage of his career, he carries a long straight walking sword.² Shah Jahan, in the admirable picture representing the Emperor in old age, carries no sword, though the dagger—the type with the horizontal instead of vertical grip, which seems to have been an inseparable appurtenance of the Mogul Emperors—is stuck in his girdle.³ Generally speaking, it seems that the Grand Moguls were inclined to discard the most martial of their accoutrements with the advance of age; and perhaps Akbar was exceptional in this respect, as in so many others; for in one picture of him, in these collections, he is drawn as a grey-haired veteran carrying a straight sword of no very war-like character, and a little straight-hilted dagger in his belt—which is no larger than a small knife.⁴

A curious artistic error—or is it symbolical?—appears in another portrait of Akbar.⁵ This picture purports to show that great monarch as a very young man holding a

(1) Number 427 : Mavji Collection.

(2) Number 163 : Sir Ratan Tata Collection.

(3) Number 347 : Mavji Collection.

(4) Number 286 : Mavji Collection.

(5) Number 105 : Sir Ratan Tata Collection.



No. 5. Emperor Babar and Humayun.

sword with a short blade of the same thickness throughout, with a grip to its hilt that is far too small to accommodate the hand delineated by the artist! If this is really a blunder by the painter, it is a very curious error, for the unpractical hilt is drawn in detail; is it possible that some of the ornamental court swords were never meant to be used as weapons, and that their extremely small hilts—some of them unsuitable for any hands save those of a child—were a sort of polite, visible assurance of their innocuousness?

Turning to the Persian pictures, there are two points of distinction in regard to the rendering of the arms, which can hardly fail to strike the observer. One is that the "fashionable" type of Mogul dagger with its horizontal grip is replaced by a straight jade or jewel-hilted weapon; and the other is that the principal weapon worn is always the scimitar.¹ In a very beautiful picture of Babar and Humayun. (Portrait No. 5), the conqueror of Hindustan is shown with the true Persian blade bearing a jade hilt with short gold quillons, sheathed in a handsome scabbard of crimson velvet and carved ivory, with a gold point;² and in the very old picture, obviously an illustration from the *Shahnamah*, which depicts the national hero, Rustum, in battle, all the swords of the horsemen are of the true crescent type. We may further refer to the two versions of Firdausi's famous epic, which are on view in the Museum.³ The later version was copied by Sarfuddin of Lahore (and was probably illustrated by an Indian artist) in the year of the Hegira 1242 (A.D. 1828). These pictures invariably show the scimitar or straight-hilted curved dagger. In the earlier of these two handsome folios, which was copied by Ramdas, son of Rai Bahadur Harjoyind of Delhi, in the year of the Hegira 829 (A.D. 1425), the swords are very carelessly drawn, but still of the curved type, though sometimes the curve is slight. Taking into consideration the fact that the mediocre artist was most probably Indian, and worked in India, and was accustomed to a large variety of shapes in the sword, I think he intended the swords in these pictures to represent the typical scimitar. There are a great many varieties of straight Indian swords in the Armoury; and the evidence

(1) At least so far as the exhibits in the Prince of Wales Museum are concerned.

(2) Number 372: Mavji Collection.

(3) Sir Ratan Tata Collection.

of the painter's art which is copiously available in the Museum clearly shows that the Emperors who succeeded Babar, by no means restricted themselves or their people to the use of the *tulwar*.

Another point which a review of the Persian and Mogul pictures helps us to understand, is that the elegant swords which the artists depicted were very different weapons to those shown in the Gothic or Mediæval art of Europe. In the monumental brasses of the old churches and abbeys of England, the swords girded round the figures of the heavily armed knights are terrible affairs, grisly symbols of their wearer's power and zeal for destruction. Now, in this Armoury there are many fierce-looking Indian swords, some broadening and double-edged near the point of the blade, others with serrated, others with "flaming," edges; there are grim *Yataghans*, huge "gauntlet" swords, and a host of barbarous inventions for making the dismemberment of one's foes as speedy and practicable a business as possible. One has only to dip into Babar's memoirs to realise that the Mogul sword was not merely for show; and the light-hearted way in which that spirited chronicler of stirring events will describe some one or other of his braves as "chopping away splendidly," or "doing distinguished work" (as he calls it) leaves any one with a grain of imagination in no doubt as to the grim potentialities of the sword in the practised hands that wielded it. The interesting point is that the Mogul's sword, in battle—and, what was very often much worse in those days of conquest, *after the battle*—was a somewhat different matter to the sword as represented in Mogul art. The courtly artists of the period (by which term I would designate the reigns of Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzebe) portrayed, but they did not stress the sword. They tolerated it; but they did not dwell upon its sinister significance. In the Mogul portraits the sword is generally there,—but no more than that. Its presence is never insisted upon, and it is never reproduced in its more blood-thirsty aspects. The sword, according to this cultured school of painting, is an elegant accessory, an ornament, not to be recognised by the spectator as the typical engine of death. Very often the artist's august sitter is portrayed as holding a flower in one hand and his sword in the other; and it is noticeable that the flower is always the more elevated of these antitheses. We

are of course discussing Mogul portraiture, not the battle scenes, which are usually very conventional pieces and quite devoid of realism and the atmosphere of horror. One never comes across such fearsome pictures as art in the West includes, such as the martyrdoms and killings, depicted with such a keen relish for the details of terror by the Italian and Spanish schools, or the sanguinary executions, wrecks and battles of French art, whether in the Louvre or at Versailles; or the repulsive realism portrayed by Hogarth; or the horrors of war limned by Verestchagin.¹

Whatever may be recorded of the conquerors of India, it seems probable that the Mogul artist did not revel, and therefore did not excel, in the delineation of scenes of bloodshed; and it is pleasant to pass from the turmoil of the camp to the calm of the studio in which the court, the courtiers and peaceful scenes of love and indolence were the favourite subjects patronised by the Moguls. Art, instead of stimulating these military connoisseurs to fresh deeds of harshness, was the gentle medium employed for relaxing the stern sinews of the tired warrior, just as surely as the charms of the fair Omphale induced even Hercules himself to lay aside his mighty club and lion's skin, and ply the distaff for once in quietness and peace.

IV

THE SWORD IN ACTION

This view of art as intermediary between militarism and outraged culture, as the emollient or reconciling force, must be familiar to all readers of the Mogul memoirs, though its full significance may be missed in foreign commentaries on the period written by observers to whom art meant little or nothing. There is no doubt that a high grade of culture often went hand in hand with military exploits, both in the East and the West.²

(1) By contrast to this pictorial reticence in regard to the facts of war there are numerous illustrations of Hindu mythology of the usual blood-curdling description. I do not of course forget these pictures of carnage, which are also to be seen in the Prince of Wales Museum; but even if some of these are the work of Mogul artists, an illustration of mythology is quite a different matter from the voluntary selection of subjects of strife and bloodshed.

(2) Great military art patrons of the West included Pericles, Alexander, Francis I, Charles V, Cæsar, Borgia and Napoleon.

How can any one who reads Jehangir's memoirs sympathetically help feeling his interest strongly engaged by the obvious zest with which that magnificent protector of the fine arts withdrew himself from scenes of controversy and conflict to snatch a lucid interval in the company of artists and poets, and in the pleasure of stimulating and rewarding their genius? Who can doubt in which domain—war or art—his interest really predominated? Who can fail to sympathise with the reluctance with which he abandoned the atmosphere of the studio for the ungrateful task of war. And if the detractors of Jehangir are to be allowed to attribute this reluctance purely to sybaritic motives, they may be reminded that the same tendency in an incipient stage may be traced even in the military annals of his famous ancestor, without in any way impairing his prowess. The valiant Babar could pause even in the full career of detailing his military exploits, to notice beauty in nature, or softening traits in the fighting men of whom he wrote with unflagging zest. For instance in his account of Bai-Sungher Mirza, who, he states, "fought two ranged battles," he does not omit to point out that "he wrote the naskh-ta-liq character very well: in painting also his hand was not bad. He made Adili his pen-name and composed good verses."¹

The influence of Eastern culture is a recognised world asset. Tod has written: "Those long-cherished chivalrous notions, for which the Salian Franks have ever been conspicuous, had their birth in Central Asia; for though contact with the more polished Arab softened the harsh character of the Western warrior, his thirst for glory, the romantic charm which fed his passion, and his desire to please the fair, he inherited from his ancestors on the shores of the Baltic, which were colonised from the Oxus."²

We may supplement the opinions of this historian of India with those of Sir Walter Scott, not forgetting that Romance is one of the greatest vehicles of Truth. *The Talisman* is a story based really upon the same idea. In this tale Scott has drawn the contrast between the swords as well as the manners of the Frankish Crusaders and those of their Eastern opponents; though Richard Plantaganet bulks large on the story, Scott's true hero, as every British

(1) *Memoirs of Babar*: Beveridge's Translation. Vol. I., p. 111.

(2) *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*: James Tod. Vol. I., p. 465.

schoolboy knows, is Saladin, the "verray parfit gentil knight," whom he represents as another Bayard, a cavalier *sans peur et sans reproche*. There is a well conceived episode which I may quote here at some length; it should be remembered that the crusaders had decried the scimitars and daggers of their enemies as "sickles and bodkins." We read that the Saracen Soldan hospitably received the English king and his followers during a truce; and the sequel is thus unfolded:—

De Vaux who was in attendance then removed the chappi (capa) or long riding cloak which Richard wore, and he stood before Saladin in the close dress which showed to advantage the strength and symmetry of his person, while it bore a strong contrast to the flowing robes which disguised the thin frame of the Eastern monarch. It was Richard's two-handed sword that chiefly attracted the attention of the Saracen, a broad straight blade, the seemingly unwieldy length of which extended well-nigh from the shoulder to the heel of the wearer.

"Had I not," said Saladin, "seen this brand flaming in the front of battle, like that of Azrael. I had scarce believed that human arm could wield it. Might I request to see the Melech Ric" (King Richard) "strike one blow with it in peace and in pure trial of strength?"

"Willingly, noble Saladin," answered Richard; and looking around for something whereon to exercise his strength, he saw a steel mace, held by one of the attendants, the handle being of the same metal, and about an inch and a half in diameter. . . the glittering broadsword, wielded by both hands, rose aloft to the king's shoulder, circled round his head, descended with the sway of some terrific engine, and the bar of iron rolled on the ground in two pieces, as a woodsman would sever a sapling with a hedging bill."

After complimenting the king on this "most wonderful blow" Saladin notices the triumphant sneers of the crusaders and, remarking that each land had its own exercises, he took from the floor a cushion of silk and down, and placed it upright on one end:

"Can thy weapon, my brother, sever that cushion?" he said to King Richard. "No, surely," replied the king; "no sword on earth, were it the Excalibur of

King Arthur, can cut that which opposes no steady resistance to the blow."

"Mark then," said Saladin; and tucking up the sleeve of his gown, showed his arm, thin indeed and spare, but which constant exercise had hardened into a mass consisting of nought but bone, brawn and sinew. He unsheathed his scimitar, a curved and narrow blade, which glittered not like the swords of the Franks, but was, on the contrary, of a dull blue colour, marked with ten millions of meandering lines which showed how anxiously the metal had been welded by the armourer. Wielding this weapon, apparently so inefficient when compared to that of Richard, the Soldan stood resting his weight upon his left foot which was slightly advanced: he balanced himself a little as though to steady his arm; then stepping at once forward, drew the scimitar across the cushion, applying the edge so dexterously and with so little apparent effort, that the cushion seemed rather to fall asunder than to be divided by violence.

"It is a juggler's trick," said De Vaux, darting forward and snatching up the portion of the cushion which had been cut off, as if to assure himself of the reality of the feat—"there is gramarye* in this."

"The Soldan seemed to comprehend him, for he undid the sort of veil which he had hitherto worn, laid it double along the edge of the sabre, extended the weapon edgeways in the air, and drawing it suddenly through the veil, although it hung on the blade entirely loose, severed that also into two parts, which floated to different sides of the tent, equally displaying the extreme temper and sharpness of the weapon, and the exquisite dexterity of him who used it.

"Now in good faith, my brother," said Richard, "thou art even matchless at the trick of the sword, and right perilous were it to meet thee! Still, however, I put some faith in a downright English blow, and what we cannot do by sleight, we eke out by strength."

From this excellent portrayal of the sword as the agent of courteous entertainment between temporarily reconciled enemies it is a short step to the survey of the sword in its best known *role* as the final arbitrator in disputes between

*Witchcraft.

man and man. Single combat has so long been a favourite subject with historians and poets that one typical reference will suffice to call to mind the salient features of these duels which were ordinary occurrences in the stormy past of Europe, as elsewhere. Scott has thus described the typical commencement of such a combat in his poem, "The Lady of the Lake":--

" Then each at once his falchion drew,
Each on the ground his scabbard threw,
Each look'd to sun, and stream, and plain,
As what they ne'er might see again ;
Then foot, and point, and eye opposed,
In dubious strife they darkly closed."

Perhaps the most widely celebrated account of single combat in the literature of the East, at least for Western ears, is the battle between Sohrab and Rustum in Firdausi's wonderful epic. Atkinson's English summary of the *Shahnamah* fails to do justice to this episode, and for the standard paraphrase one still turns to Matthew Arnold's statelier version :--

" He spoke, and Sohrab kindled at his taunts,
And he too drew his sword : at once they rush'd
Together as two eagles on one prey
Come rushing down together from the clouds,
One from the east, one from the west : their shields
Dash'd with a clang together, and a din
Rose, such as that the sinewy woodcutters
Make often in the forest's heart at morn,
Of hewing axes, crashing trees : such blows
Rustum and Sohrab on each other hail'd."

The terror of this conflict pales however beside the tragedy of Sohrab's shattered blade, the fatal spear-thrust, and the father's discovery that he has mortally wounded his own son : all of which has been beautifully transformed rather than translated into mellifluous English verse.*

* Matthew Arnold has written : " For my part I only repeat that I could not meet with a translation from Ferdousi's poem of the whole of the episode of *Sohrab and Rustum*—with a prose translation, that is ; for in a verse translation no original work is any longer recognisable. I should certainly have made all the use I could of it." He tells us that the whole source from which he drew the story was Sainte Beuve's notice of Mohl's edition of Firdausi's original text, the prose translation of which had not been published at the time.

But at this point it is very possible that the impatient reader will again complain that he has been enticed a long distance from the Armoury, in which this discussion commenced, and the sword of Aurangzebe ; he may protest that after all, he has been given no absolute proof of the distinguished ownership of the sword. I would venture to remonstrate in turn. For what is it to the purpose whether this sword, which bears the Grand Mogul's name, was actually his personal weapon or not ? Since it has been the talisman which has reopened for a brief space the doors of romance, art and history ; since the magic of the name it bears has released us—as the broken seal of Suleiman could set free long-imprisoned spirits—from the restraints and grey realities of the superior age in which we live, surely it has served us well, whether the inscription be literally correct or only to be regarded metaphorically. No doubt we could glean, had we but the vision, other messages, more poignant, or more majestic, from many of the other weapons assembled in the same gallery ; for some of the blades glittering around us are inscribed with far more elaborate legends.

Here is a sabre, its steel hilt engraved on one side with the Arabic dedication : “ In the name of God, the merciful, the clement ! ” On the opposite side the hilt carries the assurance : “ Seek help from God, and victory is at hand ! ” On the blade is an inscription which reads like a mere ejaculation without a prayer to follow it : “ O Supplier of human needs ! ” Perhaps the soldier who once defended his life with this good blade shared the same diffidence as to his own powers of petition, as that expressed by a great Western poet :

“ So runs my dream : but what am I ?
An infant crying in the night :
An infant crying for the light :
And with no language but a cry.”

There are many voices—cries, invocations, prayers—among the swords ; through the speaking steel its long-dead master still seems to utter his heartfelt appeal from the fatal fluctuations of fortune to the God of battles. Or perhaps the sword bears some admonition which its possessor had engraved upon it as a constant reminder. “ Have faith in God ! ” is a frequently recurring phrase. A good many of the blades are less reticent of their origin than Aurangzebe's sword. The cunning artificer who

fashioned them has looked upon his handiwork and found it good, and has handed his name down to posterity chiselled in the bright steel. As we take up these swords in turn, the name of the famous craftsman, Asadullah, is often in evidence. "Muhammad! Emperor among the Prophets!" runs the inscription, and then follows the proud assertion, the unchallengeable guarantee: "Made by Asadullah of Ispahan." An eminent Western expert has written: "The most valuable swords are those which have been made by celebrated armourers like Asad Ullah and his pupil Zaman, of Ispahan. Such is the esteem in which the fine varieties of watering are held, that they are fragrantly without any ornament except the inscription of the maker's name, *or that of the owner if he be of distinguished birth*, or a verse from the Koran.* How frequently the intoxicating atmosphere of high romance seems still to linger about the name of the grand old Persian armourer!

But the time has come to return the swords we have been examining to their respective cases: we replace them carefully, one by one; and among them we bury, as it were, the inconspicuous sword of Aurangzebe among its many more brilliant companions. To tell the truth its humble place in the galaxy seems strongly appropriate for the weapon which bears the name of the great monarch whose body, at his own request, was quietly committed to the dust without any of the outward ensigns and panoply of empire.

* *Indian and Oriental Armour*: Egerton: The italics are mine.

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

RELIGIOUS RELATIONS OF INDIA WITH ARABIA¹

Jogis

Accounts of jogis and anchorites who weaned themselves away from the world are found in these books but the strangest account is that which Suleymân the Merchant has recorded from his own experience towards the middle of the 9th century A.D.

“There are people in India who always roam about in mountains and jungles and very rarely mix with people. They appease their hunger by eating grass, shrubs, and fruits of the jungle. Some of them are nude. Perhaps a piece of leopard’s skin is found on their body. I saw a person sitting in the heat of the sun. When, after sixteen years, I again passed that way I found him exactly as I had seen him before. I wonder why the sun did not burn out his eyes.”²

Samaniyas and Muslims

The Muslims established relations first with the Samaniyas (Buddhists) of Khorâsân, Turkistân and Afghanistan, and later on with those of India. Neither the Barmakids, the custodians of the Naw Vihar of Balkh, nor the “lesser fry” among the Buddhists hesitated very much about embracing Islam.

The same thing happens in Sind too. When at the end of the first century A.H. (7th century A.D.), that is, a few years after the conquest of Sind, the conscientious Caliph of the Ummayyad dynasty, ‘Umar bin ‘Abdul ‘Aziz, sent a message to the people of Sind asking them to embrace Islam, many Rajahs took to this faith.³

We find such things happening in Malabar, Maldiva and other islands.

(1) Translated by Saïd ul-Haq, B.A. (Hons.).

(2) *Safarnama-e-Sulaiman Tajir*. pp. 50, 51.

(3) *Futuh-ul-buldan* by Balazari (Conquest of Sind).

Samanīya Hasariya سمّنيه حصریه

It has been mentioned somewhere above that, among the charges levelled by his enemies against Nizām Mu'tazali نظام معتزلی the famous philosopher and dogmatist who flourished towards the end of the 2nd century A.H. (8th century A.D.) and who was the teacher of the Caliph Mā'mūn al Rashīd, one was that, in his adolescent days, he had spent his time with fire-worshippers and Samanīyas (Buddhists) and that he learnt the problem of takāfū adlahū تکافؤ ادله from the Samanīyas. His enemies have given a list of the sources from which he learnt different theological dogmas. This is described exactly in all the books concerned. But there is a difference regarding one word. The oldest book in which I have found that statement is 'Kitab-ul-farq beyn al-farq' کتاب الفرق بين الفرق by 'Abdul Qādir Baghdādī (d. 429 A.H. or 1037 A.D.). In this book this word is written as Samatīya سمّتيه. A reliable traditionist and historian Sam'ānī سمعانی (d. 562 A.H.) has quoted this passage but he has written, Hasariya حصریه instead of Samanīya سمّنيه as is also found in an old copy of his book *Kitab ul-Ansab* کتاب الانساب which was edited by the Gibb Memorial Trust (London) in 1912 through zincograph. There is no knowing if there existed any sect like Hasareeya حصریه. Probably somebody has, for this reason, mentioned it as Dahriya دهریه (agnostics) as is mentioned in the quoted passage in Maulāna Shibli's '*Ilm ul-Kalam* علم الكلام. But this is entirely an inversion. I pondered for a long time on the words Samanīya and Hasariya and, thank God, I arrived at a satisfactory solution. In reality, the word is not Hasariyah in Sam'ānī's copy, but the copyists have omitted two dots. This word is Khazariyah خضریه. What helped me to arrive at this solution was the opinion of the philosopher-traditionist Shahristānī who was a contemporary of Sam'ānī. "If the description of Buddha is true, he resembles the Khizir خضر whose existence is claimed by Muslim astronomers and mesmerisers." It appears that people, calling Buddha by the name of Khizir, called

his followers by the name of Khazariyah and Sam'âni, too, called them Khazariyah. Thus Baghdâdi's Samanîyah and Sam'âni's Khazariyah mean exactly the same thing.

Mahmarah مجره

The Buddhists have been called in Arabic books by a third name *Mahmarah* مجره, that is, the wearers of red clothes.¹ Their clothes may have been ochre-coloured or saffron-coloured. This colour was a distinctive symbol of their spiritual leaders

Budh and But بده، بت

I want to draw attention to one more word, and that is the word *but*, from which compound words like *but parast* بت پرست and *but-khana* بت خانه have been formed. It is generally considered to be a Persian word but, really *bud*, has been formed from *budh* and *but* from *bud*. Since images of Buddha were worshipped *but* came to mean image in Persian. Hence in Arabic *but* (image) is known as *bud* and its plural is *badudah*² بدوده.

Sicilian idols in India

The Arabs knew perfectly well that the customers for idols and statues were mostly the Indians. Therefore it will be heard with amazement that when Amîr Mu'awîyah attacked Sicily in 546 the booty included statues of gold. He wanted to have the price not only of the gold but also of the craft and workmanship employed in the making of the statues. So he wanted to send them to India for sale. Some historians have recorded that the Muslims dissented from this proposal, and hence the idea was dropped.³ But Berûnî has recorded that the Statues were brought to India and sold here.⁴ Probably the source of Berûnî's statement is Waqadi's tradition which has been put down by Balazari in *Futuhu'l-buldan*.⁵

(1) *Melal wa Nahl* by Shahristani Vol. 3, pp. 242.

(2) *Kitab-ul-Hind* by Beruni p. 191.

(3) *Nehayat-ul-arab* p. 426 (Amari Sicily).

(4) *Kitab-ul-Hind* by Beruni p. 60.

(5) *Futuh-ul-buldan* by Balazari p. 235 (Leiden).

These religious relations between Arabia and India had a powerful influence and gave opportunity for one nation to influence the other. This much is certain that each nation came to know something about the religion of the other. I personally think that the ruling religion in those times was Buddhism and the Buddhists were most influenced by the Arabs. This influence is visible first of all in places which were the commercial routes of the Arabs—from Coromandal, Malabar (Ma'bar) and Kolam to Cutch and Gujerat on the one hand ; and from Sindh to Kashmîr on the other hand.

The Arabs had relations mostly with Southern India and the islands situated south of India. Trade was one guiding motive and devotional fervour to see a traditional footprint in Sarandip (Ceylon) was another.

A place sacred both to Arabia and India

It is generally known that there is a footprint on a rock on a mountain in Sarandip or Ceylon or Lanka. From time immemorial this footprint has compelled people to pay their homage of devotional fervour. But the strangest thing is that it has been looked upon with reverential eyes by Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus and this is a unique example in the history of religions. The Muslims take it to be the footprint of Adam and revere it ; the Buddhists take it to be the footprint of Sakya Muni ; and the Hindus regard it as the footprint of Siva ; and they all pour out their tributes of devotion. Pilgrims come here from distant places. A desire to see it surged in the bosoms of the Muslim Arab travellers and of the dervishes of 'Irâq. Nearly every Arab sailor has mentioned it and his desire to see it. It attracted many dervishes, and thus Islam set its foot firmly on the soil of Ceylon.

In the time of Ibn-Batûtah the Raja of the place was a Hindu, but Khwaja Khizir's pit was also seen near the mountain which bore Adam's footprint. Somewhere was seen Baba Tâhir's pit. In Chelao (Salayam) elephants were found in plenty but, thanks to the blessings of a Shîrâzi dervish, 'Abdullah Khafif (d. 331 A.H.) they did not trouble anybody. From the time when the miracle of this dervish became known to people, even idol-worshippers respected the Muslims, allowed

them to stay in their homes among their children, and even till the days of Ibn Batûtah revered the name of Sheykh 'Abdullah Khafif.

Islam in India

The result of these different commercial, social, cultural and political relations was that Islam began to advance its steps slowly in Sindh, Gujerat, Coromandal, Malabar and Maldivé, Sarandip (Ceylon) and Java. Because of the Hindu influence on the one hand and the Chinese influence on the other, Buddhism was a living force but it appears from a study of the Geography books and travel-diaries of century after century that the influence of Islam was making headway quite peacefully and without adopting jingoistic methods, and that ample opportunities were provided for one nation to know the other. I close this article with some episodes of this period.

Adoption of Islam by a Raja of the Punjab Frontier

Balazari, the historian who flourished towards the end of the 3rd century A.H. (ninth century A.D.), says that between Kashmîr, Kâbul and Mûltân, there was a town named 'Asîfân (عسيفان) or Asîwân (اسيوان).¹ The Rajah had a son whom he loved to distraction. The son fell ill. The Raja asked the devotees of the temple to pray for his son's recovery. The devotees came next day to inform the king that prayers had been offered and that the gods had promised to spare his son's life. But, as chance would have it, the Rajah's son died soon after. The Raja was deeply shocked. At once he went and demolished the temple and chopped off the necks of the devotees. Then he had the Muslim merchants of the city brought to him and he asked them about their religion. They explained to him their beliefs. The Rajah embraced Islam.² Balazari says, 'This episode took place during the time of Al-Murtasam billah whose period dates from 218 A.H. to 227 A.H.'

(1) Anur Khusrû has mentioned in *Khaza'in-ul-futuh* a fort named 'Siwân' which was at a distance of a hundred farsangs from Delhi and whose Raja was Sital Chand in 708 (A.H.).

(2) *Futuh-ul-buldan* p. 446.

Religious discussions between the Arabs and the Hindus

These relations had reached such a degree that friendly religious discussions were held between the Arabs on the one hand and the Hindus or even the Buddhists on the other. An incident of the days of Hârûn al-Rashid, Mu'tasam's father (end of the 2nd century A.H.), is related : that a certain Raja of India sent a message to Hârûn al-Rashid, asking him to send a scholar of Islamic theology to acquaint him (the Raja) with Islam, and to enter into a debate with one of the Raja's Pandits. There is another story of a learned scholar of the Buddhist religion at the court of a Raja of Sind. He persuaded the Raja who sent a message. " I have been told that you have no proof of the truth (veracity) of your religion but the sword. If you are sure of the veracity of your faith, send some scholar from your place to discuss (religious matters) with a Pandit of mine. The Caliph sent a traditionist scholar who walked in the fear of God and whose ways were those of holiness. When the Pandit put forth objections from the rationalistic point of view, the Mullah quoted the Traditions in his answer to the objections. The Pandit said that the Traditions could be regarded as an authority only by the believers in Islam (and not by him). There is another story that the Pandit asked, " If your God is all-powerful, can He create an entity like Himself ? " The unsophisticated Mullah replied that it was not his business to answer such questions and that it was the business of scholars of dogmatic theology. The Raja sent back this Mullah and sent news to Hârûn al-Rashid, " I had heard from my elders, and now that I have seen with my own eyes, I am sure that you have no proof of the veracity of your faith." The Caliph put this problem before all the scholars of dogmatic theology. A lad stood up and said, " O Prince of Believers, this objection is baseless : God is He who has been created by nobody. If God creates an entity like Himself, that entity will be in all cases God's creation. Then, again, that there can be an entity exactly like God is an insult to God and God will not countenance His own disparagement. This question is like such questions as :—Can God be ignorant ? Can He die ? Can He eat ? Can He drink ? Can He sleep ? Evidently He cannot do any of these things as they are all derogatory to his dignity." Everyone liked this answer immensely and the Caliph wanted to send this lad to India for a duel with that Pandit. But

experienced people said, "Sire, he is a mere lad. If he can answer one question, it does not imply that he will answer all. The Caliph selected a famous scholar of dogmatic theology and sent him to India. There is a story that the Buddhist Pundit once had a debate with this Muslim scholar and yielded the palm to him. There is another story that, while the Muslim scholar was on his way, the Pundit sent a man to see if he was merely a religious Mullah or was familiar with Rationalism. When he learnt that he was a supreme scholar of Rationalism he found his position weak and got him poisoned while he was still on his way and had not yet reached the Raja's court.¹

All the portions of this story may be right or wrong but this much is proved : that the religious relations between the two nations had attained to a degree of intimacy.

A Rajah who was a controversialist

The historian Mas'ûdi, who came to India in 303 A.H., writes in his description of Khambayat :—"When I came here in 303 A.H., the ruler was a grocer who subscribed to the Brahmanic faith and was subordinate to Vallabh Rai, Raja of Mahanagar. He was very fond of religious debates and controversies. He used to enter into debates with the Muslims or people of other faiths who came to his town from outside."²

Another debate with the Buddhists

The Buddhists did not believe in any other medium of knowledge except the outward senses. Religious debate was held regarding this problem between Wâsil bin 'Atâ *واصل بن عطاء* and Jahm bin Safwân *جهم بن صفوان* on the one side and the Buddhists on the other at Basrah, which was at that time (mid 2nd century A.H.), a centre of cults and creeds, faiths and beliefs. Wâsil brought them into knots and defeated them.³

(۱) کتاب المنبه والامل فی شرح کتاب الملل والنحل لاحمد بن یحیی المرتضی، باب ذکر المعتزله مطبوعه حیدرآباد دکن سنه ۱۳۱۶ھ ص ۳۱، ۳۲.

'Kitab-ul-manbah wal-amal fi sharh-e-kitab-ul-melal wan-nahl' by Ahmad bin Yahya Murtaza chapter on Mu'tazelas, edited at Hyderabad (Deccan) in 1316 A.H., pp. 31 and 34.

(2) *Muruj-udh-dhahab* by Mas'ûdi Vol. I, p. 254, (Leiden).

(3) *Sharh-e-Kitab-ul-melal wan-nahl* by Murtaza Zaidi, edited at Hyderabad (Deccan).—(Description of Wâsil bin 'Atâ).

How a Muslim became an idol-worshipper

An Arab traveller of the year 370 A. H., who was an inhabitant of Palestine, says in his description of the idol-houses of Sind, " There are two queer stone idols in Habrûa (هبروا). They look like gold and silver idols. It is said that the supplication made in presence of these idols is granted. Near it is a stream of green water which looks black. Its water is very useful for the healing of wounds. The Devadasis are the means through which the expenses of worshippers are met. People of eminence and social standing offer their daughters (as Devadasis dedicated to the gods). I saw a Muslim who had begun to worship both the idols. Later on, he went to Naishapur and turned Muslim. Both these idols are magical. Nobody can touch them with his hands."*

The first Hindi translation of the Qur'an a thousand years since

At the present time Hindi renderings of the Qur'ân are being made but it will excite boundless surprise to hear that nearly a thousand years since the Qur'ân was translated into Hindi or Sindhi by the orders of a Hindu Rajah. In 270 A. H. Mahrog, the Rajah of Abrâ (Alwar in Sind) who ruled the territories between Upper Kashmîr (modern Kashmîr) and Lower Kashmîr (modern Punjab) who was reckoned among the powerful Rajas of India, wrote to 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, ruler of Mansûrah situated in Sind, asking him to send a person who could acquaint him in Hindi with the Islamic faith. In Mansûrah lived a Muslim of 'Irâq who was a man of very subtle intelligence, sharp wit, and also a poet. Since he had been brought up in India he knew the different languages of India. The Amîr mentioned to him the Raja's wish. He resolved to go, and sent to the Raja a panegyric written in the latter's language. When the Raja heard it he was vastly pleased, sent him travelling expenses and he came to his court. He lived at the Raja's court for three years and, according to the Raja's wish, translated the Qur'ân into Hindi. The Raja heard it daily and used to be deeply moved.

* *Ahsan-ut-tagasim fi ma'rafut-ul-aqalim* by Bashârî, p. 483.

احسن التباسيم في معرفة الاقاليم بشارى ص ۴۸۳

*Unparalleled justice of a Raja of Gujerat in
matters religious*

Towards the end of the 6th century A. H., when Shamsu'd-dîn Iltamash ruled in Delhi after Sultan Ghori, and Naseru'd-dîn Qabacha in Sind, a scholar named Muhammad 'Aûfi started from Bukhâra and came to India. Starting from the coast of Sind, either from Mansûrah or Deybal, he went to the Persian Gulf, Arabian coast and visited different harbours of India. In this way he came to Khambayat. Two books of his are still extant. One is a biography of Persian poets named *Labab-ul-Albab* باب الالباب dedicated to the minister of Naseru'd-dîn Qabacha. It has been published in two volumes in the Gibb Series (London). The other book, which is the bigger one is named *Jam'iu'l-Hikayat wa lami'u'l-riwayat* جامع الحكايات لامع الروايات. In this book the author narrates under different headings stories and anecdotes which he heard or saw or read in books. This book is dedicated to Qawâmu'd-dîn Juneydi, minister of Sultan Shamsu'd-dîn Iltamash and still remains unprinted. A manuscript copy of this book exists in the library of Dâr-ul-Musannifîn.

Muhammad 'Aûfi has recorded in the second chapter of this book (which is a description of kings and their manners) a strange story which shows how the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims stood, and how justly the Hindu Rajas treated their Muslim subjects. Muhammad 'Aûfi made this tour before 665 A. H. and the story he related dates back to an earlier time, a time when, but for the passing invasions of Sultan Mahmûd and of Qutbu'd-dîn Aibak (two hundred years after Mahmûd) there was not a trace of Islamic rule on the Gujerat side. Muhammad 'Aûfi says, "Once I happened to go to Khambayat, a town situated on the sea-coast. There is a population of pious and conscientious Muslims who receive travellers very cordially and give them every convenience. This town is in the kingdom of Nahrwâlah نهروالہ (near Ahmedabad, Gujerat). There is a population of Muslims and their enemies. At the time I came here, I heard a story which resembles very much the story of Nausherwan mentioned above. The story runs that during the reign of Raja Janak there was a mosque with a minaret upon which the Muslims stood and shouted the call to prayer. The Parsis incited the Hindus against

the Muslims. The Hindus demolished the minaret and the mosque, and slew eighty Muslims. The Imâm of the Mosque, named 'Ali, fled to Nahrwâlah and put forth his complaint to the courtiers and officers of the court, but none paid any heed to it. The Imâm hit upon a plan. He wrote the whole incident in a rhymed panegyric in Hindi (probably Gujerâtî) and armed himself with the news of the time when the Raja would start for shooting game. When the day of shooting arrived, the Imâm, taking the eulogy, hid himself in a bush on the way. When the Raja passed that way the Imâm came in front of the Raja as a petitioner and requested him to hear his panegyric. The Raja stopped his elephant, heard his rhymed petition and was deeply moved. The Raja took the panegyric from the Imâm's hands and entrusted it to an officer asking him to show it to him in leisure time. The Raja instantly came back from his hunt and told his minister that he would remain for three days in his palace to take rest and that he should not be disturbed within the three days for any piece of work. "Do every thing yourself" said the Raja to the minister. After saying this the Raja went into the palace. At night he rode a camel and started out towards Khambayat which is at a distance of forty farsangs from Nahrwâlah. The Raja covered that distance in a day and alighted at Khambayat in the guise of a merchant. He made inquiries after roaming in the streets and markets, and heard wayfarers talk. He heard from everybody that the Muslims were slain guiltless and that there was ruthless perpetration of tyranny. The Raja, after inquiring into the incident in every way, filled a 'lotah' with sea-water and took it with him with its mouth closed. Again riding the camel he returned to his capital, covering the distance again in 24 hours. In the morning he held his court, heard cases and asked for the Imâm of the mosque to be brought before him. When the Imâm came to the court the Raja ordered him to read his petition. When he read it, the courtiers said that the petition was bogus and the case entirely unfounded. Thereupon the Raja asked the water-keeper to fetch the 'lotah' and gave everybody some water to drink. No body could gulp it down his throat and everybody said that it was salt sea-water. The Raja said, "I trusted nobody in this matter since the difference of religions was in between and I personally went and made inquiries. I arrived at the conclusion that ruthless

tyranny has been perpetrated upon the Muslims. Such outrages on any community which lives under my care and shelter can never be tolerated. After that he ordered that the Parsis and the Brahmins who had committed this crime should be chastised by twos, and he caused one lac of *balûtras* (a Gujerâti coin) to be given as idemnity to the Muslims so that they might rebuild the mosque and the minaret. He rewarded the Imâm with apparel and money. The mosque was rebuilt and the rewards were kept as relics. On every 'Id-day these relics were taken out and shown to all the people.

Mohammad 'Aûfi says " Even to this time (665 A.H.) these things were kept there, and even the old mosque and the minaret existed there. But some time back the army of Balû (Bayala) attacked Gujerât and devastated the mosque. At last Sa'îd bin Sharf (an Arab merchant) rebuilt it with his own money and erected four golden towers on all sides. This relic of Islâm still exists in this Hindu country."

Pantheism among the Muslims

Pantheism has existed in some form or other in the articles of every nation's faith. Some Greek philosophers, in a sense, believed in it. The Neo-Platonist school of Alexandria pinned their faith to it. It existed even among the ancient Jews and Christians. The whole structure of Hindu Vedanta is built upon this dogma. Some Muslim sûfis (mystics) have fervently advocated it, though this belief means a lot of different things and has been variously explained, so much so that, according to one explanation it is synonymous with "*Hulûl*" (" go within " or immanence).

However, here we are concerned not with the belief itself but with the historical aspect of the question. The question has arisen as to whence this belief came to the Muslim Sûfis. As far as my researches can carry me, I see no evidence of the Hindu Vedanta having been translated into Arabic. This belief seems to have crept into Islam towards the end of the third century A. H. ; that is, in the time of Mansûr bin Hallâj ; and it reached its climax in the fifth century A. H. at the time of Mohîu'd-dîn ibn 'Arabi. Doubtless, when the Muslim sûfis came to India, they were influenced by the thoughts of the Hindu

Vedantists.¹ But the influence of this Vedantic thought upon Islamic mysticism can be traced much earlier, especially when it is a fact that Mohîu'd-dîn ibn 'Arabi was the first person among the Muslims strongly to advocate this dogma. He was an inhabitant of Spain and he found no opportunity of coming in contact with Hindu philosophy. Therefore it is presumed that he was influenced not by Hindu Vedanta but by Neo-Platonic philosophy.

But it can be said of Huseyn bin Mansûr Al-Hallâj that the pantheism preached by him was not that believed in by trustworthy Muslim sûfis, and that he believed in Hulûl or in the Hindu conception of incarnation. It has been described by his early biographers and is also proved by his book '*Kitâb-ut-tawâsin*.' Then again it is proved that he came to India to learn the magic and incantations of India or, as some say, to preach his religion. No wonder that Hallâj carried with him this belief in pantheism to 'Irâq.²

Hindu belief in the unity of God

On the other hand it is highly probable that Hindus' belief in the unity of God and the reaction against idol-worship was due to the influence of Islam. The subject is very wide and cannot be treated as a supplement to any other subject.

Look closely at this picture of the religious relations between Arabia and India. Were the relations between two nations so extremely religious-minded in any way strained? Cannot yesterday become today? Cannot History repeat itself?

(1) Probably in the 8th century A.H. a newly converted Muslim pundit and a sufi jointly translated the Sanskrit book 'Amrat Kund' into Arabic under the title of 'Ainu'l-Hayât عین الحیوة and then again into Persian. Now it has been translated from Persian into Urdu. Dara in his own days translated 'Jog Bishust' into Persian under the title of Sirr-e-Akbar.

(2) Hallâj's book '*Kitâb-ut-tawâsin* کتاب الطوا سین' has been published by Louis Massignon, the learned French orientalist, in 1914 A.D. in Paris. All ancient statements about the life of Hallâj have been collected together in a separate volume. The fact of Hallâj's coming to India is described in that book in the quotation from the book of Ibn Bakûyâ, a Sûfi of Shiraz. Vide pp. 31, 43. (Paris edition).

SULEYMAN NADVI.

(To be continued.)

SA'DI'S VISIT TO SOMNATH¹

IN the long array of the Persian poets and men of letters Sheikh Sa'di of Shiraz is too well-known to need any introduction in the East and the West. His reputation as a poet and a writer on ethics has spread far and wide. His works, especially the *Gulistan* and the *Bustan* have immortalised him as a master-mind for all ages, and are read with great interest, in the countries of the East and the West alike, through translation into different languages of the world.

That Sa'di was a great traveller and an ardent adventurer is borne out by his own allusions scattered here and there in his above-named works. His extensive travels and dauntless wanderings through various countries of the world are sufficient to earn for him the title of a globe-trotter of his age. Among the host of Eastern travellers of the Middle Ages, Sa'di stands foremost and can be compared with famous travellers like Mas'ûdi, Ibn Hauqal and Ibn Batûta, who have left accounts of their travels, while Sa'di has left nothing of the sort : otherwise he would have given us a good deal of information about the countries he visited during his peregrinations.

In the course of his travels Sa'di visited Khorasan, Tartary, Balkh, Kashghar, Ghazna, the Punjab, Somnath, Gujrat, Yemen, the Hijâz and other parts of Arabia, Abyssinia, Palestine, Syria, especially Damascus and Baalbek, North Africa and Asia Minor, to which occasional references are made by him in his works.

According to Hamdallah Mustawfi² (who wrote only 40 years later), Sa'di died in Shiraz, his native place, at

(1) Paper read at the Arabic-Persian Section of the Seventh Session of the Indian Oriental Conference held at Baroda, on the 27th and 29th December, 1933.

(2) *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, ed. Browne.

the age of 110 years in 690-91 A. H. (1291 A.D.). Dr. Ethe¹ divides his life into three periods :—

- (1) The period of his studies which lasted till 1226 A.D. and was spent chiefly at Baghdad.
- (2) The period of his travels.
- (3) The period of his retirement and composing works.

In the second period of his life Sa'di went on his extensive travels from the year 1226 A.D., in which the disturbed condition of Fars led him to quit Shiraz. He himself alludes to his departure from Shiraz in the following poem in the preface to his *Gulistan*:—²

“ O knowest thou why, an outcast and exile,
 “ In lands of the stranger a refuge I sought ?
 “ Disarranged was the world like the hairs of a negro
 “ When I fled from the Turks and the terror they brought.
 “ Though outwardly human, no wolf could surpass them.
 “ In bloodthirsty rage or in sharpness of claw ;
 “ Though within was a man with the mien of an angel,
 “ Without was a host of the lions of war.
 “ At peace was the land when again I beheld it
 “ E'en lions and leopards were wild but in name.
 “ Like that was my country what time I forsook it
 “ Fulfilled with confusion and terror and shame.
 “ Like this in the time of Bu Bakr the Atabek
 “ I found it when back from my exile I came.”

It must have been during these years of his travels from 1226 to 1256 that Sa'di visited India. The precise date of his arrival in India cannot be accurately fixed, as there are no data to prove the exact time of his wanderings. Dr. Ethe has pointed out that in 1234 or 1235 Sa'di proceeded *via* Balkh, Ghazna, and the Punjab to Gujrat, on the western coast of which he visited the shrine of Siwa in Pattan Somnath. Presumably the route by which Sa'di came to Somnath was *via* Balkh, Ghazna, and the Punjab to Sind by land, and from Sind by sea to Somnath which was the port of call at that time.

The remarkable adventure with which Sa'di met at Somnath is narrated by himself in a pretty long story in his *Bustan* which was composed in 655 A.H. The narration related in verse is given in the 8th chapter of his

(1) *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 21, p. 143.

(2) I have utilised the English version as quoted by Browne, Vol. II, pp.

book, an English rendering of which is proposed to be given here below:—*

“I saw an idol of ivory at Somnath, jewelled like the idol Manat in pre-Islamic days. So beautifully had the sculptor chiselled it that a more beautiful work could not possibly have been prepared. People flocked thither in great numbers to see the face of that lifeless idol. The Kings of China and Chigil sought fidelity, like Sa'di, from that stony-hearted image. From every spot orators came praying and imploring before that tongueless idol. I failed to fathom myself the mystery why a living being should pay his adoration to a lifeless statue. I timidly told the Brahmin, with whom I had an acquaintance and who was a nice fellow, a room-mate and a friend of mine, that the proceedings of that place had left me in wonder why people were so enamoured of this powerless idol. ‘Surely they have fallen into the abyss of ignorance and superstition. The idol is unable to lift its hand and foot, and if throwu away it cannot get up by itself. Don’t you see that its eyes are made of amber, and to seek fidelity from such a covetous-eyed miser would be a vain attempt.’ On hearing this my friend (the Brahmin) turned into a foe and in a furious rage caught hold of me. He created a commotion and called the Mughs (fire-worshippers) and the elders of the temple. Seeing no sign of safety in that assembly, I made amends and began loudly to praise the Brahmin. I flattered him: ‘O thou learned in the commentary of Avesta and Zend, to me also this idol is very fascinating as it has a beautiful and bewitching face; but I am quite ignorant of its esoteric significance. As I desire conviction and, being a stranger, cannot distinguish good from bad, I request you to let me know what hidden truth there lies in this idol, after knowing which I shall be the first man among its devotees.”

“The Brahmin’s face beamed with joy. He liked my question and told me: ‘O excellent speaker, your question is just and your intention the best, for one who seeks a guide is sure to reach his destination. There is no idol except this one which raises its hands towards God the Lord of the Universe, and if you like to see it you may stay here tonight and the secret will reveal

* For original text see Graf’s edition of *Bustan*, p. 388.

itself to you tomorrow.' At the old man's behest I stayed over there for the whole night, like Bezan imprisoned in the well of suffering. The night was long as a Judgment Day, and the Magians were praying around me without ablution. The priests touched no water and their armpits stank like corpses in the sun. The whole night I passed in painful torment with one hand on the breast and the other lifted up in prayer. Suddenly the drummer beat his drum, the cock crew and gave warning of the Brahmin's death.

"At dawn the foolish Magians with their unwashed faces thronged the convent emerging from every house and desert while no man or woman remained at home. The temple was so much overcrowded that no room was left for a needle. I was sitting, sad and gloomy, in a rage, with sleepless eyes, when I saw that the idol raised its arms, upon which there arose a clamour like the roaring of the ocean. When people departed from the temple the Brahmin stared at me with a smile, signifying that my difficulty was solved. 'The truth,' he said, 'has come out and falsehood vanished.' Seeing that false delusion was firmly implanted in him I began to shed crocodile tears just to pretend that I repented for what I had said. The inmates of the temple gathered round me like servants and lifted me up by the hand with great veneration. Uttering excuses I approached the ivory statue, which was placed upon a throne of ebony plated with gold, and gave a kiss to its hand. May the curse fall upon the idol and all the idolators. I pretended to be an infidel, for a few days became a Brahmin initiated into the discourse of Zend. I was much delighted to obtain intimacy in the temple. One night when the temple was empty I closed fast the doors of the temple and began to stroll left and right like a scorpion. While I was observing above and beneath the dais I beheld a curtain of gold embroidery behind which sat the fire-worshipping Archbishop with a silken cord in his hand. The situation was at once revealed to me, and I was enlightened as to the pulling of the cord and raising the arms of the idol. The Brahmin on my approach felt ashamed and fled. I followed him and flung him headlong into a well. If he were alive, I thought, he would surely spare no pains to slay me. So I dropped heavy stones upon the devil, killed him on the spot and thinking,

‘Dead men tell no tales,’ I hurried away from that spot and took my flight. Then I went to Hindustan, and by way of Yemen to Hijaz. Since the bitter experience of that unsavoury incident, my mouth was sweetened only today.”

The credibility of this story has been called in question by oriental scholars like Shams-ul-Ulemas Maulana Hali and Shibli in their biography of the poet.¹ and also by Kramers in his notice of the poet in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*,² in which he remarks that the story has many intrinsic improbabilities. Mr. Henry Cousin has gone so far as to give this story the appellation of “a fairy-tale.”³ On the other hand, scholars like Ethe and Browne, while referring to this story, do not express the slightest doubt as to its probability. The story has been noted down long ago by an orientalist as a historical piece of information. So Lieut. Kittoe has given a summarised translation of the story in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*.⁴

Before I proceed to deal with the merits of this story, I am constrained to remark that nowhere does Sa’di’s own version support the truth of the assertion of Dr. Ethe⁵ and Mr. Ross⁶ as to Sa’di’s breaking the idol into pieces. As far as I am aware there is only one source which makes mention of the breaking of the idol, and that is Jâmi, who says: “Sa’di broke the big idol of the Hindus in the temple of Sonmath.”⁷

Now, as doubted by the oriental scholars, the question is how an access was possible for an unknown stranger, as Sa’di was, into a Hindu sanctuary: and also how it was possible for him to stay in it when a large number of devotees and attendants poured in for daily worship. Moreover, what was the object of the priest in sitting behind the curtain at such a late hour when none was present there except Sa’di? These are questions which have been advanced by both the scholars Hâli and Shibli; but it is singular to notice that, although both of them are apparently prone to dispose of the contents of the

(1) *Hayat-i-Sa’di* (Urdu) pp. 34-37. (2nd Ed. Agra); *Shi’r-ul-Ajam*, Vol. II, pp. 41-42.

(2) Vol. II, p. 37.

(3) *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. XLV, pp. 21.

(4) *J.B.A.S.*, Vol. VII, p. 865 (1838).

(5) *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 21.

(6) English translation of *Gulistan*, p. 12, Eastwick.

(7) *Nafhat-ul-Uns*, pp. 541-542, (ed. Nawalkishore).

story as improbable, they do not seem prepared wholly to disbelieve the truth of the incident. The learned author of *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam* after making a few remarks, goes on to say :—

“ Sa'di was after all a foreigner and a new-comer and could not have observed anything in its true perspective, as is usually the case with European tourists, who, after their short stay in India, write down superficially in their travels and Indians on their perusal are at a loss to understand of what country's romance they are reading.”¹

The learned Maulāna Hāli also has, with much zeal, endeavoured to explain away the dubious nature of this story in true oriental fashion. “ It is better,” he says, “ to blame Sa'di's inability to give a fuller and vivid description of his adventures, than to impeach the truth of his narrative.” In fact the story in verse has not been fully expounded by Sa'di because strict adherence to metre and rhyme, often renders it difficult, and sometimes the poet is spontaneously driven to some other end than what he has in view. Those who are well acquainted with Persian literature will testify with me how difficult or rather impossible it is in poetry to give the exact details of an event while indulging in rhetorical figures of speech and at the same time observing the epigrammatic rules of prosody. However, this explanation seems plausible, when we see that here Sa'di's object is not to give sober history but simply to narrate in a poetic manner one of the memorable incidents of his life .

Another difficulty which confronts us in this connection is Sa'di's use of religious terms. This forms the subject of criticism by Maulāna Shibli. Adhar, Mugh, Gabr, Zend, Avesta, Pâzend, Matrân, Kishish, are in fact terms to be ascribed more to the Magians or Zoroastrians, than to the Brahmins or Hindus. This has led a Parsi writer, Mr. R. P. Karkaria, to think that “ Sa'di never saw the temple or the idol, for most strangely he calls it a temple of Guebres or Parsis, who, as is well known, have no image whatever in their place of worship.”² But a moment's consideration will bring home the conviction that, being a foreigner and unfamiliar with the religious terms of the Hindus, Sa'di, who during his brief sojourn

(1) *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, Vol. II. pp. 41-42.

(2) *J.R.A.S.* Vol. XIX, p. 150, (1895).

at Somnath could only remember the word "Brahmin," while writing his *Bustan* after a lapse of time, is little expected to remember the appropriate terms for the names he has given as equivalent to those of the Hindu terms. Let us also assume that in spite of his knowledge of the said terms he could not have used them with reason so as to enable his readers to understand him fully and at the same time adhere to rules of poetry.

It is interesting to note that Prof. Browne, while believing in the genuineness of the story, expresses his astonishment at the ignorance of a man of Sa'di's light and learning, of the observances of other religions. He remarks :—

"It is astonishing how little even well educated Muslims know about other religions. Sa'di, for all his wide reading and extensive travels, cannot tell a story about a Hindu idol-temple without mixing up with it references as to Zoroastrian and even Christian observances."¹

The above remark of Prof. Browne holds good more in the case of most of the European Orientalists than of the Muslim writers ; but here we are not concerned with it in the least.

Recently, a European scholar, Mr. Reuben Levy, Reader in Persian in the University of Cambridge, while writing about Sa'di's adventure at Somnath, after speculating on the apocryphal character of the story, is prompted to believe at least in Sa'di's visit to India. He writes :—

"Absurd errors, such as confusion of Brahmins with fire-worshippers are not lacking in the story, and it is possible that Sa'di sees himself in the rôle of hero in some story which he has heard ; or it may be merely that he has embroidered some incident which actually occurred. There is no reason to deny, as some have done, that he went to India, where he seems to have visited both the Punjab and Gujrat."²

However, looking to the above circumstances, I believe this story will not seem incredible on account of its "intrinsic improbabilities."

(1) *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 529.

(2) *Stories from Sadi's Bustan and Gulistan*, Introduction, XIV.

Maulāna Shibli's remark regarding the impurity of ivory among Hindus, and therefore the impossibility of an idol being made of ivory, is not well founded. Although the Jainas, as I have been given to understand, mostly refrain from using ivory on account of its being the tooth of an animal, yet it is generally used by Hindus for their ornaments. My learned friend Maulāna Abdu Zafar Nadvi has informed me that there is an idol made of ivory in one of the temples of Benares. An argument can also be advanced that Sa'di's mind simply took in the white colour of the idol and he mistook it for ivory.

Here it must be made clear that the name Somnath has been mostly responsible for disbelief in Sa'di's account, as it is a well-known fact that Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni had devastated this temple 200 years before Sa'di's visit to Somnath, and that there was no such idol as described by Sa'di in the said temple. The idol, or image, or *but*, whatever it may have been called by the historians, was undoubtedly the lingam of Mahadeva or the phallic representation of the God Siwa, which was a columnar emblem as stated by a contemporaneous writer, the learned Al-Berūnī:¹ and even after the fall of Somnath (or "lord of the moon") the temple was soon reconstructed and must have remained intact in Sa'di's time, till it underwent a second visitation at the hands of 'Alau'd-dīn's forces in 1300 A.D., nine years after Sa'di's death. But here the name Somnath, as used by Sa'di, does not apply to the temple but to the city itself which to this day is called Somnath Pattan. Marco Polo, writing as early as Sa'di, describes Semnat or Somnat, as "a kingdom in the West, the inhabitants of which are cruel idolaters."² Amīn-i-Rāzī, the author of a geographical work in Persian, writes about Somnath as being a city situated on the coast of the Arabian Sea and a place of many golden idols.³ Thus it is quite obvious that in Sa'di's story Somnath means the town of Prabhas Pattan, which is at present one of the Mahals of the Junagadh State.

As to the site of the original temple, referred to by Sa'di, no identification is possible after a lapse of seven centuries, in course of which many changes may have taken place. However, according to the local tradition,

(1) *India*, Vol. II. p. 103.

(2) *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 389. (Yule's edn.).

(3) *Haft Iqlīm* p. 90 (Asiatic Society edn.).

the site of the temple is shown at Pattan in the north-east of the city outside the gate (Chhota Darwaza) beyond some quarries in the vicinity of the Khanqah of Sayyid 'Abdi Shah Machhu Mian. (Ranchhodji's *Tarikh-i-Sorath* edited by Burgess, p. 74). The precincts of the Old Surya Narayan temple, as it now stands, suggest the possibility of its being one which Sa'di might have entered. There is a cellular cave beneath it and in the close vicinity there is also a well, which may have been the one in which the priest was killed. This is all a matter of conjecture and presumption.

How long Sa'di might have sojourned at Somnath Pattan it is difficult to tell, but the clue furnished in the story leads us to presume that he must have stayed there for about a month or so in order to be trusted by the priests and to complete his adventure.

After this unhappy incident Sa'di, as he tells us, left Somnath for Hindustan and from there he went *via* Yemen to Hijâz. This has led some scholars, like Ethe, Hâli and Shibli, to think that¹ Sa'di went to Delhi. Ethe and Eastwick have gone even so far as to assert that he made a prolonged stay there and that he acquired knowledge of Hindustani, which afterwards he turned into account in several of his poems. It was asserted long ago by a French Orientalist, Garcin de Tassy,² that the celebrated author of *Gulistan* has written Rekhta verses. This view is erroneous, and has already been refuted by Dr. Sprenger.³

As stated by Ethe and Shibli, Sa'di's visit to (Hindustan) Delhi and his prolonged stay there is not supported by any evidence. This is probably suggested by the name "Hindustan." But it must not be forgotten that according to Arab Geographers, India was divided into two parts: Sind and Hind. Except the country of Sind, the whole of India was termed Hind or Hindustan.

(1) Preface to *Gulistan*, p. XI (Trubners ed.)

(2) *Journal Asiatique* IV. Series, Vol. I p. 1 and Vol II, p. 361.

(3) *J.A.S.B.* Vol. XXI. p. 513 (1852) "The assertion rested on a passage in the Tazkirah of Qayim, which was compiled in A.H. 1168 and is called *Makhzan-i-Nukut*. But Gurdezy, who wrote a Tazkirah in 1165, three years before Qayim, most emphatically contradicts this assertion which in those days seems to have been popular and points out the true author of the verses ascribed to Sa'di of Shiraz. After these two Tazkirahs had been compiled, Mir Taqi and Shorish wrote short biographies of Rekhta poets and both contradict the statement."

The second plea put forth by his biographers in support of this contention is Sa'di's presence at the Serai Aglamish, as mentioned in one of the stories of *Gulistan*,¹ which Maulâna Hâli supposes to be the corruption of Altumish, the Pathan king of Delhi.² But this is not right, as Aglamish has been authentically proved by my learned friend Syed Sulaimân Nadvi,³ on the authority of Ibnu'l-Athîr to be that slave of the ruler of Adherbaijan who became a ruler of Ray and Ispahân in 612 A. H.

Therefore it would be right to assume that Sa'di went from Somnath by sea to Cambay (or Khambhat) which was at that time a big port of landing for the foreign travellers coming to India by sea, and, after touring in some parts of Gujrat, sailed from the same port *via* Yemen to Hijaz.

A tradition is current among the people of Gujrat about Sa'di's visit in that country which, though legendary, may be interesting to quote here. While touring in Gujrat, he came across a gentleman who had heard of Sa'di's reputation and, taking him to be a Persian, addressed him in the Persian tongue :—

"Where are you coming from?" he enquired.

"From the sacred land of Shiraz," was the reply.

"Do you remember Sa'di's poetry?" the gentleman inquired.

Whereupon Sa'di recited extempore the following couplet :—

سعدی تو جوهری و کلام تو جوهر اند
ارزان جهان فروش که گجراتیان خراوند

"Sa'di tu jawhari wa kalâme tu jawhar und.
Arzan chunan Farush ke Gujratiyan khar und."

"O'Sadi, thou art a jeweller and thy verses are jewels,
Sell them so cheap that the people of Gujrat may buy them."

Here is a pun on the word "khar und" which also means that they are donkeys.

(1) Eastwick's translation, p. 31.

(2) *Hayat-i-Sadi*, p. 29.

(3) *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh), Vol. 31, No. 2, p. 127 to 129.

IL-MANFALUTI—AN EGYPTIAN ESSAYIST

THE MUSIC OF THE ARABS

SONG represents that portion of the emotions which the tongue cannot express without the aid of melody. Song is the most eloquent of orators, the most convincing of rhetoricians, the most penetrating of speakers, the most masterful of sophists, the most moving of pleaders.

There is in speech a triple hierarchy. The lowest rank is formed by prose, the next by verse, the third by song. Suppose, for example, a lover, suffering from the pangs of separation, wishes to impart to you his feelings. If he simply says, "We have been parted," he will convey to you something of his sentiments, making such impression on your emotions as corresponds to the affective power of prose. If he quotes to you the poet's lines,

"Alas for heart whose love is not returned.

"Alas for sighs that have no end."

or

"As a bird's wings fluttering above my heart.

"So is the pain of my longing."

then he has led you with him a few steps along the paths of fancy, and pictured his feelings to you more movingly and left a stronger impression with you than he did the first time. While if, being an excellent singer, he raise his voice and sing the words of the song,

"Alas ! O stranger in a land remote

"What was it that befell you ?

"You left your love ; and when you had gone

"Nor she nor you had profit."

then he will have shown you his heart as it is, and communicated to you his very pain and anguish. The impression will be complete ; and if you weep, as perhaps you will, it will be because the singing has revealed to you all the emotion of that wounded heart. The verses have canalised the meaning, and the melody has canalised the verse. For sentiments go straying at random until they

are embodied in verse and find there a suitable dwelling-place. Then the verse in its turn goes fluttering ear to ear until a fair voice takes it by the hand and leads it into the safe-keeping of the heart.

Song is one of nature's arts; to it the peoples are guided by the rhythmic element in the dove's moan, in the plash of water and in the trees' whispering. The man whom the dove's voice has brought to tears learns to put his lament into song when he would fain weep; the man whom the voice of the water-wheel has moved to joy or sorrow reproduces its lament to please his camels and send them rejoicing on their way.

The art of song was for long simply an accompaniment of the nomad life of the Arab nation in the desert, restricted to the singing of the camel-drivers and to children's lullabies. Then, in the course of time, it passed from the straitened existence of a thing of necessity to the spaciousness of a luxury. Its scope was enlarged: the varieties of melodies were increased at the same time as the types of instruments on which they were produced. The practice of the Arabs in the times of Ignorance* was to compose poems on a basis of lines and syllables, in which foot corresponded to foot and hemistich to hemistich; this they accompanied with metrical chanting. Thus they made the preliminary studies, as it were, for developing the art of song, without, however, advancing beyond the chanting of poetry, which is only one drop in the ocean of this art.

So things remained until the coming of Islam brought the Arab nation into contact with the Persians, whose civilisation and culture had a special genius for the art of music and allowed it to develop its possibilities freely. The many Persian and Byzantine singers employed in various capacities in Arab households brought them the reed-pipes and the lutes, the pandores and the barbitons with which they accompanied their Persian and Byzantine poems. The Arabs who listened to them adopted the instruments, and setting their own poems to the music, soon began to surpass their teachers and invent new types of melodies. This was indeed what happened with all the arts and crafts which the Arabs took over from the civilisations contemporary with them.

* The period before the mission of the Prophet.

From this time on we find among the Arabs musicians who won great distinction by the part they played in the development of music, as, for example, Ibn Suraikh, Mukhâriq, Tuwais, Ibrâhîm al-Mûsulî, Ishâq, the son of the preceding, Ibrâhîm ibn al-Mahdi, and Ma'abad whose name is used as a synonym for beauty of voice in the verse of the great poets. Abu 'Ubâda al-Buhturî, for example, describing a horse presented to him by a prince, says,

“ A soft neigh with a tone in the rising voice

“ As when Ma'abad sings in the loud mode.”

The “ loud mode ” and the “ light mode ” are technical musical terms used by the Arabs, referring to the movements of the five fingers on the five strings of the lute, loudly or softly, as in the beautiful lines of Abu'l-'Ala al-Ma'ami.

“ I remembered thee, Umaina, when the guide descended from his camel to smell the earth ;¹

“ Thy love to me was like song, sweet alike in the loud mode and the light.”

In spite of the strength of religious feeling, then in the freshness of its first manifestations, which revealed itself in severe prohibitions against indulgence in song or played music, and in the reprobation of professional musicians and their admirers, singers played an important part at the entertainments given by Caliphs and princes, and drew large sums in pensions and gratifications. It is hardly surprising, when we consider how easily passion dominates religion.

Singers were such important personages and on such familiar terms with the Caliphs that Ishâq al-Mûsulî was able to abuse Ibrâhîm al-Mahdi, brother of the Caliph Hârûn ar-Rashîd.² in the latter's presence, without Ibrâhîm daring to whisper a rebuke. The famous performer Ibn 'Aisha sang only to the monarch or the heir-apparent. When the Caliph decided to appoint one of his sons as his successor, he gave Ibn 'Aisha permission to sing before him, before he had issued any rescript appointing him heir. As soon as dawn broke, deputations began to arrive to congratulate the prince upon his appointment ! If a prince or minister commanded Ibn 'Aisha to sing before him, he was sure enough of his

(1) The last resort of the guide when the caravan has lost its way and is in peril of perishing.

(2) 786-809 A.D.

position to be able to refuse. It is said that Ibn 'Atiq, who was a noble by birth and held high office, seeing Ibn 'Aisha one day with a scratch on his neck, asked him who had done it. Having learnt the name of the offender, Ibn 'Atiq went home, changed his clothes, came out again and sat down to wait outside the man's house. When the latter came out, Ibn 'Atiq caught hold of him by his garments and began to pommel him severely, paying no attention to his astonished protests, until, after he had caused him considerable pain, the passers-by separated them and inquired what the man's offence was. "Offence?" was the reply. "This fellow tried to break one of the strings of King David's harp," indicating the injury which he had done to Ibn 'Aisha's throat.¹

Another story, illustrating Ibn 'Aisha's position and his pride, concerns an occasion when he had sung before the Caliph Al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik.²

"What palace or what fortress can compare with thee ;
"Away with fortresses and palace !"

To express his pleasure, Al-Walid ordered him to be given thirty thousand dirhams³ and many valuable robes of honour. While Ibn 'Aisha was on his way home, a music-loving Arab from Wadi al-Qura near Medina happened to pass and inquired of Ibn 'Aisha's servant who his important-looking master was. On hearing that it was Ibn 'Aisha the singer, the following dialogue took place.

The Arab : As I am your ransom, are you Ibn 'Aisha ?

Ibn 'Aisha : I am.

The Arab : What, the son of 'Aisha, the Mother of the Believers.

Ibn 'Aisha : No, I am an adopted member of the tribe of the Qureish : and the name of my mother, after whom I am called, was 'Aisha. Is your curiosity satisfied ?

The Arab : What's all this you've got with you ?

Ibn 'Aisha : I have been singing before the Commander of the Faithful and he has given me this money and these robes as a mark of his approval.

(1) The text says one of King David's pipes ; in translating I have given the king the instrument more commonly associated with him in English tradition.

(2) 705-715 A.D.

(3) The equivalent of perhaps £750.

The Arab : As I am your ransom, will you be good enough to sing me the song which you sang him ?

Ibn 'Aisha: Damnation, man ! Is this a suitable request to make of me in the public highway ?

The Arab: What am I to do then ?

Ibn 'Aisha: You'd better come home with me.

With which Ibn 'Aisha put spurs to his white-flecked mule, intending to leave the man behind. But the Arab started to run and kept up with the mule till they reached the house, at the end of what looked like a race run for a wager. In went Ibn 'Aisha, leaving the Arab at the door. Hearing after a long time that the man had not, as he had hoped, gone away, he told his servant to bring him in.

Ibn 'Aisha: Where did God bring you from, when he decided to afflict me with you ?

The Arab : I come from Wadi al-Qura and I am passionately fond of your style of singing.

Ibn 'Aisha : Can I offer you something better than that ?

The Arab : What is it ?

Ibn 'Aisha : Two hundred dinars* and ten robes for your family.

The Arab : As I am your ransom, by God, I have a daughter. God knows, doesn't possess a silver ring to put in her ear, and a wife hasn't a shirt to her back. God be my witness. But if you offered me all that the Caliph gave you, making me a rich man, I would still rather hear you sing.

And so it went on until Ibn 'Aisha had pity on him and sang him the song for his trouble. The Arab fell into ecstasy, shaking his head and beating it against the wall, until they were afraid that he would break his neck. After which he went off, without his visit having cost Ibn 'Aisha a single penny.

This story, apart from the purpose for which we introduced it, shows how dear music was to the Arab heart, and how they responded to it as strings respond to the touch of the player, the slightest contact being capable of provoking a chord as plaintive as the cry of a bereaved mother. The emotional nature of the Arabs was of such

* Say £100.

limpidity that the divine element in song affected them as electricity affects the body; while the glances of a lover intoxicated their intelligences more violently than wine does the drinker.

Melodies were attributed to their composers (who were also their singers) and known by their names, as in the case of poetry. So one spoke of a melody of *Ishâq* or of *Ma'abad* as one says a poem of *Muslim* or *Bashshâr*. The singers guarded their songs as jealously as their honour. When a singer appeared with a new composition, nobody else might sing it, until he had himself sung it long enough for the public to connect it with his name; as today inventors apply for patents to reserve for themselves the profits of their inventions. *Ishâq al-Mûsulî*, in particular, had the gift of putting something inimitable into his singing; so that, for example, the most famous of his colleagues were unable to reproduce a certain song of his although he had sung it before them more than seventy times.

The concerts were like classes at a conservatoire. There was no hesitation amongst the musicians present in criticising a colleague's defects, however important the occasion or the host. There was a rivalry amongst them as intense as the rivalry of present-day scientists over their theses and contributions to learned societies. There is no doubt that the Arabs took their music very much in earnest; and were as skilful and enthusiastic in this respect as the nations of the West are today. If they had continued to progress, they would have reached a standard that could never have been surpassed.

On very rare occasions music even played a part in important affairs of State. In the time of the 'Abbasid dynasty, when the enemies of the great Vizirial family, the *Beni Barmak*, were seeking a means to injure them in the eyes of the Caliph *Hârûn ar-Rashîd* but dared not openly bring false accusations, they bribed a musician to sing him the lines of "*Umar ibn Abî Rabî'a*,"

- "Would that *Hind* kept her word
- "And cured my suffering.
- "Would that for once she acted on her own;
- "How like a weakling he who cannot act alone."

The words "weakling" and "act alone" stirred some secret feeling in the Caliph's conscience that the *Beni Barmak* were in reality his rulers, and when the song came

to an end he said to himself, "Yes, I am a weakling." Such was the beginning of the tragic end of the Beni Barmak.

Too soon the golden age of Islam began to pass away, and with it the art of song, which had reached its zenith at the end of the Umayyad dynasty and the beginning of the 'Abbasid. That bright sun began to set; and when it began to set the Arabic language and poetry began to decline too, until we find that the odes and ballads of the great age have become jingling rhymes and popular verse of the civilisation of the Arabs in Spain. In that age you would have heard from the Arabs nothing but

"Black darkness runs, from eyes that are veiled,
around the dawn: upon the plains the river's
edge, a garment green."

or

"O clouds that are the jewelled diadems of the
mountains, make the windings of the streams their
bracelets."

Would God the decadence had stopped there. If these jingles are not verse, at least the ideas are poetical and highly imaginative; and that is a great deal better than the popular verse which is the result of the present degradation of the language and the art of accompanied singing.*

Why should present-day singers afflict us with "I do like a nice flirt," and "God will keep you, darling, if you keep your oath to me?" Could not our singers be a little more dignified, and restore to Arab song something of the merit of its great days, as certain modern poets have already done for poetry?

Poetry and song were foster-brothers, suckled at the same breasts, rocked in the same cradle. Then time fell upon them and they parted. Why should we not bring them together again? Why should not poet and singer in Egypt co-operate to bring about a renaissance of popular taste, and thus achieve the honour which our men of learning and political philosophers have so far failed to win?

The poet will make delicate, dainty, easily understandable poems in praise of all noble and pleasing characteristics of the human soul; courage, love of country,

* Here the author mentions various types of modern popular verse and song which I omit, as they have no equivalents in English.

energy, forbearance. The singer will take them and adapt them to music, as easily as he now does his couplets and music-hall jingles; then sing them to the public without bothering about the faint-hearted and reactionary criticisms which are inevitable at the beginning of every good thing. The singers and composers can be sure that the happy impression which they will make on the character of the listeners and the improvement which they will bring about in the appreciation of the Arab language will win for them the best of all memorials, a place among the benefactors whose names the history of the nations records.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE CONCERNING THE MUSICIANS
MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING ESSAY

Manfalûti's account of the origin and development of Arab music, considered as an indigenous Arab art, agrees on the whole with the results of modern investigators. At the time of the mission of the Prophet, the habit of listening to singing-girls was certainly becoming increasingly common in Mecca and Medina, while the art itself was tending to develop through the influence of foreign culture upon the little Arab principalities on the Byzantine and Persian frontiers. Certain of the poets used to chant their verses to the accompaniment of some sort of musical instrument. Slave girls in private houses were sometimes famous for their singing, and there were singers amongst the slave girls attached to the wine-shops. In fact, these wine-shops, which were generally kept by Christians or Jews, in some respects resembled the modern cabaret, though they were frequented not so much at night as on rainy days when hunting and the other outdoor diversions of the Arabs were not possible. Tradition is contradictory concerning the Prophet's attitude to singing. A tradition attributed to his wife 'Aisha, declares "the singing-girl, the selling of her, her price, and the training of her" to be unlawful in God's sight. On the other hand, the Prophet is said to have heard a singing-girl performing as he passed by the house of the poet Hassân ibn Thâbit and, having been asked by the latter whether singing was unlawful, to have replied, "Certainly not." The Qur'ân is no more explicit. The passage in which the sage Luqmân (31.18) instructs his son, and by implication all Muslims, to speak in a quiet voice, for "the braying of asses is the most hateful of voices" certainly seems by contrast to praise the voice that is beautiful; on the

other hand, the Arabs are reproved at the end of the Chapter of the Star (53.61) for neglecting the approach of the coming Day, for laughing instead of weeping when they are warned and for distracting their attention by listening to music.*

It seems then probable that the Prophet objected to the behaviour of the singing-girls and their clients at the taverns, but did not object to the art of singing in itself, and much less to the Arab habit of chanting rhythmically when at work in the palm-groves, when building or digging, or when driving camels.

As was to be expected, such a deeply-rooted Arab institution developed rapidly in sympathy with the amazing development of Arab civilisation and prodigious rise in the standard of Arab living which immediately followed the preaching of Islam. Not only did the number of singing-girls increase and their art develop, but we find almost at once a curious type of male musician (apparently a new development) known as "the Effeminate," who were sometimes, but not always, eunuchs. The best known of these is the singer nicknamed Tuwais, "Little Peacock," probably of foreign origin; he is said to have been the first male singer in Islam and to have developed Arab music under Persian inspiration, introducing accompaniments on a rhythm independent of the metre of the verse. He was brought up in the house of the mother of the Caliph 'Uthmân (644-656), and according to himself his life might serve as a calendar of the obituaries of the Prophet and the early Caliphs. He was born, he said, on the night in which the Prophet died (632), was weaned on the night in which Abu Bakr died (634), was circumcised on the night in which 'Umar was assassinated, (644), and was married on the night in which 'Uthmân was killed (656). After enjoying the protection of many of the nobility of Medîna, he fell under the ban of an Umayyad governor.

"Yahya ibn al Hakam, at that time governor of Medîna happened one day to see a person on the salt ground behind the Mosque of the Ahzâb, who sat down on noticing the governor. This arousing the latter's suspicions, he sent some of his armed guards to fetch him. When he was brought, it was seen that he was dressed like a woman,

* A questionable translation. The word in the Arabic may mean either to amuse oneself with anything, or to sing. It can hardly bear the special sense of listening to music. Editor, "Islamic Culture."

with brightly coloured, shining garments, his hair carefully combed and his hands dyed with henna. 'This is the man called Ibn Nughâsh,' said the guards, 'one of the Effeminate.' 'I very much doubt,' said the Governor, addressing him, 'whether you ever read the Book of God. be He exalted and magnified. Recite to me the Mother of the Book' (that is, the short Sûrah which is placed at the beginning of the Qur'ân). 'My father,' said Ibn Nughâsh, 'if I had known the mother I should have known the daughters too.' To which the Governor replied, 'Do you make fun of the Qur'ân, you bastard?' and ordered him to be beheaded on the spot. He then issued a proclamation concerning the Effeminate, offering a reward of ten dinârs (say £5) for each one that was brought to him. Zarajûn, another of the Effeminate, used to relate in connection with this episode, that he was making his way out of the town to go to al-'Ahiya when he heard the sound of a tambourine most attractively played; approaching the door, he discovered that there was a party going on. Having pushed the door open and entered, he found Tuwais standing up with a tambourine in his hand, singing. When the latter saw him, he called out, 'Hullo, Zarajûn, is it true that Yahya ibn al-Hakam has killed Nughâsh?' 'Yes.' 'And that he has offered ten dinârs a head for Effeminate?' 'Yes.' Then he began to sing with bravura:

'What is the matter with your people, O Rabâb.

'That they frown as if they were angry?

'When I visit your people they utter menaces

'And the dogs howl with rage behind them.'

Then he turned to Zarajûn, saying, 'Damnation take you, didn't he price me higher, or distinguish me from the rest in any way?' There being no exception made in his favour, Tuwais was compelled to leave Medina and settle for the rest of his days at a place called Suwaida, two days' journey on the road to Syria, where he died in the reign of Al-Walîd I (705—715).

Ibn Suraij (? 641—726), of Turkish origin, carried on the tradition of the innovations of Tuwais, being himself influenced by the singing of the Persian workmen employed by Ibn Zubair to rebuild the Ka'ba at Mecca about the year 684. He at first specialised in dirges, but abandoned this art when he found that a slave, belonging to a daughter of Al-Husain, whom he had himself trained, was beginning to surpass his own fame in this respect. He

then took up other forms of singing in which he became far more famous than he had been before. Being disfigured by eye disease, he used to veil the upper portion of his face when singing.

Having started to sing on one occasion when the pilgrims were passing by, on the road from Mecca to Mina, such a crowd thronged around him that the whole pilgrimage was thrown into disorder. He is reckoned one of the four greatest singers of Islam; "after the Prophet David," it was said, "God created no better musician than Ibn Suraij nor gave any man a better voice." He died at the age of 85 at Mecca of elephantiasis.

Ma'abad (d. 743), was the son of a negro slave, and started life in business on behalf of his owner, and perhaps was at one time a shepherd. When he heard of the death of Ibn Suraij he exclaimed, "Then I am now the greatest living singer," a claim which popular opinion fully confirmed. Ibn Suraij, who had helped *Ma'abad* from the beginning, had himself said that if the Qur'ân had been revealed in song it could have been in no other style of singing than that of *Ma'abad*. Their styles were indeed quite different: as *Ma'abad* expressed it, "Ibn Suraij aims at lightness and charm, while I aim at a more grandiose style. He makes for the East, I make for the West, and there is no way to reconcile our paths."

When *Ma'abad* was at the height of his fame, a girl singer whom he had trained became the property of a wealthy gentleman who divided his time between Baghdad and his home in Persia. After a while the girl died, but *Ma'abad* having heard that her owner professed great admiration for his art, set out for Baghdad to visit him. On reaching the city he heard that the man had just left. Going to the docks he persuaded a traveller who was starting down the river to accept him as a fellow-passenger on his ship. By chance he had found the man he was seeking, though neither knew the other. After they had lunched the host ordered one of his girls to sing a song of *Ma'abad*. On the latter criticising her singing, he substituted another girl, but on *Ma'abad's* repeating his criticism a second and a third time, became very angry and roundly abused his guest for his bad manners. When, however, *Ma'abad* then sang the songs himself, the secret was at once revealed and the misunderstanding followed by profuse apologies. *Ma'abad* continued his

journey to his host's home, where he remained, an honoured guest, till he had taught the girls to sing his songs satisfactorily. He then returned, richly rewarded, to his home in the Hîjâz.

This story shows how songs and methods of singing were spread at a period when musical notation was little used by the Arabs. Indeed the first records which we possess of musical notation amongst them is said to be in a work of Al-Kindi, written about the year 860.

The three singers, Tuwais, Ibn Suraij and Ma'abad, are linked together in the following line of verse :

“Tuwais excelled in music and Ibn Suraij after him :
But the victor's crown was to Ma'abad.”

Ibn 'Aisha, who also died about 743, was the illegitimate son of a female hairdresser of Medîna, and the pupil of Ma'abad and the female singer Jamîla. As Manfalûti mentions, he was noted for his excessive pride, which sometimes produced reprisals. A party, amongst them Ibn 'Aisha, had gone out from Medîna to visit the garden of a wealthy citizen which was flooded with water. Ibn 'Aisha had sat down upon a well-head to watch the proceedings when Al-Hasan, grandson of the Caliph 'Alî came by upon his mule, accompanied by two black slaves who looked as if they belonged to Satan's own bodyguard. Seeing Ibn 'Aisha seated on the well-head, Al-Hasan ordered the two negroes to creep up quietly behind him. When they had arrived, unobserved, their master called out 'Good morning' to Ibn 'Aisha.

Ibn 'Aisha : At your service, my lord.

Al Hasan : Look what is behind you. Do you know those two ?

Ibn 'Aisha : I do.

Al Hasan : Well, then, if you don't sing us a hundred tunes, I shall order them to throw you into the well. And if they disobey me I shall cut off their hands.

So Ibn 'Aisha began to sing, and sang till he had finished the hundred tunes. It is said that the people never had such a concert from him in all their lives. Nobody paid any attention to anything else whatever as long as he continued to sing. Moreover the news having reached the city, the people poured out to the garden in

such crowds as were never seen there before or since. When he finished they accompanied him back to Medîna in a triumphal procession."

The beauty of Ibn 'Aisha's singing moved the pleasure-loving Caliph Yazîd II to express his praise in such unmeasured terms as appeared blasphemous to more pious people. This, however, is not very valuable evidence of the merit of Ibn 'Aisha's singing, since Yazîd was an excessively temperamental person. He had two singing-girls, Hûbâba and Sallâma, to whom he exclaimed one day in rapture after they had sung to him, "I want to fly away." "But, my lord," said Hubâba, "if you fly away what will become of the nation, and what will become of Sallâma and me?" Abu Hamza, one of the contemporary puritans of Islam, heard the story, and used to relate it thus: "Yazîd, son of 'Abd al-Malik, sat Hubâba on his right hand and Sallâma on his left. Then he said, 'I want to fly away'—and away he did fly, straight into the tortures of the damned."

On Hubâba's premature death, Yazîd became frenzied with grief and himself died a few days later. These two deaths were the only occasion on which Ibn Suraij, in the last forty years of his life, consented to sing the dirges for which he was once so famous.

To return to Ibn 'Aisha. He was a scholarly person, and used to preface his concerts by a lecture in which he discussed the words of the song, the music to which it was set and the history of the composer.

He died as he was returning from Damascus to Medîna, loaded with gifts of money, robes and perfume, from a visit to the Caliph Hishâm (d. 743) or Al Walid II (743—744). According to the most probable story, he had reached the fortress of Dhu Hushub, twelve miles from Medîna, and was invited by the commandant to spend the night there. After eating and drinking, the party mounted on to the flat roof. Ibn 'Aisha, seeing a party of ladies approaching, sang to them from the roof:

"Well met, she called to her friends fair as flowers,

"With us is the world well; come hither, come hither"

The ladies approaching, Ibn 'Aisha turned round excitedly, stepped off the roof, fell to the ground and was killed.

With *Ibrahim al-Musuli* we enter the period of the greatest development of Arab music, in which, for example, as many as thirty players were employed in the orchestra. Ibrâhîm's father belonged to the Persian nobility, but

being left an orphan he was brought up by his mother's relations at Kûfa. His early predilection for music was disapproved by his family and he therefore ran away to Mûsul, then famous for its musical school. Here he associated with very Bohemian company and acquired a taste for wine. On returning to his family he was greeted by the nickname of Al-Mûsulî, by which he is still known. Having continued his musical training in various cities, he established himself in Baghdad in the time of the Caliph Al-Mahdi (775-785). Being at one time imprisoned by the latter for his drinking in company with the Caliph's sons, El-Hâdi and Hârûn ar-Rashîd, he made use of his enforced leisure to increase his literary attainments. His greatest days were lived at the court of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, of whom he became the intimate companion and in whose company he appears in the pages of the "Arabian Nights."

Ibrâhîm al-Mûsulî was at once a teacher, a composer and a singer. He became fabulously rich from the gifts of successive Caliphs, and is said to have possessed £600,000 apart from the proceeds of his singing school, which was attended at one time by about eighty pupils. His house was one of the finest in Baghdad. He died about the year 806 after a lengthy illness.

Ibrâhîm ibn al-Mahdi (779-839) was a younger half-brother of Hârûn ar-Rashîd. The improved status of musicians is indicated by the presence amongst them of a prince of the reigning family; though there were, not unnaturally, protests from the religious-minded when Ibrâhîm, in the year 819, set up, unsuccessfully, as a claimant for the Caliphate. The passing of Arab supremacy, now becoming visible in many spheres of Islamic life, was manifested in Music by Prince Ibrâhîm, who set himself at the head of those who took all kinds of liberties with the old songs and sought to introduce a new style of singing in place of the classical Arab style maintained by an opposition party led by *Ishaq, son of Ibrâhîm al-Musulî*.

Ishaq (787-850) is distinguished from the other musicians in that he was at the same time a man of great legal and literary attainments, having studied under the great philologists Al-Asma'î and Al-Kisâi. At court functions he was permitted to rank with the legists instead of with the musicians, though his profession prevented his ever being actually appointed a judge.

Ishâq was very unwilling to teach his songs even to his own pupils. He was scientifically minded, studied

Greek theories of harmony and adapted them to Arab music.

Mukhariq (d. 845) was also a pupil of Ibrâhîm al-Mûsulî. He started life as the slave and pupil of a famous woman-singer of Medîna ; from her he was bought by one of the great vizirial families the Bani Barmak, who presented him to Hârûn ar-Rashîd, by whom he was freed. He was a favourite musician during the reigns of five Caliphs.

There is a pretty story that Mukhâriq went for an excursion one day with a party of friends. One of them carried a gilded bow which took Mukhâriq's fancy so much that he asked the owner to give it to him, a request which was refused. When the party later sighted a gazelle, Mukhâriq asked the owner of the bow whether he would give it to him, if he could tame the gazelle by singing to it. On the owner agreeing, Mukhâriq began to sing :

“What does the gazelle say, Is it meeting or parting ?

“Has she news of Sulaima, to tell us and bring ease ?

“Past us ran the startled game till the evening came
on ;

“And still there came no answer and our labour
was long.”

The gazelle then became tame and approached Mukhâriq, listening to his voice and gazing at him, to the delight of those who were present. The owner of the bow having handed it over, and Mukhâriq having ceased to sing, the gazelle became shy again and ran away.

With the death of Mukhâriq begins the decadence of Arab music in the East. On its revival in the West, at the courts of Cordoba, Seville or Almeria, it took on a soft romanticism which, however it may charm, must be held inferior to the classicism of the first two centuries.

(The above notes are based on H. G. Farmer's “History of Arabian Music” and on the “Dairat al-Ma'arif al-Musiqa” of Professor Jules Rouanet, translated into Arabic, corrected and amplified by Iskandar Shalfûn, and published by the musical periodical *Rawdat al-Balâbil* (the Garden of Nightingales), Cairo 1927.

The stories are for the most part taken from the “Book of Songs” ; that of the Caliph Yazîd comes from the “Golden Meadows” of Al-Mas'ûdi. For Abu 'Ubâda al-Buhturi see page 126.

NEVILL BARBOUR.

(To be continued.)

LIFE OF NAJIB-UD-DAULAH

THE LAST PHASE

(*From British Museum Persian MS. 24,410*)

This is the concluding portion of the life of Najib-ud-daulah, regent of Delhi, from the unique manuscript preserved in the British Museum. The two earlier parts of the work have appeared in *Islamic Culture*, July and October 1933.

How Najib sacked Buana

NAJIB went up to the parganah of Sonipat, and in many of the mahals of Panipat and other (*mahals*) which had passed out of administration during these disturbances, he severely chastised everyone. In the parganah of Sonipat many villages had risen in rebellion; their leaders were a body of Jats residing in Deh Buana, who were the most famous highway robbers and usurpers of that district.

Najib first went to Panipat and asked for the revenue from them. The 'amil of the place said, "These men do ^{93 b} not at all pay revenue but secretly practise rebellion." Najib spent two days in inactivity, and then rode out at midnight. At dawn the Ruhela troopers arrived near the village of Buana, and slew the Gosain and his followers living in a Gosain's hermitage situated near that village, and laid their hands on the cattle that were coming out of the village for grazing. A few of them were seized; the rest were taken back within the village and the villagers began to fire their matchlocks. There were one thousand musketeers in that village and nearly 2,000 other men who had spears and side arms; its wall was twice the height of a man, and its ditch was a good one. There were ^{94 a.} present 300 Bhangi,* who rove from village to village in that country under (various) pretexts, and all of whom carry matchlocks. These men belong to the caste of sweepers.

* The text reads *Barki*. Buana is 16 miles north-west of the Kashmir Gate of Delhi. [*Indian Atlas*, 49 N. E.].

Wherever fighting takes place in a village, the zamindars of the place summon these men to their aid, give to each one *seer* of flour and a little *dal* (lentils) ; they also get a little tobacco. After victory, some grain is distributed to them. It is their practice to tie a peacock feather-fan to their standard. It is the custom in Hindustan that sweepers should place a peacock feather on their heads, so that they may be distinguished from other castes, otherwise by reason of their wearing good apparel such discrimination may not be made.

One black flag with a peacock feather-fan on the top of it appeared on the wall opposite Najib's station. They fired their matchlocks well in quick succession. The Ruhela troopers standing at a distance on all four sides of the village, encircled it. A parley was begun from within. They said, "You go away and we shall at such a time pay the arrears of revenue due to you." However much Najib desired them to give him revenue in cash and promise a sum, they did not do so. In this parley the day advanced to noon. By way of hostages they brought and handed over two or three skin-flayers (*chamar*), saying, "These are our leading men ; keep them as security for money." It became known that they were jesting. Najib said, "These men are very proud. If a man like me, who is the Amur-ul-umara of Hindustan, does not
 95 a. punish them, even after coming here personally, it would create slackness in greater affairs also." His soldiers who were being burnt by the sun, said, "There is no way for entering the village. It has a ditch ; from four sides their muskets are showering bullets like hail. From midnight our men have been on horseback ; the horses, elephants and other animals that are with us are thirsty. It is the summer season. Very few Ruhela infantry have come (with us), and no artillery at all. It is better that you should pitch your tent here, call up your artillery, and trace entrenchments." Najib replied, "If I act in this way, they would flee away at night, and then it would become famous in all Hind that Najib-ud-daulah
 95 b. went to the village of Buana, but could do nothing. I cannot bear that."

Summoning the collector of the place, he asked on which side the gate of the village was. He pointed out that it had two gates, one facing Najib and the other in the rear. Najib asked how the gate could be known. The collector replied that the palm tree which was just

facing him marked this door, and opposite this gate was a second wall. Najib reflected for a time and then summoned the captain of his Zamburaks* and told him, "You go up opposite this tree and cause the camels to kneel down. When I fire a rocket, you will fire a volley from your Zamburaks." He sent orders to Karam Khan Razzar, Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan Mughol, and other sardars each of whom had been posted in a particular direction, that they should deliver an assault all together ^{96 a} as soon as he fired a rocket. Then he told the *naqib* to order all the troopers to dismount, and come close to his elephant. Accordingly all the (Ruhela) troopers, high and low alike, alighted and coming before him, kept standing. His men urged him to mount a horse. But he replied, "This time is not suitable for it. God is present everywhere." When all the men had dismounted, he told them to recite the *fatihah*. They recited it. Then he gave the signal for firing the rocket. Immediately afterwards there was a volley fired from the Zamburaks which had been sent ahead. He told his elephant driver, "More quickly." The driver urged the beast on with speed, while Najib with both his arms signalled to his troops to advance. All his troops facing the elephant ran forward and went directly to the ditch. One Zamburchi ^{96 b} and one Ruhela infantry-man were slain. The men fell into the ditch and clung to the wall; climbing on one another's back they entered the village in spite of the shower of bullets. As soon as they entered, the men within, losing heart, fled away in every direction. It came to this that all the Ruhelas who had become infantry came inside the village. Najib stood alone on his elephant on the edge of the ditch, at the gate of the village. The Jats who were mounted, and some after putting their women also on horseback, sallied out of the rear gate where also there was a cluster of palm trees, attacked the Ruhelas with their spears, and while some of them fell down, the others fled away.

The leading men (of the village) took refuge in a house and continued firing their matchlocks. Najib urged his soldiers to capture this house first and thereafter turn to plundering and taking prisoners. But the Ruhelas who were engaged in plunder only stoned the men who brought this order to them, and remained busy in slaying and making captives. After two gharis they made a charge

* Swivel guns mounted on camels

and occupied that house also. Two thousand men were slain, two thousand women and children were made prisoners, and the village was set on fire. In the evening, having fully completed the task, he returned with victory to his camp, but his soldiers remained engaged all that
 97 b. night in beating and killing and in digging up (the houses of) the village. In consequence of the massacre at Buana Lakhu, a great terror spread through Haryana, and all the Zamindars submitted and paid their revenue.

After being free from this undertaking, Najib came towards Delhi. Hearing the news of his wife's illness he crossed the Jamuna and the Ganges and went to Najibabad. The Begam, who was a daughter of Dundi Khan, died of this illness. She left behind her two sons—Kalu Khan and Malhu Khan, and one daughter. After passing the rainy season there, Najib marched back from Najibabad towards Delhi. Before this Zabita Khan was (posted) in the fort of Delhi. He lived in perfect good relations with the people and exerted himself very hard for the safety of the city. In the *haveli* of Hamid Khan, the
 98 a foster-brother of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, which was lying totally desolate, he formed a market (*ganj*) which he named Zabita-ganj. It so happened that once a trader sent a sum of money for cash payment by the hand of some foot-messengers towards Agra; it was plundered between Sarai Khwajah and Badarpur (text has *Nazarpur*), eight *kos* from the city. Zabita Khan, after investigation, took the money from the Zamindar of Ballamgarh, and restored it to the trader. All the traders of Delhi and the camp bazar assembled, made silver flowers and showered them as *nisar* on his elephant when he came forth riding.

Najib subdues the Rohtak district

Najib-ud-daulah came to Delhi and after halting for one
 98 b. month encamped in the direction of the Dadri and Jhajhar parganahs on the west, in the village of Kaluwas. Two *kos* from this place, there was a village* in the parganah of Rohtak which had paid no revenue at all for three years. Parleys went on for 10 days, then a settlement

* The Persian text is indistinct here and reads like "at (? between) Mita Thal and Madhana Sahat was a village." *Kaluwas* is 25 m. w of Rohtak city and 2 m. north-east of *Bhiwani*. *Mita Thal* is 4 m n. of *Kaluwas*, and *Madhana* is 5 m. further north-west. [*Indian Atlas*, Sheet 49 N. W.]

was made and a collector of his government was placed in the village. Suddenly at night (they) made a row and fought the collector. The news reached Najib. At once he rode out, arrived near the village while it was still dark and assaulted it. At the first attack, the brother of Mian Siraj-ud-din, jamadar, who was better known as *Balti Mian*, was killed by a bullet. The village was set on fire. Many of the men fled away; the rest were slain or taken prisoners. Next day, Sawai the Zamindar of Bhiwani came and saw Najib. This Bhiwani is a village ^{99 a.} of parganah Dadri. In the reign of Muhammad Shah the people of this village had inflicted a crushing defeat upon Sitaram, faujdar, who had 10,000 horse under him. The imperial artillery, detached with him, all remained here, and in the morning these villagers took them, tied weighing scales to their muzzles, and began to shout "Rajah Sitaram is weighing grain!" The reason for it was that Sitaram was originally a dry grocer of Dadri, and they jested by applying these words to him. Since that time they had always passed their days in high-handedness, so that when in the reign of Alamgir II. the Emperor and his wazir 'Imad-ul-nulk were encamped near this village, even then they remained day and night ready for war, and holding their hands back paid a little as revenue.

In fear of Najib they agreed to pay a sum; there were ^{99 b.} three zamindars there; one came and saw Najib, while the other two made preparations for fighting. Najib told Sawai the Zamindar, "You have come here and the other two zamindars are preparing for battle! All this is your villainy. You have come here to spy on us." In the course of this discussion Sawai also made some harsh speeches. Najib put him in chains. The villagers heard that Najib's mind was set upon seizing the village and beating the people, and feeling that they had not the strength to resist him they all fled away, leaving the village (with its houses) standing.

In the morning the soldiers of Najib entered the village and brought away heaps of grain to their camp. All the men, nay, more, even the animals, fed on this grain for ^{100 a.} four or five days. When they marched away they set fire to a great store of grain. Even after that so much was left that it could not be computed. The fettets were removed from the legs of Sawai Zamindar, and (he) fell ill in the army. After three days, Sawai also fled away from the camp. Najib after devastating Bhiwani went

towards Rohtak, where he halted for two days, when he received news of the Sikhs having spread through the parganahs of Saharanpur. Najib then marched from that place towards the river by way of Ghat Kutana, in the 8th year of Shah Alam, 1179 A.H.

Battle with Sikhs near Shamli

00 b He went towards Jalalabad and Nihari, and the Sikhs too came on for encountering him. Every day there were skirmishes between the two sides. The Sikhs roved round firing and plundering the villages on all four sides. Along the bank of the Jamuna they reached the parganah of Shamli, where a severe battle was fought.* Evening came on, and the Sikh horsemen remained around the mount (of Najib) till four gharis of the night. There were many sugar-cane plantations at the place and the Sikhs, taking cover in them, phed their matchlocks, and
01 on some occasions showed force, and band after band emptied their matchlocks and went off. Till one *pahar* of the night, Najib remained stationary on his elephant, and so also did all his troopers. Thereafter, the Sikhs retired to their place of rest, while Najib encamped at that very spot. In the morning he wanted to go to the halting-place of the Sikhs. So, in the morning he rode out, taking his baggage behind him, and posting the rear guard behind the baggage in charge of his brother Afzal Khan and Sadat Khan Afridi. His right wing was under Sultan Khan, his full brother, and his left wing under Zabita Khan. The vanguard was under Karam Khan Razzar and other Razzars. The chief of his artillery, Zain Khan, with small guns accompanied him. In this
01 b assembled form, he started for the Sikhs. It was two gharis after dawn when the Sikhs, assembling on all four sides, began the fight. Najib strongly urged his men in no circumstance to go out of their compact bands, so that the fighting and the movements of the troops might not go out of hand, and they could come straight upon the enemy's (halting) place fighting. From the morning till noon the fire of battle raged. In the midst of this tumult, a dry *nala* intervened in his path, and certain loaded carts of Najib found it difficult to get over it. The Sikhs just at this moment came up running, and clashing

* About 18 April, 1766. The news reached Delhi on 22nd April. [D. C.].

with the division of Zabita Khan in a mango garden, performed excellent *bargandazi*. Many men were wounded on the two sides, and the Sikhs wished to contrive things in such a way that by keeping the Ruhelas engaged in fighting they would detain them from advancing for some time and utilise this delay in setting their own camp ^{102 a} on the march and carry it towards the river. But Najib did not at all stop his advance. In the division of Zabita Khan many men were slain. Just then Jan-baz Khan Ruhela, a jamadar, with his brethren came out of the column, charged the Sikhs on his elephant, and thus became separated from the army by two arrows' flight. The Sikhs saw that only a few men and one elephant were coming at the charge, so they came away from three sides and fell upon this division. Najib, on learning of this position, sent Dundi Khan himself, Azad Khan, and Raham Sher Khan Afridi to reinforce them, and they too came into the fighting. An arrow wounded the head ^{102 b} of Raham Sher Khan and his horse also fell down shot by a bullet, and he was dismounted. His wife's brother Fath Din Khan got down from his mount and gave his horse to the jamadar. The swords of these two wounded two Sikhs. Thereafter they mounted their horses again.

During this struggle, a Sayyid named Man Sharf-uddin, a jamadar of Najib's own contingent, opportunely reached the place with 40 horsemen of his own, and a sword fight took place between them. The Sikhs, unable to stand against swords, spurred their horses in the plain and came out, and these Ruhelas returned to their wing.

When one *pahan* of the day still remained, the Sikhs again displayed force, and the bank of the Jamuna too came near. The Sikhs formed the plan of gaining a little respite by any means, so that their camp might cross the river with ease, and in that event their entire property and baggage would escape plunder. They fell upon the rear. ^{103 a} His soldiers being hard pressed asked Najib to permit them only once to attack the Sikhs at full gallop and repel them; otherwise they would destroy (the Ruhela division) while the Ruhelas would die silently under blows. By this time many men had been wounded by bullets; the horse of Hasan Khan Khanazad, a high sardar, was killed. Najib replied, "The halting place of the Sikhs is now very close. Have patience for a little while and we shall reach their camp and then much booty will fall into our hands. When their camp is once

beaten up, they will not again spread through the country, and the plunderers (by profession) who have joined them will be put to distress and return to their
 03 b. homes."

Meantime the Sikhs came into conflict with the rear guard, and all of them who had spread out now formed one body and displayed force. Sadat Khan Afridi said to Afzal Khan, "My men are being destroyed by the enemy's bullets. I have no strength left." He replied: "The Nawab has issued orders to hold the reins and the Sikhs are displaying impatience only because their camp is now close at hand, and they have too much baggage and tents. If we can advance one or two *kos* further, all their camp will be seized."

Baz Khan Afridi who was in front was hit by a bullet, but it did not wound him. He cried out to Sadat Khan in a loud voice, "Ho, Nawab: These mannikins are advancing beating us. I cannot bear it (in silence)." Sadat Khan replied, "What can be done? If we fight in any other manner, we shall be disgraced (before Najib)." During this dialogue, Sadiq Khan Afridi, the younger brother of Sadat Khan, gave his horse the loose rein, with about fifty horsemen. They charged into the midst of the Sikhs, who scattered. Sadiq Khan drove his spear into a Sikh trooper, the whole of the weapon passing into his stomach. The Sikh fell down from the blow, and the spear remained sticking in his belly. Another Sikh shot an arrow at Sadiq Khan, but it reached his turban and inflicted no wound. Ghairat Khan Afridi, a comrade of Sadiq Khan, fired his musket at the Sikh, who threw his matchlock at Ghairat Khan, and it grazed (lit., passed)
 1 a. both legs of the horse. The horse gave some bounds. The Sikh who had been unhorsed by the spear of Sadiq Khan rose up once, drew his sword from the sheath, and ran towards Sadiq Khan. Jamal Khan, a *bargir* of Sadiq Khan, struck at the Sikh with his sword, felling him again. The man rose up again, and struck his sword at the waist of Sadiq Khan's *bargir* who was a Panjabi, (with such violence) that the handle of the sword cut him (through and he) fell down again.

In this manner every one of the horsemen accompanying that Afridi fought separately. The Sikhs assembled on all four sides and made a very great noise and tumult, shouting, "Wah, wah, Guru!" Sadat Khan cried out, "Brother, they are killing me. What are you gazing

at ? ” and made his elephant start. The men of Afzal Khan told the elephant-driver, “ Slowly apply the goad to the neck of the *mast* elephant.” He stood up half his height in the *amari*, and going on (in this way) arrived near his brother. The Sikhs saw that an officer on an elephant and one body of troops were coming on quickly. Even though a very few men arrived to join Sadat Khan, he was released from the Sikhs ; but they formed knots at a distance and continued plying their muskets.

A great tumult rose up in the midst of this fighting, and the news reached Najib Khan that Sadat Khan Afridi, issuing from the rear-guard had fallen upon the Sikhs. Najib remarked, “ He has spoiled my work.” He sent orders to Zabita Khan, Sultan Khan, and the troops of the vanguard to fight in the formation settled before and to remain firmly in their places, while Najib himself with the Zamburaks and his household squadron inclined his elephant’s head towards the rear-guard and arrived to the aid of Sadat Khan, so close to Sadat Khan that a bullet hit a trooper who was standing near the ear of Najib’s own elephant. A man took his shield off his back and requested Najib to place it in front of himself (as a defence). He replied, “ Will the shield stop bullets ? ” The man remained silent. Nâjib added, “ Then it is useless.”

From the noise of Zamburaks and the coming of the (general’s) *flags*, the Sikhs went to a greater distance and stood on a mound, emptying their matchlocks. Najib remarked, “ They are on a height and my men are below. This is not well. He sent order to Nur Md. Khan and Daraz Khan, a jamadar of the Razzars, to wrest the hillock from the Sikhs. Daraz Khan, immediately on receiving the order, galloped with 50 horsemen, all lance in hand, and fearlessly and suddenly came upon the hillock. A bullet wounded his arm, while two Sikh troopers were wounded with spears. They evacuated the hillock and went below. Najib then sent orders to Daraz Khan Razzar not to advance from this post.

By this time night approached. Najib ordered his flag to be planted where he was standing. His army halted there (for the night). The Sikhs lay one *kos* off. During the night, they crossed the Jamuna with all their baggage and camp in the darkness, and went away towards their homes. In the morning not one horsemen of them was left

Next morning Najib halted there, and on the third
 106 b day crossed the river, and by way of Ghat Nakum Tabar,*
 pitched his camps in the district of Panipat and Narela
 near Delhi, in the Sarai of Sitaram. He passed the rainy
 season in the mansion of Safdar Jang, named *Dilkusha*.
 At the end of the rainy season it was learnt that Jawahar
 Singh was fighting Malhar Rao in Dholpur district and
 had summoned the Sikhs to his aid, so that the Sikhs had
 assembled in the Karnal district.

Najib again encamped near Sarai Sitaram. Next day
 he learnt that the Sikhs had arrived in parganah Duwana-
 Kharkhanda (20 m. east of Rohtak), one day's march from
 Delhi. Here too the men were on the alert and ready to
 107 a offer fight, and so the Sikhs, by forced marches at night
 made a raid 42 *kos* from their place, upon the qasba of
 Rewari, 30 *kos* from Delhi, and close to Mewat; they
 plundered and burnt it and took prisoners. This qasba
 had been flourishing for a long time past, and was included
 in the jagir of Rajah Nagar Mal Khatri, a high civil officer
 of the Emperor. The *amil* of the place on behalf of Rajah
 Nagar Mal was totally off his guard; he now shut himself
 up in a mansion, and with a few hundred foot-soldiers
 that he had, fought all the day, and at night, by reason of
 his knowledge of the country, effected his escape from it
 (though) in utter ruin, and went to the territory of the
 Jat Rajah where Nagar Mal himself was. The ryots of
 Rewari were plundered to the extreme; only the people
 who reached Gokulgarh, (a fortalice) constructed by the
 zamindar of that place, and standing half a *kos* from Rewari
 remained safe.

107 b. Some Sikh sardars went to the assistance of the Jat
 King and the rest spread over this country, and again
 began to desolate villages in the territory of Najib-ud-
 daulah in the Mian Doab. Najib again went to the Sonapat
 district and the Sikhs towards their own homes.

Just then news arrived that Jawahir Singh with Sikhs
 and Gosains, Monsieur Madec and Samru, was coming
 towards Delhi. Najib was greatly alarmed and distracted
 in mind. Two days afterwards came the news that
 Jawahir Singh had arrived at Palwal and would reach
 Faridabad the next day. Najib said, "Some one should
 go at night and bring news from Delhi quickly." Abdulla

* *Nakum* on the west bank and *Tabar* on the east bank of the
 Jamuna, 17 miles due west of Saharanpur. [*India Atlas*, 48 S. E.].

Khan Bangash, a jamiadar, in all that night and two pahars of the next day, going from Sambhalka—which was 26 ^{106 a} *kos* from Delhi, where Najib had his camp—gathered the news and came back to report that Jawahir Singh had come to Sarai Khwajah with the Sikhs: he had made the Sikhs cross his frontier at Ghat Tilpat, and had himself gone back towards Palwal. His coming (back) was solely for the sake of defending his own realm, which had Sikh troops on both sides (? in front)—on one side the Gosains on the other side Samru and Mons. Madec and others, and himself in the rear of his army, and some generals posted in front of the troops of these. He thus placed them in the middle and in this arrangement took them out of his realm. Najib said, “The Sikhs will now receive a good thrashing. They acquired much booty in (their) fight with Malhar Rao, and also got large sums from Jawahir ^{108 b} Singh, so that they are heavily loaded. We ought to bar their path once now and do a splendid deed.”

Najib fights the Sikhs again

Accordingly, in the 9th year of Shah Alam, 1180 A.H. Najib crossed at Ghat Kutana by night, and learnt at dawn that the Sikhs were halting five *kos* from that place. Leaving his camp and baggage there, he set out after them. He had not gone two *kos* when the Sikhs came in sight and fighting began. The Sikhs, ignorant of Najib's advance, had left their camp and gone out to plunder the villages (around). When the noise of riding ^{109 a} and the roll of kettledrums reached them, every one of them in bewilderment hastened towards their camp. Najib also came up by rapid marching. The Sikhs advanced quickly. But the Ruhelas arrived near their camp and the Sikhs were paralysed and could do nothing. Vast amounts of booty fell into the hands of Najib's men,—including large numbers of camels, horses and ponies (*yabu*) laden with property and other good articles. Najib drove the Sikhs, beating them, for ten miles to near Kandhala (18 m. S. E. of Panipat). Many men were wounded. An arrow hit the notable jamiadar Sarbuland Khan Khanazad in the neck and it came out from the side of the throat; but he remained alive. Many of the Sikhs were slain. After a long time a vast amount of ^{109 b} spoils came from the hands of the Sikhs into the hands of the Ruhela army. In the end, the Sikhs crossed the Jamuna and went away towards the places under their own administration. Najib came (back) to Delhi.

Najib's last interview with Ahmed Shah Abdali

At this time, in the tenth year of Shah Alam, 1181 A.H. the report of the coming of Abdali became hot. Najib, after making his preparations, started for the camp of Ahmad Shah, and passing through Thaneshwar he had audience of Ahmad Shah in parganah Kohram..... (9 March 1767). With him were the agent of Jawahir Singh Jat named Kriparam Purohit with one thousand
 110 a. troopers, and also Karamullah Khan, Sayyid Muhammad Khan Baluch, better known as Sayyidu, and other sardars of Hindustan and the wakils of all the nobles. The author too was present on behalf of Imad. Ahmad Shah showed great honour and favour to Najib, and at the Court held for giving audience to his companions Ahmad Shah made many inquiries as to the state of Najib's health. The latter replied that in his war with Jawahir Singh, when his enemies exceeded one lakh of troopers, he had undergone much hardship and gained the victory through this Emperor's grace; but owing to illness and fatigue he had become very weak. Ahmad Shah asked, "How are you now?" Najib replied, "The sight of the Emperor has made all my illness melt away." Ahmad gave him leave to depart for the time. Afterwards Najib and
 110 b. Yaqub Ali Khan used often to go to the private audience of Ahmad Shah.

Marching thence Ahmad went towards Sarhind, and from that place, crossing the Satlaj at Ghat Machhiwara, reached the Doab at the foot of the skirt of the northern hills, and wherever he got an opportunity he arrested the Sikhs who had taken refuge in places difficult of access. Just then he got news that a large body of Sikhs had concealed themselves in the hills of Mani Majra. From both these places the troops of Ahmad Shah accompanied by Afzal Khan, the brother of Najib, brought away many captives, men and women—but the Guru was not captured. Much plundered property was sold in the camp cheaply, and the captives too, at the usual rates.

From the bank of the Satlaj, Abdali gave Najib leave (11 May) to go home. He was (still) on the further side
 111 a. of the Satlaj, when news spread that the Sikhs had attacked the territory of Najib in parganahs Mirat &c. He told Ahmad Shah, "Your Majesty is marching towards Vilayet; I had come and presented myself before you, and

brought my sons and brothers also with me for kissing your feet. For this reason, my country has been left utterly without defenders. The Sikhs, fleeing away from the power of your Majesty have all spread through my territory and are engaged in plunder and burning." Ahmad Shah replied, "The Afghans of Hindustan are a very shameless people. What hardship did I not undergo for their sake and expelled the Marathas from this region, and gave spacious lands to each of them, but they have 111 b. not even come to see me : and Bangash has not even sent me a letter ! " Najib pleaded, " I am not wanting in service to you in any way, and if you order it I shall follow you to Qandahar in your service." Ahmad Shah replied, " Very well. In the evening I shall think over it and give you my reply."

When three hours of the night had passed, suddenly the noise of horses' hoofs and the coming of soldiers into the camp was heard. It was learnt that it was Sardar Jahan Khan. He came to the tents of Najib with 8,000 troopers by fast marches (*jarida*) and said, "The Shah has ordered me to take one of your sons or brothers with me, in order to make a lightning raid (*chapawal*) in your territory. Give me information where the Sikhs are." Najib immediately sent Zabita Khan to accompany him. 112 a. The sardar said to Zabita Khan, "Your head and body appear to be very soft. You have been constantly used to sitting in palkis and on carpets. How will you be able to keep up with us ? " Zabita Khan replied, "I too am an Afghan's son." There was a female elephant with Zabita. Sardar Jahan Khan asked him, "Why do you take an elephant with you ? " He replied, "Wherever there is any river on the way before us, the sardar will cross it by mounting this elephant."

At midnight he started from that place with 5,000 troopers of Zabita Khan, and in three days reached the parganah of Mirat, which was 120 *kos* from that place. The Sikhs got news of it four gharis beforehand, and (most of them) went away across the Jamuna. Those that remained behind were all killed, and much plunder was taken. The sardar of the Sikhs was slain and Baghil Singh 112 b. was wounded. The rest fled away. Then, in the same manner, in the midst of the hardship of the troops, the detachment returned and arrived at that halting-place in the course of seven days.

Marriage of Kalu Khan at Aonla

Thereafter he gave Najib leave to go. Najib came to the Sarhind district and long stayed at Mustafabad (25 miles east of Ambala), attacked many parganahs of the Sikhs, and encamped on the stream of Sarsuti, which is sacred to the Hindus and is dry at some places and flowing in others. Then he came to Delhi, and having settled the marriage of his son Kalu Khan with the daughter of Sadullah Khan, started for Aonla. He had invited most of the nobles of Delhi, so that he was accompanied by Bahadurji the son of Rajah Nagar Mal, Rajah Dilir Singh, Saifullah Khan, Yaqut Raqm Khan, Taj Md. Khan Baluch, the Gujar sardars, Sayyid Janul-ud-din Khan, the sardar of the Mughlias, Mirza Jafar the adopted son of Malika-zamani the wife of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, and many other nobles. To each of them allowances (*saranjam*) were paid by him according to his respective position, by way of hospitable entertainment. He encamped one *kos* outside the city of Aonla. Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Dundi Khan, and Mulla Sardar Bakhshi, who were owners of the Par country (Trans-Ganges), all assembled together at this festivity with their own troops, and each of them gave something according to his means as dowry to the daughter of Sadullah Khan. Nearly 20 elephants
 113 b. and 100 horses, in addition to those from Sadullah Khan and other sardars, were presented. Sayyid Ahmad jamadar gave her two elephants with silver *haudas* and some horses.

Every brother of Najib, such as Sultan his full brother and Afzal Khan the son of his uncle, and Aman Khan and Zabita Khan, set up grand tents separately, with ornamented screens and carpets and golden cushions, and every one of them wore every day a new and costly dress. Dances took place in everyone's house separately.

After finishing this festivity, he went to Delhi. The Sikhs also spread in the parganahs of Panipat, Karnal, etc. Najib as usual exerted himself to expel them. This year
 114 a illness greatly afflicted him. For seven years past, he had often had continuous fever. In youth he had suffered from the malady of gonorrhœa : this too now became predominant.

Najib resigns all his authority to Zabita

Najib took counsel in his own house, and made Zabita Khan his heir in the 13th year of Shah Alam, 1184 A.H..

tied his turban to his head and gave him this counsel, "I am now going back to Najibabad. You settle the affair of the Sikhs either by peace or war at your own discretion—without asking (anybody else). There is a rumour in the camp that some of my sardars are unwilling 114 b to be your servants and will not obey your orders. Therefore, it is proper that you should first establish control over them. I shall eschew all responsibility and I shall not pay heed to anybody's dignity in this matter." So Zabita Khan made peace with the Sikhs near Nohari and Jalalabad, and turned to regulating his home affairs. He took in marriage the daughters of two Yusufzai jamadars, named Baz Khan and Zam Khan, who formed his vanguard, encamped near Patparganj on the Jamuna, and issued some order on Ali Md. Khan Kur, a jamadar, who turned his neck away. Zabita ordered the *bargirs* in his service—so called in the Maratha language—who were 1,200 men, to go and encircle the tent of Ali Khan Kur. These people entered and turned him out of the camp. 115 a. He started for Najibabad. There was a Sayyid named Mian Asraruddin, known as Lambi Mian, a rough-tempered stiff-necked man, whom the Ruhelas by showing him great respect on account of his being a Sayyid had made inordinately haughty—he cared for nobody. Zabita Khan ordered him to muster his troops for counting and he refused. Zabita then appointed Anwar Khan jamadar, of the Umar Khel, to force Lambi Mian to sit down in his tent, take muster of his contingent, and dismiss him. By these means all the army was brought under discipline and they recognised Zabita Khan as their supreme master.

Marathas reappear near Delhi, 1770

At this time rumours spread that the Marathas were coming, and that Ramchandra Ganesh, a sardar as the deputy of the Peshwa, with 40,000 troopers and many guns and abundant equipment, along with subahdar Tukoji Holkar who had 25,000 horse and countless in- 115 b. fantry, and Madho Rao Sindhia at the head of 10,000 troopers, had assembled together at Udaipur where they had been engaged in a campaign against the Rana, and were coming towards Hindustan. All the chiefs of Hindustan became puzzled, and letters were sent by the Marathas to all the Zamindars and Rajahs calling upon them to be present and to pay *khandani*. Letters of Holkar reached Najib-ud-daulah also, to this effect: "From

old there had been friendship between you and subahdar Malhar Rao and he had done some good turns to you. I have now succeeded him in the sovereignty. It would
 116 a. be best if you conduct affairs by my advice." Najib replied, "I have for a long time past renounced the world on account of age, and made Zabita Khan my heir and supreme agent. He would not go outside your guidance." To Zabita Khan he wrote, "A serious trouble is before us. They have again set foot in Hindustan after 13 years. As soon as they learnt for certain that Ahmad Shah was no more, they with composure of mind and in a vast body have set out on campaign (again). Secondly, a strong reason for their not having so long come to Hindustan was that all their old soldiers had been destroyed (at Panipat), their chief was a child, and there were great dissensions in his house. For this reason, only once did subahdar Malhar Rao Holkar come near Jainagar to aid the Hadas, and fought Madho Singh, but by reason of the dissensions
 116 b. in the Deccan, proper remedy could not be effected that year. The second time, when Raghunath Rao came to Gohad, he had to return in disappointment by reason of their domestic feuds, and that expedition too was not successful. They have now gained complete freedom from entanglement as regards home affairs in consequence of their having thrown Raghunath Rao into prison, made peace with Nizam-ul-daulah, and settled the Karnatak,—and have turned to this side. They know that I was the cause of their ruin (in 1761). Therefore, they would remain here long and try to push their own business on, and would seek to obtain retribution for the feud and antagonism that they have with me. Not one of the chiefs of Hindustan has the courage to gird up his loins for opposing them. I cannot bear on my shoulders the heavy burden of this task alone without the aid of the troops of
 117 a. Vilayet. If only I had health and the strength necessary for riding I would have once shown what I can do and sent them back to the Deccan with one kick, and left the men of Hind again to enjoy peace for a long time. But Timur Shah is still engaged in arranging his own affairs, and his homestic questions are in his view. The men of India will one after another be ruined by reason of their dissensions and selfishness, and the Marathas will gain supremacy as before. Therefore, it is best that I should personally march to the army. Zabita Khan will not be able to handle great questions successfully. I shall, face to face with him, incline him to making peace with the

Marathas—nay more, co-operating with them—as that is most advisable.” His followers cried out, “*Are!* what the Nawab has conceived is the essence of good policy.” 117 b.

Najib makes an alliance with Marathas

Najib-ud-daulah, marching out, came to the Mian Doab and encamped near Dankaur. To Tukoji Holkar he wrote in reply, “I am steadfast to the agreement I had made with subahdar Malhar Rao; you may know my alliance with you as even greater than what was before. I shall act in accordance with whatever you order.” Holkar considered this message from Najib as a great boon, and told Ramchandra Ganesh, the deputy (of the Peshwa), that he had made friends with Najib in this way. Ramchandra Ganesh greatly praised him. When he asked 118 a. Madho Rao Sindhia’s advice in the matter, the latter replied, “We have come after a long time with the object of taking vengeance on this man. If you (now) make friends with him and give him promise and oath (of alliance), how then will our vengeance be wreaked on this man? All the lands belonging to the Peshwa have been enjoyed by the Afghans for 14 years. Our honour (*namus*) has been ruined by these people. The foremost of our enemies is Najib-ud-daulah especially; my brother and my brother’s son namely (Jankoji and) Dattaji Patel, and Sabaji Patel—who was my uncle’s son—have been slain; my foot has been cut off, so that I have become unfit for any work (*nakarah*); so the blood of three and a half (murdered members) of my family is on his head, and 118 b. Tukoji is going to embrace him! No harm. I shall write to Madho Rao Peshwa; if he approves of this arrangement, good, because we are his servants and helpless.”

Ramchandra Ganesh replied, “We have come to this country after 14 years—and if we do not at first make friends with (*lit.*, show liberality to) Najib, then all the Ruhelas and Shujauddaulah too would join him. This man is also personally very strong and, therefore, there would again be (for us) great disturbance and fighting, of which the result God alone can foresee. Therefore, it is proper that we should fully reassure this man and make him our partner by taking oaths from him. The Jat Rajah has not paid us any *khandani* for a long time past; there is no old general left in that country.

We ought to attack him, and if we defeat him, we shall gain territory and money beyond computation in a short
 119 a. time. Even if he is not totally vanquished, he would pay a large sum as *khandani*, and no one in Hindustan would stir to help him. Whatever was done by this man (*i.e.*, Najib) is past."

Tukoji said. "Najibuddaulah speaks what is true. If he joins you, he would never deviate. Bring him within the circle of an oath. If he becomes our ally, Hafiz Rahmat and Dundi Khan will turn to us, and a great terror (of Maratha power) would seize the Jat and other Rajahs of Hindustan."

In short, this was agreed upon. Najib was given the written pledge (*qaul*) of alliance through Tukoji Holkar, and the Maratha chiefs wrote to him, "We are contemplating an expedition against the Jat. Do you come quickly. We shall come upon his forts from this side, and from the other side of the river, you enter his kingdom and advance
 119 b. conquering." The Marathas set out for the Jat country. Nawal Singh was the Jat Chief at this time. He issued from Dig. fought (4-6 April, 1770), and was defeated. Najib began to plant outposts of his own in the territory of Mian Doab then in Jat possession; in two days he took the fort of Noh, which stands on the bank of a lake (*jhil*) this lake being very large, with a stream for feeding it (?)—and established his own officers there; also set up his administration in parganahs Jewur, Dankaur, Tappal, Dabahi, etc.—and pitched his camp two *kos* from Mathura, on the further bank of the Jamuna.

The Marathas spoke among themselves, "Nawal Singh has now gone into his fort. It is not good to go very close to forts. In this territory, Najib's thanahs are posted in
 120 a. some places, while other places are as before. Let us also go towards the Par country and wrest his territory. We ought also to demand these new parganahs from Najib according to our agreement." Therefore, Ramchandra Ganesh with Holkar, Sindhia, Babu Patil Rao, the son of Naro Shankar, and other generals, with a total force of 70,000 men came to Mathura, and after assuring their minds, Holkar first crossed the Jamuna. Najib-ud-daulah sent Majduddaulah Abdul Ahad Khan to welcome him on the way, and then himself came out of his camp and met Holkar outside his artillery lines, took him to his own

tent, observed the customary rites (of welcome), and gave to Holkar's companions many robes. Thereafter, Najib was conducted (by Holkar) to the tent of Ramchandra Ganesh.

Sindhia's feud with Najib

There he met the Patil also. Najib said, "Whatever God wishes becomes manifest. I did not from my side ^{120 b.} move against Dattaji Patil, rather solicited his friendship, and he too (did not intend slaughter); but owing to the Divine will it had happen in that way. Do not you now entertain any idea (of revenge) in your hearts. Now that I have come to your midst I shall thereby put pressure upon your enemies." The Patil remained sitting down in silence, and (then) merely said, "The will of God has been accomplished. Let us see what He wills in future." Najib replied, "The safety of myself and of you will undoubtedly take place." Thereafter from both sides the customary presents were exchanged—food (*ziufat*), robes, jewels, elephants, etc. Ramchandra Ganesh gave an oath of friendship to Najib through Holkar, but soreness of heart remained between the two sides; they did not meet with purity of intention, and friendly speeches also ^{121 a.} were not exchanged.

Thereafter, the Maratha sardars, in concert with Najib entered the Koil parganah, where they spent the rainy season. They made peace with the Jat King and after taking 60 lakhs of rupees restored to him his territories seized by them. They had wished to besiege Ramgarh (Aligarh), but abandoned that idea also out of far-sightedness. The Afghans of Trans-Ganges (*Par*), Hafiz Rahmat Khan and others, all assembled together encamping opposite Farrukhabad, and asked counsel of Ahmad Khan Bangash, saying, "We have, by way of a quiet residence, an asylum in this forest given to us by God. If we see an advantage we fight; and if we are defeated, we have an excellent shelter at hand, from which we can fight for many years. But you are entirely in their jaws—with not ^{121 b.} even a river intervening. If then you give us a *qaul* and some amount of money, we shall come to your territory and fight (for you)." These negotiations took place between Faiz Khan Bakhshi (on the one hand) and Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Sattar Khan Kamalzai. The (latter) two crossed the Ganges and came to Farrukhabad. Hafiz

Rahmat wrote to Najib, "You too have joined them and passed much time in procrastination. Do you now further our business a little."

Najib replied, "If you are alive and if people realise that you are alive, the Maratha parleys with you will certainly mature very well. But the Marathas have plundered the country of Bangash, and the army of Tukoji Holkar has seized the country up to Kasganj, and expelled Raushan Khan, the chela of Bangash who was there, (pulling him by) his two ears and nose. Their
 122 a. foraging parties have arrived near Farrukhabad. You are 60,000 men assembled there, and yet even two troopers of yours never went out for a day! In these circumstances of what use can your negotiations be?"

Marathas quarrel with Najib

In the meantime, one day two Ruhela infantrymen who were coming from outside to the camp of Najib, were plundered by men from the Maratha camp. Both these Ruhelas at four gharis after sunset came to the door of Najib and reported the facts. Najib immediately without a moment's thought, summoned Anand Rao Narsi who was in his camp as Subahdar Holkar's agent and told him, "Your foraging party has plundered two Ruhelas of mine." He replied, "They are not our men, probably
 122 b. they are Sindhia's men." Najib rejoined, "To whomsoever they may belong, I cannot tolerate that I should live in this camp in dishonour. Don't you think that you have now a vast army with you and I have only a small force. Even when I am dead and buried in the ground, I can eat you up with 10,000 men. I know that (Mahadji) Patil cherishes dislike for me in his heart. Then do you tell him, 'If you are a man why don't you come into the field but are merely saying that the blood of three of your family is on his (Najib's) head? Either exact compensation for it, or become the fourth in addition to the other three. This sort of behaviour is unworthy of a brave man.' You have after all known me and seen the work of my hand. I have seen your hand. Very well. I shall march this moment. Thereafter do whatever you please."

128 a. Saying this, he ordered the kettledrums for the march to be beaten. Anand Rao greatly entreated him to put off, till his (own) return, the beating of kettledrums, as he was going to report the facts to the subahdar and

come back. After much entreaty Najib agreed. Next morning, at dawn, Tukoji came to his tent, begged his pardon much, and then Najib's anger was appeased.

Death of Najib

At this time Najib's malady grew worse and became prolonged. At last, on the score of his severe illness he took leave of the Deccani sardars for Najibabad, placed Zabita Khan's hand in Holkar's hand, and started. One week after his arrival at Najibabad, in the 14th year of Shah Alam, 1185 A.H., he died.*

* The Persian MS. which I have entitled 'The Delhi Chronicle,' gives the following account of it ---On 31st October 1770, at three hours after dawn, Amī-ul-umara Najib-ud-daulah encamped in the parganah of Hapur, and ordered his troops not to let anybody lay his hands on the fair (*mela*) of Gangau at the ghat of Mukteshwar. He himself died. At noon his coffin was dispatched to Najibabad with Malhu Khan and Raja Shyam Lal. The late Amīr ul-umara's brother Sultan Khan entered Delhi at night on the 1st of November. On the 2nd, all the nobles and captains in the city paid him visits of condolence.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

KAFI al-Kufât Abû al-Ma'âlî Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Baghdâdî b. Hamdûn was born in Baghdâd in 495 (1101), and was educated there. He began his career in the military department under Caliph Muqtadir. Afterwards he was made a superintendent of the palace, and later was appointed a Secretary of State. As a Secretary his abilities were recognised by the title of *Kafi al-Kufai*. But his frankness in his expression of opinion brought upon him the displeasure of the Caliph. He was deprived of his office and thrown into prison in 562 A.H. (1167 A.D.). Shortly afterwards, in the same year, he died in prison.

Ibn Hamdûn is primarily known as the author of a historical anthology, the *Kitâb al-Tadhkirah*, or *Tadhkirat Ibn Hamdûn*. Manuscripts of the book are preserved in different European libraries.¹ As far as I know, the book has not yet been published, but some anecdotes from it were translated by Amedroze and published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1908.

During his sojourn in the East, while searching for Arabic manuscripts in Aleppo and Damascus, Von Kremer found and acquired two complete volumes of the *Tadhkirah*. He calls it the encyclopædia of Islamic civilization, and compares it, in value and importance, with the *'Iqd al-Farid* of the Andalusian author, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi. He has published two extracts from it.² The one about the oath of allegiance (*بيعت*) is given below. It is a noteworthy document, and throws a flood of light on a very little known aspect of the Caliphate. As a matter of fact, it shows the sentiments of the people at the time

(1) For further details see Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Vol. I. p. 280. where other references will also be found.

(2) See *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1853, p. 215.

when the Caliphate was in its pristine glory. The sanctity of the Caliphate was deeply set in the heart of the people, and it was thought that any deviation from the oath of allegiance would be the cause of divine displeasure. Incidentally it also shows the theocratic spirit of the institution.

نسخة بيعة خليفة وعين

أنا يا عبد الله الامام امير المؤمنين بيعة طوع وإيتار ورضى واحتيار و
اعتقاد وإضمار وإعلان وإسراز وإخلاص وطوبتك وصدق من نيتك
والشراح من صدرك وصحة من عزيمتك طاعة غير مكره ومصادا غير محبر
مقرا بفضلها مدعنا بحقها معرو بركتها ودمعتا بحس عائدتها وعالمنا بما فيها
وفي توكيدها من صلاح الكافة وإخضاع كلمة العامة والخاصة ولم الشعث
وأمن العواقب وسكون الدهماء وعرا لاولياء ورفع الاعداء : على ان فلا
عبد الله وخليفته المقترص عليك طاعته الواجب على الامة امامته وولايته
اللازم لهم القيم بحقه والوفاء بعهده لا يشك فيه ولا يرتب به ولا تدهن بامره
ولا تميل والى اوليائه وعدو اعدائه من حاص وعام وسريب وبعيد و
حاضر وعائب منسك في بيعته بوفاء العهود ودمه العهد سريرتك مثل علايتك
وصمرك فيه وفق طهرتك على ان عطآءك هذه البيعة من نفسك وتوكيدك
ايها في عنقك لفلان امير المؤمنين عن سلامة من قلبك واستقامة من عزيمتك
واستمرار من هواك ورأيتك في ان لاتأول عليه فيها ولا نسعى في نقص شئ
مها ولا تقعد عن نصره في الرخاء والشدة ولا تدع النصيح له في كل حال
راهية وحادثة حتى تلقى الله ووفيا بها مؤد بالامانة فيها اذ كان الدين يبايعون
ولاة الامر خلفاء الله في الارض انما يبايعون الله يد الله فوق ايديهم من نكث
فانما ينكث على نفسه - عليك هذه البيعة التي طوقتها عنقك وبسطت لها
يدك واعطيت فيها صفقتك وما شرط عليك فيها من وفاء وموالاته وبصح
ومشايعة وطاعة ومواقفة واحتماد ومبالغة عهد الله ان عهده كان مسؤولا
وأخذ الله على انبيائه ورسله عليهم السلام وعلى من اخذ من عبادته من
مؤكدات موثيقه ومحكمات عهوده وعلى ان تمتسك بها فلا تبدل وتستقيم
فلا تميل وإن نكثت هذه البيعة ومتى بدلت شرطا من شروطها او عفيت رسما
من رسومها او غيرت حكما من احكامها معلنا او سريلا او محتالا او متأولا
او زغت عن السبيل اتى يسلكها من لا يحقر الامانة ولا يستحل الغدر والخيانة

ولا يستخير حل العقود وختن العهود فكل ما تملكه من عين أو ورق أو آتية أو عقار أو سائمة أو زرع أو غير ذلك من صوف الاملاك المتعقدة والاموال المدخرة فصدقة على المساكين يحرم عليك أن ترجع شيئاً من ذلك الى مالك بحيلة من الحيل على وجه من الوجوه وسبب من الاسباب او يخرج من مخارج الايمان وكلما تستفيدة في بقية عمرك من مال يقل خطره أو يجلب قبلك فصدقة في سبيل الله الى ان تتوفاه مدينتك ويأتيك أجلك وكل مملوك لك اليوم من ذكر أو أنثى وتملكه الى آخر أيامك احرار سايون لوجه الله ونسألك يوم يلزمك الخنث ومن تروج بعده من مده بقائك طوائق ثلاثا طلاق الحرج والسنة لامتوتة ولا رجعة وعليك المشى الى بيت الله الحرام ثلاثين حجة حافيا راجلا لا يرضى الله منك الا بالوفاء بها ولا يقبل الله لك صرفا ولا عدلا وخذلك يوم تحتاج اليه وراك من حوله وقوته والحاك الى حوك وقوتك والله عز وجل بذلك شهيد وكفى بالله شهيدا .

Formula for an Oath of Allegiance to the Caliph

Thou dost allegiance to the Servant of God, the Leader (of the Muslims) and the Commander of the Faithful, of thine own free will and by preference, satisfied and convinced, having full faith, both external and internal, with a cheerful heart and after a well-deliberated resolve, obedient and not forced, compliant and not compelled, fully acknowledging the merit of this allegiance, conceding its legality, recognising its beneficial grace, comprehending its nature, knowing what will be the result of its ratification in the welfare of the common people, the full agreement of the humble and the eminent, security from catastrophe, the peace of the great multitude, the strengthening of friends and the subjugation of enemies. It is based on the fact that thou recognisest So-and-So as the Servant of God and His Khalifah. His obedience is incumbent on thee. His leadership and authority is obligatory on the people. It is indispensable for them to stand up for his rights and fulfil the vows taken for him, without any doubt or suspicion, and not to circumvent his orders. Thou shouldst be a friend of his friends, and an enemy of his enemies—humble or eminent, near or far, present or absent—attaching thyself to his allegiance in fulfilment of the covenants and the pledge of the agreement in secret or in public, and thy

inner self in accord with thy external (expression of opinion). Thy taking the oath of allegiance and its ratification is on thy neck—for So-and-So, the Commander of the Faithful—with a sound heart, honourable resolve, and an unchangeable purpose and conviction: that thou wilt not try to interpret anything against him; wilt not violate any part of it; nor withhold thy help from him in time of fortune or misfortune; nor keep back thy advice in dangerous or hazardous circumstances, till God aids him to carry out His trust. For those who do homage to governors and vicegerents of God on earth, “they do but swear allegiance to Allah. The hand of Allah is above their hands! and whoso perjureth himself perjureth himself only to his own hurt.”⁽¹⁾ Take good care of this oath of allegiance, which thou hast clasped round thy neck like a chain, for which thou hast stretched forth thy hand and pledged thyself. All that thou hast affirmed therein of fidelity, help, counsel, support, obedience, loyalty, exertion and zeal—is Allah’s covenant, “and Allah’s covenant will be inquired of.”⁽²⁾—a covenant which He has imposed on His prophets and messengers, on whom be peace, and on His other servants, with confirmed treaty and strong contract. Thou shalt adhere to it, shalt not alter it, shalt walk straight and shalt not deviate from it. But if thou break this oath of allegiance, and when thou changest any of its stipulations or suppresses any of its precepts, or alterest any of its statutes, openly or secretly, through deceit or perversion; or if thou swerve from the path of those who do not neglect their trust nor consider treachery or fraud lawful: then all thou possessest—in gold or silver, household goods or real property, flocks and standing crops, or other kinds of moveable or immoveable goods—will be distributed in alms to the needy. It will be forbidden thee that thou, by a trick, in any way, and by any means, and through any release from thine oath, take back any of this confiscated property. Whatever thou earnest in thy remaining life, be its value great or small, will be distributed in alms in the way of God, till thy last hour comes and death takes thee away. All the male and female slaves that thou now possessest, or mayst possess till thy life’s end will be emancipated; all thy wives, on the day that thou becomest guilty of breaking the oath, and those whom

(1) Sûrah 48, V, 10.

(2) Sûrah 17, V, 36. Sûrah 33, V, 15.

thou marryest afterwards till the end of thy life, will become divorced three times—a divorce binding and legal, absolute and irrevocable. Thou shalt also walk barefooted on pilgrimage thirty times to the House of God. He will not be pleased with thee by aught save the fulfilment of this vow, and not by compensation or amends in any other way. God will forsake thee on the day when thou wilt be in need of His care, and deprive thee wholly of His strength and power, and it will be necessary to take refuge in thine own strength and power. God, the great and the exalted, is a witness to it, and God is sufficient as a witness.

MUHAMMAD JAMILUR RAHMAN.

ANNALS OF THE DELHI BADSHAHATE

AN ACCOUNT OF THE NAWABS OF DACCA

121. *Nawabs of Dacca during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan*

Salutation to Sree-Krishna. Here follows an account of the Nawabs who ruled at Dhaka. Raja Mandhata, father of Raja Jai Singha who was the father of Raja Ram Singha, subdued Gaur at the instance of Jahangir Padshah, after which he proceeded to Dhaka and changed its name to Jahangirnagar. He remained there for some time, after which he went to the presence of the Padshah at Delhi, leaving Mus-haf Khan, a commander of 4,000 in charge of Dacca.

Having heard that Mus-haf Khan, a junior Umrao was placed in charge of Jahangirnagar, Emperor Jahangir asked the Wazir Mahmad Khan, "A junior Nawab like Mus-haf Khan is not fit to hold charge of Jahangirnagar. Bengal is a country so large that it deserves administration by a Padshah. The rajas and zemindars of that country are great *haramzadas* or scoundrels. So, you should arrange to send a commander of 6,000 to that place. One Burham Khan, a Dargahi and a commander of 6,000 who was the son of the nurse who had brought up the Emperor's son, was despatched as Governor. The son of a nurse is called Kokâ. This Burham Khan Kokâ came and stayed at Jahangirnagar. After this Jahangir died, and was succeeded by Shah Jahan, who deputed Nawab Islam Khan. The latter was subsequently removed and Ajan Khan appointed instead. When Shuja came to Rajmahal, Azam Khan's daughter became the chief begum of the Prince. Ajan Khan remained at Jahangirnagar.

122. *Shaista Khan's commercial enterprises*

On Aurangzeb's accession to the throne, Nawab Shaista Khan came to Jahangirnagar with his five sons, two sons-in-law, Nawab Nurulla Khan, Muhammad Maqim, Zohag Beg, and other mansabdars. He lived there for some years.

Shaista Khan used to import by ship salt, supari or arecanuts and other articles, and sold them in Bengal on profitable terms. Besides, he accumulated seventeen crores of rupees by procuring two or three tolas of gold for one gold mohur. He also sold salt and supari to the merchants and traders in the city of Dacca. The latter were thus debarred from making purchases and sales on their own account.

Manowar Khan,* son of Masim Khan, Zemindar of Bengal, was despatched to the Padshah at Delhi as a prisoner chained in iron shackles with the charge that the administration of Bengal could not be carried on smoothly owing to his obstructive acts. The merchants and traders complained to the Padshah at Delhi regarding Shaista Khan's acts of injustice. Manowar Khan added to the allegations by saying, "O Padshah-Hazrat, Shaista Khan has contrived to be as great as you are. He has become the Padshah of Bengal."

The Emperor became indignant and sent Manowar Khan as a prisoner to Gwalior saying, "However wealthy and prosperous Shaista Khan may be, he is still a subject of mine. He ventures to place Shaista Khan on the same level with me." This incensed the Emperor, for which he sent Manowar Khan to Gwalior, which is a place where rebels are detained in custody.

The Padshah asked the Wazir as to the advisability of recalling Shaista Khan from Jahangirnagar. The Wazir, Amanat Khan, said, "It is not desirable that Shaista Khan should be withdrawn by levelling charges against him, as he is a benefactor of yours. You should call him back in a friendly way." The Emperor wrote accordingly to Shaista Khan, "I am now old and so are you. Our days should be spent in devotion to God. Besides, you are a man of intelligence, and I desire to be absent from Delhi in order to subdue a few more Padshahs as I have a mind to die in the battle-field, leaving my eldest son Sultan Muhammad and yourself in charge of the affairs here. You should come back with all your relations." Having received this *farman* or command Shaista Khan came back with his whole family.

* Manowar Khan was the great-grandson of Ise Khan. He was a Zemindar and an owner of numerous war-boats, and was commonly known as the cruising admiral. He was attached to Mir Jumla's expedition to Assam, and held charge of the Mogul fleet at Lakhangarh. A bazar near the Dacca railway station is known as Manowar Khan's Bazar.

One Fede Khan Kokâ, son of Aurangzeb's nurse and a commander of 6,000 came to Jahangirnagar in place of Shaista Khan.

123. *Sultan Azamtara at Dacca*

Sultan Azamtara, son of Aurangzeb, received report from men that Bengal was an excellent place for hunting fish and deer: it also produced musk, agar and other precious articles. He said to his father that he wanted to go to Bengal, adding that Sultan Shuja had ruled there before. Prince Azamtara, accordingly came to Bengal in place of Fede-Khan Kokâ. He destroyed the quarters of Shaista Khan and erected his own residence at the same site. There was an extensive marsh over which a river had flowed before. It was filled up with bamboos and woods which were purchased at a cost of 80,000 rupees; a market-place was constructed there with bricks and stones for the convenience of shopkeepers and tradeswomen. There were emporiums of salt worth 152,000 rupees at several places on the bank of the Bangsha river, which Shaista Khan could not transport. They were left in charge of one of his Mansabdar Khans who happened to be near. The Kotwâl reported to the Emperor's son about this salt, "I want to deposit the salt at the sarkar or royal store-house. The place will be cleared as the salt depôts have occupied a large area of land. We shall then get ample spaces for establishing markets and shops."

To this Azamtara replied, "Shaista Khan is a subject of ours. It will look odd if we appropriate his goods, and people will condemn this action of ours. To transact business with his commodity by sale or distribution befits a mean person. So, you should destroy the depôts and pour down the salt into the river." The Kotwâl demolished the stores and threw the salt into the Bangsha river, and erected markets and shops in the place.

124. *Sultan Azamtara, a hunter*

The Padshahzada appointed Mir Maulla his Dewân; and handed over the duties of the state to the Dewan and the Hazurnavis, Malukchand, and passed his days in hunting on horseback. Besides, he confiscated the household belongings of one Muhammad Maqim, a mansabdar in command of 700, on the pretext of an offence, and degraded him to the position of a mansabdar of 200. In this way he lived at Dacca for one year.

125. *Mansur Khan at Gauhati*

The Barphukan* of Gauhati sent the following message to Mansur Khan and Baduli Phukan, "I am ready to surrender the fort (of Gauhati). Let Mansur Khan come." This message was communicated to the Padshahzada, who summoned Mansur Khan overnight to his presence, and asked him to go to Gauhati.

Mansur Khan replied, "I, an old subject of yours, intend to die on the battle-field. I am prepared to go to Gauhati if you send me there in the same rank and magnificence in which had proceeded Mirza Jâhina, Majum Khan and Raja Ram Singha. Or if you send me alone, I am prepared to go in that manner. What objection could I have?" The Padshahzada promised to confer on him the rank and precedence formerly allotted to Ram Singha, and asked him to go. Shahji and other mansabdars were despatched in the company of Mansur Khan who now came to Gauhati and took possession of the garrison which had already been evacuated by the Barphukan.

126. *Prince Azamtara's misrule in Bengal*

Prince Azamtara had once gone out a-hunting. Alone he pursued a deer on horseback. He wended his steps homeward singly, being unattended by his followers, after bagging several deer and other animals. He had on his head an aigrette worth one lakh of rupees which fell somewhere in the jungle and was lost. On meeting the Prince the Dewan asked him where he had left the jewel. Azamtara felt his head and, not finding the jewel there, returned home. The prince sent for the Zemindar in whose jurisdiction the jewel was lost, and asked him to recover it. The Zemindar sought for it without any success. The Prince extorted from the Zemindar one lakh of rupees as the price of the aigrette. One of the retainers of the Zemindar came upon the jewel and fled with it to Guzrat. On receiving this news, the Zemindar pursued the absconder and ultimately succeeded in recover-

* This Barphukan was Laluk Sola, who surrendered Gauhati to Mansur Khan without fighting in lieu of a promise that Azamtara should make him King of Assam. Baduli Phukan was Mir Jumla's chief ally. He went to Bengal along with Mir Jumla and became the medium of all treasonable correspondence which Assamese officers had with Nawabs of Dacca.

ing the gem from him. The jewel was returned by the Zemindar to the Padshahzada, who retained the jewel, but did not return the money.

Thus did Azamtara rule in Bengal. He neglected the duties entrusted to him by the Emperor; he simply roamed about hunting on horseback. The loss of a jewel is highly inauspicious and objectionable. The wâqâyânâvis wrote a detailed account of the incident to the Emperor at Delhi; and Aurangzeb being furiously annoyed recalled Prince Azamtara from Jahangirnagar. The Prince had offered to the newswriter a pony, with saddlery and harness worth one thousand rupees, requesting him not to communicate anything to the Emperor that would place the Prince in bad odour with his father; but the wâqâyânâvis replied, "I can never be untrue to the salt of the Padshah:" and he sent his report to Delhi.]

127. *Shaista Khan again at Dacca*

Shaista Khan was once informed by his Khezmatgar that Azamtara had thrown into the river all the salt that was stocked in the Nawab's emporium at Dacca, estimated at a value of 15,000 rupees. The Khezmatgar asked the Nawab to report the matter to the Emperor, at which Shaista Khan said, "Is the loss so significant that I should inform the Emperor about it? If I do so, it will not be safe for my children in future, as Azamtara may some day become the Padshah."]

Shaista Khan then sought the mediation of the chief Begum and the Wazir, and he himself said to the Padshah, "I am now far advanced in years, and cannot even remain erect before His Majesty. Besides, I have constructed a tomb at Dacca with care for burying my remains. So I want to pass the few days of my life at Dacca." Shaista Khan, accordingly came back to Dacca in place of Sultan Azamtara.

SCHEDULE OF DISTANCES FROM THE MOGUL CAPITAL

128. *Distances from Delhi to other important places*

Salutation to Sree Krishna. Here follows a statement of the distances from Delhi to other places having thanas*

* This table can be compared with "Tables of distances in Hindustan" in British miles, from Agra, Delhi, Hyderabad, etc., in Rennell's "Memoir of a Map of Hindustan," See VII.

To Rasatpur	..	3	days,	0	prahars	and	4	dandas.
.. Agara	..	2	..	3	..	0	..	
.. Gulbah	..	0	..	0	..	5	..	
.. Ahmedabad	..	2	..	2	..	0	..	
.. Malpur	..	11	..	0	..	0	..	
.. Itast	..	1	..	3	..	0	..	
.. Hariduwar	..	2	..	3	..	0	..	
.. Gharath	..	10	..	0	..	0	..	
.. Kanauj	..	5	..	2	..	5	..	
.. Hasana Abdal	..	11	..	0	..	0	..	
.. Karnat	..	1	..	2	..	4	..	
.. Bahrambad from Karnat,								1 day.
.. Garirdwar from Bahramabad.								1 day 1 prahar.
.. Kashmir from Delhi,								12 days, 2 prahars.
.. Khayerabad or Naukhas.								7 days 1 prahar.
.. Hayedarabad.	..	23	days	0	prahars,	6	dandas.	
.. Lakhirabad-thana								
to Samarkand	28	..	30	..	0	..		
.. Rohtap	..	6	..	3	..	0	..	
.. Mathura	..	8	..	1	..	0	..	
.. Bijaypur	..	22	..	1	..	4	..	
.. Khangraka biler-								
bandar	..	23	..	0	..	0	..	
.. Dhameli	..	8	..	1	..	0	..	
.. Marahat	..	7	..	3	..	0	..	
.. Tajgaru	..	8	..	1	..	0	..	
.. Muhmedabad	..	15	..	1	..	0	..	
.. Sitabpur	..	2	..	1	..	0	..	
.. Ajmer	..	5	..	0	..	2	..	
.. Gujrat	..	16	..	0	..	2	..	
.. Illahabad	..	8	..	2	..	..	..
.. Nurnagar	..	2	..	3	..	..	..
.. Sarat-bandar	..	19	..	2	..	0	..	
.. Khidrabad	..	3	..	2	..	4	..	
.. Laganpur	..	8	..	1	..	2	..	
.. Ahal-nagar	..	3	..	0	..	6	..	
.. Ilampur	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	
.. Lahore	..	6	..	2	..	4	..	
.. Lahore (South	..	3	..	1	..	4	..	

City).

129. Distances from Agra to other important places

From Agra to Rabija	..	1	days	1	prahar	4	dandas.
Do Gogarnagar	..	1	..	0	..	0	..
Do Ajmer	..	5	..	1	..	0	..
Do Raitap	..	0	..	2	..	4	..

From Agara	to				
Do	Saratpur-Sikeli	..	0 days 2 prahars	0 dandas.	
Do	Islampur	..	1 .. 2	..	0 ..
Do	Muhammadabad	2	..	..	..
Do	Ujjalpur	..	7 .. 3	..	4 ..
Do	Amber	..	10 .. 0	..	10 ..
..	Delhi to ..	..	13 .. 0	..	6 ..
..	Agara to Prayag	..	6 .. 0	..	0 ..
Do	Patna	..	2 .. 2	..	0 ..
Do	Burhanpur	..	9 .. 2	..	0 ..
Do	Gwalior	..	2 .. 0	..	0 ..

130. *Distances between other places*

From Gwalior to Paradiksha	..	3 days 3 prahars	0 dandas.	
..	Paradiksha to Barbara	2	.. 2 ..	0 ..
..	Barbara to Burhanpur	..	2 .. 2 ..	0 ..
..	Kanauj to Itast	..	1 .. 1 ..	0 ..
..	Itast to Nadiya-tatu	..	1 .. 0 ..	0 ..
..	Nadiya-tatu to Lahore	..	1 .. 0 ..	4 ..
..	Aurangabad to Hasan Abdal	2	.. 0 ..	10 ..
..	.. Kabirband-mahda	6	.. 2 ..	2 ..
..	.. Gulasabad	..	4 .. 0 ..	0 ..
..	.. Baraksal	..	28 .. 0 ..	0 ..
..	.. Surbidpur	..	2 .. 2 ..	0 ..
..	Kashmir and Bharatpur	..	4 .. 0 ..	0 ..

ALLIES OF SEWAI JAI SINGHA OF AMBER

131. *Rajas and Zemindars who helped Jai Singha II*

(There is a leaf missing here, which would have given us a few more names of Rajas and Zemindars. The page begins by saying, "500 horses and 500 camels," which must be the equipment of some Raja mentioned in the missing leaf (*Translator*).

1. *Raja Raorup Sing* lived at Patnagram at a distance of 9 days' journey, with 2,000 soldiers, 2 elephants, 250 horses and 300 camels.

2. *Raja Gopal Sing* lived at Karauhgram at a distance of 20 days' journey, with 2,000 soldiers, 20 elephants, 300 horses and 2,000 camels.

3. *Raja Rao-Kusal Sing* lived at Zilagram at a distance of 12 days' journey, with 5,000 soldiers, 5 elephants, 250 horses and 200 camels.

4. *Raja Dip Sing* lived at Bhararigram at a distance of 4 days' journey, with 2,000 soldiers, 1 elephant, 200 horses and 300 camels.

5. *Nawab Wajit Khan* lived at Gosawaligram at a distance of 10 days' journey, with 5,000 soldiers, 5 elephants, 400 horses and 500 camels.

6. *Raja Gad Sing* lived at Jauligram at a distance of 8 days' journey, with 2,000 soldiers, 1 elephant, 500 horses and 250 camels.

7. *Raja Krishna Sing* lived at Kutgram at a distance of 15 days' journey, with 2,000 soldiers, 2 elephants, 100 horses and 200 camels.

8. *Raja Jalum Sing* lived at Rajgargram at a distance of one month's journey, with 2 elephants, 500 horses and 250 camels.

9. *Raja Bud Sing* lived at Budigram at a distance of one month's journey, with 10,000 soldiers, 40 elephants, 200 horses and 1,000 camels.

10. *Raja Indar Sing* lived at Champargram at a distance of 9 days' journey, with 1,500 soldiers, 1 elephant, 200 horses and 210 camels.

11. *Raja Bhawar Sing* lived at Pehelegam at a distance of 20 days' journey, with 2,000 soldiers, 2 elephants, 300 horses and 210 camels.

12. *Raja Badan Sing* lived at Diggram at a distance of 25 days' journey, with 1,200 soldiers, 40 elephants, 1,000 horses and 10,000 camels.

13. *Raja Suryyamal* lived at Pratapgarh-gram at a distance of 25 days' journey, with 14,000 soldiers, 60 elephants, 2,000 horses and 250 camels.

14. *Raja Pratap Sing* lived at Bharathpurgram at a distance of 25 days' journey, with 5,000 soldiers, 15 elephants, 1,000 horses and 500 camels.

15. *Raja Prataprai* lived at Unaragram at a distance of 9 days' journey with 5,000 soldiers, 2 elephants, 500 horses and 300 camels.

16. *Raja Syam Sing* lived at Bachuagram at a distance of 3 days' journey, with 15,000 soldiers, 5 elephants, 500 horses and 1,000 camels.

17. *Raja Bakat Sing* lived at Ekbarpurgram at a distance of 4 days' journey, with 2,000 soldiers, 2 elephants, 200 horses, and 500 camels.

18. *Raja Bano Sing* lived at Bichangram at a distance of 2 days' journey, with 5,000 soldiers, 2 elephants, 1,000 horses and 2,000 camels.

19. *Raja Pratap Sing* lived at Babaligram at a distance of 4 days' journey, with 2,000 soldiers, 1 elephant, 1,000 horses and 500 camels.

20. *Raja Lal Sing* lived at Antaragram at a distance of 5 days' journey, with 1,000 soldiers, 2 elephants, 1,000 horses and 800 camels.

21. *Raja Jut Sing* lived at Barialgram at a distance of 6 days' journey, with 3,000 soldiers, 2 elephants, 1,000 horses and 500 camels.

22. *Raja Smram Sing* lived at Atergram at a distance of 1 month's journey, with 1,200 soldiers, 40 elephants, 1,000 horses and 250 camels.

23. *Raja Syam Sing* lived at Majpurgram at a distance of 7 days' journey, with 2,000 soldiers, 1 elephant, 500 horses and 200 camels.

24. *Raja Krit Sing* lived at Kambangram at a distance of 29 days' journey, with 1,200 soldiers, 20 elephants, 1,000 horses and 1,500 camels.

25. *Raja Baloram Sing* lived at Bangargram at a distance of 1 month's journey, with 1,500 soldiers, 20 elephants, 1,000 horses and 1,000 camels.

26. *Raja Bahadur Sing* lived at Ghâchieagram at a distance of 15 days' journey, with 5,000 soldiers, 15 elephants, 1,000 horses and 1,400 camels.

27. *Rao Guzarmal* lived at Rewâligram at a distance of 20 days' journey, with 11,000 soldiers, 20 elephants, 500 horses and 2,000 camels.

28. *Rao Brindaban Sing* lived at Manoharpurgram at a distance of 2 days' journey, with 12,000 soldiers, 10 elephants, 1,000 horses and 1,500 camels.

29. *Raja Kisor Sing* lived at Marâchgram at a distance of 2 days' journey, with 15,000 soldiers, 49 elephants, 2,000 horses and 6,000 camels.

30. *Raja Eklakpa* lived at Jarpurgram at a distance of 9 days' journey, with 7,000 soldiers, 5 elephants, 1,000 horses and 600 camels.

31. *Raja Mirzabeg* lived at Narnau at a distance of 3 days' journey, with 12,000 soldiers, 5 elephants, 1,000 horses and 1,000 camels.

32. *Raja Jadu Sing* lived at Terogram at a distance of 10 days' journey, with 12,000 soldiers, 5 elephants. 500 horses and 1,500 camels

33. *Rao Pheriram* lived at Chatasgram at a distance of 2 days' journey, with 5,000 soldiers. 5 elephants. 500 horses and 1,000 camels.

34. *Raja Malohar* lived at Ramporagram at a distance of 2 months' journey, with 80,000 soldiers, 80 elephants, 500 horses and 8,000 camels.

The above Rajas gave their support to Sewai Jai Singha.

S. K. BHUYAN.

(*To be continued.*)

A TRANSLATION OF ASH-SHAMAIL OF TIRMIZI

(Continued from our last issue)

On the relish of the Prophet

'A'ISHA narrates that the Prophet said that vinegar¹ was a good sauce. Simâk bin Harb says that he heard Nu'man bin Bashîr² saying, "Whether in eating or drinking are you not according to your desire? By God, I saw the Prophet," he said, "and he did not get enough of even the worst kind of dates to fill his belly with." Zahdam al-Jarmî³ says, "We were sitting near Abû Mûsâ⁴ and chicken-meat was served us. Then one of the persons present separated himself from us. Abû Mûsâ asked him, 'What is the matter with you?' That person replied that he had seen fowls eating a filthy substance and he had sworn that he would never taste it. Abû Mûsâ said, 'Come near,' and then told him that he had seen the Prophet eating it. Ibrâhîm bin 'Umar bin Safîna⁵ narrates on the authority of his grandfather⁶ that the latter had eaten the meat of the bustard with the Prophet."⁷ Abû Asîd⁸ says that the Prophet directed

(1) Because it is very cheap and available to all and is at the same time digestive.

(2) Nu'man bin Bashîr died A.H. 65—A.D. 684. *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 274.

(3) Zahdam al-Jarmî was a reliable Traditionist. Al-Bukhârî and others narrated Hadith on his authority. He died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 129, and *Al-Munawwî* Vol. I, p., 247.

(4) Abû Mûsâ's name is 'Abdullâh bin Qais al-Ash'arî. He died A.H. 50—A.D. 670. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 211.

(5) Ibrâhîm bin 'Umar died after A.H. 100. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 19.

(6) The name of the grandfather is Safîna. He was a liberated slave of the Prophet and died after A.H. 70. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 152, and *Al-Munawwî*, Vol. I., p. 249.

(7) After this Tradition the same Tradition narrated by Zahdam al-Jarmî, mentioned above, has been mentioned in the text with the different names of transmitters; consequently it has been omitted.

(8) Abû Asîd bin Thâbit al-Ansârî al-Madanî was a companion of the Prophet. Some say that his name was 'Abdullah. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 408.

that all should eat olive oil and rub it on their bodies as the olive was an auspicious tree. Anas bin Málík says that the Prophet liked pumpkins very much. Once some food was brought for the Prophet or¹ he was invited to eat. Anas says that he used to search for the pumpkin (in the saucer) and used to place it before him because he knew that the Prophet liked it. Hakím bin Jâbir² narrates on the authority of his father³ that he went to the Prophet and he saw him cutting a pumpkin. Then his father asked the Prophet what he was doing. The Prophet replied that he was increasing his food with it. 'Abdullah⁴ bin Abû Talha says that he heard from Anas bin Málík that a tailor⁵ invited the Prophet to dine with him. Anas says that he went with the Prophet to attend the dinner. Then barley bread and soup, in which there was pumpkin and salted meat, were placed before them. Anas says that he saw the Prophet seeking the pumpkin in the dish and from that day Anas began to like pumpkin.

'A'isha⁶ says that the Prophet liked *Halwa* (sweet things) and honey. Umm Salma narrates that she took roasted meat of the side of a goat to the Prophet. Then he partook of it and stood up for prayers but did not make ablutions. 'Abdullah⁸ bin Hârith says that he ate roasted meat with the Prophet in the mosque. Mughira bin Shu'ba says that he was a guest with⁹ the Prophet (by

(1) The narrator was doubtful.

(2) Hakím bin Jâbir died A.H. 82—A.D. 701 or A.H. 95—A.D. 713, *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 100.

(3) The name of the father is Jâbir bin Táriq. He was a companion of the Prophet. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 63.

(4) 'Abdullâh bin Abû Talha died A.H. 84—A.D. 703. He was a step-brother of Anas. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 203.

(5) The name of the tailor is not known. He was a liberated slave of the Prophet. *Al-Munawi* Vol. II., page 255

(6) See 'I. C.', Vol. VIII, No. 2.

(7) Some think that *Halwa* here means a special dish prepared with flour and ghee. 'Uthmân bin 'Affan, the third Caliph, first prepared *Halwa* from honey, ghee and flour and presented it to the Prophet. *Al-Munawi*, Vol. I., p. 257.

(8) 'Abdullah bin al-Hârith died A.H. 86—A.D. 705. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 195.

(9) The Prophet and Mughira were guests of Zubâ'a, the daughter of Zubair bin 'Abdul Muttalib and the cousin of the Prophet. *Al-Qari*, Vol. I., p. 259.

invitation) one night and roasted meat of (the side of a) goat was served to him. The Prophet took a large knife and cut a piece for him. Mughira says that Bilâl¹ came to inform the Prophet that it was the time for saying prayers. The Prophet put down the knife and said, "What is the matter with him? May both of his hands be soiled with dust!"² Mughira says that his moustache had become long. Then the Prophet said to him, "I shall cut it for thee on the dentifrice" or "You cut it on the dentifrice" (i.e. putting the moustache on the dentifrice and cutting it with a knife. The narrator is doubtful here).

Abû Huraira says that meat was once brought to the Prophet and the meat of the foreleg of a goat was placed before him. It was liked by the Prophet who then ate it, plucking it with the foreteeth.

Ibn Mas'ûd³ says that the Prophet took delight in eating the meat of the foreleg of the goat. Ibn Mas'ûd says further that the foreleg of a goat (which the Prophet and his companions had once eaten) was poisoned. Ibn Mas'ûd is of opinion that a Jewess had poisoned the meat.⁴ Abu 'Ubaid⁵ says that he had cooked a caldron of meat for the Prophet who was much pleased with the foreleg of the goat. He gave the Prophet a foreleg.

(1) Bilâl died A.H. 17—A.D. 638 or A.H. 18—A.D. 639. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 57.

(2) The meaning is, "What has happened to Bilâl? Does he not know that there is still much time? I am eating food, could he not wait and let me finish?" The expression "hands be soiled with dust" is used as a simple reproach by the Arabs.

(3) Ibn Mas'ûd bin Ghafil died A.H. 32—A.D. 652. *Al-Munawi*, Vol. I., p. 262. His full name is Abdullah bin Mas'ûd bin Ghafil.

(4) After the conquest of Khaibar a Jewish woman mixed poison with the meat prepared for the Prophet. The Prophet sent for her and said, "Why did you do this?" She replied "I said to myself that if you are the true Apostle (of God), the poison will have no effect and if you are not, the poison will have its effect and the people will be freed from you." Then the Prophet pardoned her on his (own) behalf but when one of the companions who had eaten the meat had died, the woman was executed. The name of this woman is Zainab bint al-Harith, the wife of a Jew named Salam bin Mashkam. *Al-Munawi*, Vol. I., p. 263.

(5) Abû 'Ubaid was a liberated slave of the Prophet. He was also a companion of the Prophet. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 428.

Then the Prophet asked for another which was also given him. Again he said, "Give a foreleg." Then Abû 'Uбайд said, "O Messenger of God, how many forelegs has a goat?" Then the Prophet replied, "I swear by God in whose hand is my soul that if you had kept quiet (maintained silence) you would have been able to supply me with forelegs as often as I wanted."

'A'isha says that the Prophet liked the foreleg of a goat not on account of its deliciousness but because it could be cooked quickly (i.e., the Prophet wanted to engage himself with his work with as little delay in finishing his food as possible).

'Abdullâh bin Ja'far used to say, "I have heard the Prophet of God say, 'undoubtedly the most delicious meat is the meat of the back.'" 'A'isha says that undoubtedly the Prophet has said, "The best sauce is vinegar." Ummi Hânî says that once the Prophet came to her house and asked, "May I have something to eat?" She replied that there was nothing except dry bread and vinegar. The Prophet said, "Bring them, the house which has got vinegar cannot be said to have no sauce." Abû Mûsâ¹ narrates that the Prophet said that the superiority of 'A'isha over other ladies was like the superiority of *Sarîd*² over other kinds of food. Anas bin Mâlik corroborates this. Abû Huraira says that he saw the messenger of God performing ablutions after taking a big piece of cheese.³ On another occasion he saw the Prophet eating the shoulder of a goat and after this he said his prayers without performing ablutions.

(1) The name of Abû Mûsâ (al-Ash'arî) is Abdullah bin Qais. He died A.H. 50—A.D. 670. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 211.

(2) As 'Sarîd' is the best of all kinds of food so 'A'isha is the best of all women. *Sarîd* is prepared from crumbs of bread saturated with soup. This food is liked very much by the Arabs.

(3) He performed 'ablutions' after eating the big piece of cheese. The word 'ablution' here means that the Prophet simply washed both the hands and mouth. Consequently washing the hands and mouth after eating is desirable. And by not performing the ablutions after eating mutton it is meant—so says the Tradition—that the ablution is not made technically (i.e., the rule of former times to make ablutions after eating fire-cooked things is done away with). See *Alî al-Qari*, Vol. I., p. 271 and *Al-Munawi*, Vol. I., p. 272.

Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet's marriage-feast consisted of dates and *sawiq* (parched and ground barley) on the occasion of his marriage¹ with Safiyya.²

'Ubaiddullâh bin 'Alî³ narrates on the authority of his grandmother Salma⁴ that Hasan bin 'Alî, Ibn 'Abbâs and Ibn Ja'far⁵ came to Salma and said to her, "Prepare for us food which used to please the Messenger of God and which he liked to eat." She said, "O sons, you will not like that food today." They said, "Why shall we not like it? You prepare it." Then Salma got up, took some barley, ground it, put it in the pot and poured over it some olive oil. Then she mixed it with black pepper and other spices which were ground. After that she brought the food before them and said, "This is the sort of food which used to please the Prophet and he liked to eat it."

Jâbir bin 'Abdullâh⁶ says that the Prophet went to his house and he killed a goat for him. Then the Prophet said that the people seemed to know that he liked meat.

(1) When the Prophet married Safiyya he gave dates and ground barley to the Muslims as a marriage-feast. From this Tradition it is evident that "Walîma" (marriage-feast given by the bridegroom) is semi-obligatory: some hold it obligatory in marriages. If much be not available, one should give what he has got. Moreover, it is said that one should perform the "Walîma" with what he has got and must not borrow. Nowadays those who borrow money on interest for their marriages and overburden themselves do so against the precepts of the Prophet.

(2) Safiyya died A. H. 36—A. D. 656. *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 68; and according to *Taqrib at-Tahzib* (page 473) in the reign of Mu'awiya.

(3) 'Ubaiddullah bin 'Alî bin Abî Râfi' al-Madanî died after A. H. 100—A. D. 718. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 252.

(4) Salma was the wet-nurse of Ibrâhîm, the son of the Prophet. *Al-Munawi*, Vol. I., p. 278

(5) Ibn Ja'far's name is 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Abî Talib. He died A. H. 80—A. D. 699. *Taqrib*, p. 195.

(6) Jâbir bin 'Abdullah al-Ansârî died A. H. 678—A. D. 697. *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 156.

There is a story about this Tradition.¹

Jâbir narrates that the Prophet of God once went (out of his house) and he was with him. Then he (the Prophet) went to the house of a lady of Madînah. She killed a goat for him. Then the Prophet ate of it and she brought before him a Qinâ' (a sort of plate or dish made of the palm-branch or palm-leaf when dried) of fresh dates. He ate of them and performed ablutions for the midday prayers. He said his prayers and again came back to her house. Then she brought before him the remaining portion of the meat. Then the Prophet ate and said his afternoon prayers but did not perform ablutions (again).

Umm Munzir² narrates that the Prophet came to her accompanied by 'Ali and she had a bunch of dates hanging. Then the Prophet of God began to eat them. 'Ali also began to eat. Then the Prophet said, "Refrain from

(1) Jâbir said, "We were digging a trench on the day of the Battle of the Clans, and came to hard ground, which it was not easy to dig" and the companions went to the Prophet and said, "There is hard ground in the trench." Then the Prophet said, "I am coming down." And he stood up, and his belly had a stone tied upon it, from hunger, and he had remained hungry three days without tasting anything. And the Prophet took up an axe, and struck the hard ground, which became a heap of sand. Jâbir says, 'When I saw the hunger of the Prophet, I went to my wife and said, 'Have you got anything to eat? Because I have seen the marks of great hunger on the Prophet.' Then she brought out a Sâ' (a dry measure of four mudds, each mudd weighing a rîtl—i.e., a pound of twelve ounces and one third) of barley; and I had a kid, which had been bred in the house; and I killed it, and my wife made flour of the barley; and when I put the meat into the kettle I went to the Prophet and whispered to him, "O Messenger of God I have killed a kid, and my wife has made flour, come and a small party with you." Then the Prophet called out saying; "O people of the trenches! hasten and come; for verily, Jâbir has prepared an entertainment." And the Prophet said to me, "Do not take off your kettle, nor bake your flour, till I come." Then the Prophet came; and my wife brought out to him the flour which she had; and the Prophet spat into it, and prayed for blessings on it, and increase. After that, he came to the kettle, and spat into it, and prayed for blessings on it, and increase; and said to my wife, "Call another woman to work along with you, and take the meat out of the kettle with a spoon; but do not take off the kettle." Jâbir says, 'The people of the trenches were one thousand; and I swear by God, they ate, and went away, leaving; and verily, my kettle boiled as it was, and my dough continued baking, as at first' *Mishkat al-Masalih*, p. 531.

(2) Umm Munzir's name was Salma bint Qais. She was an aunt of the Prophet *Ali al-Qari*, Vol. I., p. 276.

eating, O 'Alī! as thou art weak."¹ Then 'Alī sat down, but the Prophet still remained eating. Then she cooked Silq (the herb beet) and barley. Then the Prophet called 'Alī and said, "Come and partake of this, as this is more suitable for you."

'A'isha says that the Prophet of God used to go to her and say, "Have you got anything for breakfast?" If 'A'isha used to reply in the negative, the Prophet used to say, "Verily I am fasting."² 'A'isha says, "The Prophet came to my place one day. Then I said, 'Verily, O Prophet! somebody has sent a present to me.' He said, 'What is that?' I replied, '*Hais*.'"³ He said, 'Remember, in the morning I was undoubtedly fasting.' " 'A'isha says, that the Prophet then ate⁴ of the *Hais*.

Yūsuf⁵ bin 'Abdullāh bin Salām says that once he saw the Prophet taking a piece of barley-bread. Then he put a date upon it and saying that it would do for a relish ate it. Anas bin Mālik narrates that the Prophet liked the dregs.

On the ablutions of the Prophet at the time of eating

Ibn 'Abbās narrates that the Prophet once came out of the privy and when food was placed before him, the companions said, "Shall we not bring water for your ablution?"⁶ He replied that he had been ordered to perform ablutions before saying prayers.

Salmān says that he had read in the Old Testament that cleaning the hand after eating blesses the food and that he had mentioned this to the Prophet and informed him of what he had read in the Old Testament. The

(1) Meaning you have just recovered from illness. It will harm you.

(2) When the Prophet had nothing at home in the morning, he would at once make up his mind to fast that day.

(3) *Hais*, a kind of cake made from dates, butter, milk and sugar.

(4) The Prophet had made up his mind to fast that day. Hence in non-obligatory fasting it is permissible for a man either to complete it or break it. But this must be done before midday.

(5) Yūsuf bin 'Abdullāh was a companion of the Prophet. *Tagrib at-Tahzib*, p. 404.

(6) It was the habit of the Prophet not to eat food without ablutions. For this reason the companions asked him about the ablution. But the Prophet replied that ablution was compulsory for prayer only and not for eating.

Prophet, however, said that washing the hand both before and after eating blesses the food.

On the conversation of the Prophet before and after eating

Abû Ayyûb al-Ansârî¹ says that they were in the company of the Prophet one day and food was placed before the Prophet. There was great blessing in the food of which they partook first but less blessing in the food which they ate last. Then he said, "O Prophet! how did this happen?" The Prophet replied that they had mentioned the name of God when they began to eat but, as later on a person sat down and began to eat without repeating the name of God, Satan ate with him.

'A'isha narrates that the Prophet said that in case a person forgets to chant '*Bismillah*' (In the name of God) when beginning to eat, it would do if he repeated the name of God (when he remembers) in this way: 'I commence with the name of God in the beginning and finish with it at the end.' 'Umar bin Abî Salma² says that he went to the Prophet. Then the Prophet said, "Come near, O child! take the name of God and eat with the right hand and eat from the side³ that is near you." Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî says that the Prophet, when he finished eating, used to say, "All praise is due to God who has fed us and given us drink and made us Muslims." Abû Umâma says that on the removal of the table-cloth the Prophet used to say, "To thee, O God, we offer praise, unending and holy and blessed; to Thy food we have shown no carelessness or disrespect.⁴ O God! accept our thanks."

(1) Abû Ayyûb al-Ansârî's full name is Khâlid bin Zaid. Died A.H. 50—A.D. 670 or A.H. 51—A.D. 671. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 101 and *Ali al-Qari*, Vol. I., p. 285

(2) 'Umar bin Abî Salma died A.H. 83—A.D. 702. *Taqrib at Tahzib*, p. 279.

(3) From this Tradition it is known that a person should eat from the side near to him and should not eat from other peoples' side.

(4) Some commentators explain the clause: "shown no carelessness or disrespect towards it" as an attribute to the previous words "praise to God" or to the word "Allah" (God) in which case the translation would stand thus: "and the praise (of God who) which can neither be ignored nor unminded. 'Ali al-Qari, Vol. I p. 291.

'A'isha says that the Prophet was once eating food with six of his companions when a Bedouin turned up and ate up the whole in two mouthfuls. Then the Prophet said that if he had chanted *Bismillah* then undoubtedly the food would have been sufficient for all. Anas bin Mâlik says, "Verily God is pleased with those who eat a morsel or drink a sip and praise Him for it."

On the cup of the Prophet

Thâbit¹ says that Anas bin Malik brought out to show him a thick wooden cup studded with iron nails and said, "O Thâbit! this is the cup of the Prophet." Anas said further that in the cup he gave the Prophet to drink all liquids, namely, water, *nabidh*,² honey and milk.

On the fruits eaten by the Prophet

Abdullâh bin Ja'far says that the Prophet used to eat cucumber with dates. 'A'isha narrates that the Prophet used to eat melon with dates. Abû Huraira says that the people used to bring fruits first to the Prophet. After taking them the Prophet used to say, "O Allâh! bless our fruits and bless our city and bless our measuring cups and measure; O God! Abraham was Thy servant, Thy chosen friend and Thy Prophet, and I am Thy servant and Prophet and verily Abraham prayed to Thee for Mecca and I pray to Thee for Madinah for a double measure of the blessings which Thou hast granted to Mecca." Abû Huraira says that the Prophet used to call little children and distribute those fruits among them. Rubaiyî' bint Mu'awwaz³ says that Ma'âz⁴ sent her a plate of fresh dates and some yellow cucumbers. As the Prophet liked cucumbers she took them before him. The Prophet had

(1) His full name is Thâbit bin Aslam al-Bunânî, died between A.H. 123—129, A.D. 740—746. *Taqrib al-Tahzib*, p. 60.

(2) A kind of drink made of dates or raisins, etc. Fruits used to be put into water at an early part of the night and this sweet water was given to the Prophet by Anas in the morning.

(3) Rubaiyî' was a companion of the Prophet. A dispute between her husband and herself was settled in A.H. 35—A.D. 655 by 'Uthmân the third Caliph. *Al-Isaba*, Vol. IV, p. 574.

(4) Ma'âz bin 'Afrâ' was a companion of the Prophet. Some say that he died during the Caliphate of 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib, the fourth Caliph, and some hold that he died after the caliphate of 'Alî, and some say that he died during the time of the Prophet. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 356, and *Al-Isaba* Vol. III, p. 875.

with him ornaments which had been sent from Bahrain. He filled his hand with the ornaments and gave them to her. She further narrates the same Tradition, but the narrator is doubtful and says: "The Prophet filled his hands with the ornaments of gold and gave them to her."

On the drinks of the Prophet

'A'isha says that the most delicious drink of the Prophet was sweet cold drink. Ibn 'Abbâs says that he and Khâlid bin Walid¹ came to Maimûna² (wife of the Prophet and aunt of Khâlid bin Walid and Ibn 'Abbâs) with the Prophet. She brought a cup of milk and the Prophet drank it. Ibn 'Abbâs was on the right side of the Prophet and Khâlid was on the left. Then the Prophet said, "The drink is for you³ (Ibn 'Abbâs) and if you like you may give it to Khâlid." Then Ibn 'Abbâs said that he did not like to give to any one the remains of the things partaken of by the Prophet. Then the Prophet said that the person whom God fed ought to say, "O God! bless my food and give me better than what Thou hast given," and the person who was given milk by God for drinking ought to say, "O God! bless me in this and increase it." The Prophet said that there was nothing which could be a substitute both for food and drink except milk.

On the drinking of water by the Prophet

Ibn 'Abbâs narrates that the Prophet drank the water of Zamzam⁴ (a well) while standing.⁵ The grandfather⁶ of Shu'aib⁷ says that he saw the Prophet drinking water

(1) Khâlid bin Walid died A.H. 21—A.D. 641. *Ma'arif*, p. 136.

(2) Maimûna died A.H. 51—A.D. 671. *Al-Isaba*, Vol. IV, p. 795.

(3) The Prophet said this on the ground that he was on the right side and according to custom and general practice the cup is passed from the right side to the left. The name of Khâlid was suggested to Ibn 'Abbâs as Khâlid was older than 'Abbâs.

(4) The famous well within the precincts of the mosque at Mecca.

(5) It is not desirable to drink water when standing, but it is advisable to drink water from Zamzam while standing.

(6) The name of the grandfather is 'Abdullâh bin 'Amr bin al-'As. He died A.H. 65—A.D. 684. *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 146.

(7) Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin 'Abdullah bin 'Amr bin al-'As was a reliable Traditionist, according to Bukhâri. He died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718 *Al-Munawi*, Vol. I., p. 308, and *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 170.

both standing and sitting. Nazzâl bin Sabra¹ says that a cup of water was brought to 'Alî when he was sitting on *Rahaba*.² He then took a handful of water from the cup and washed his hands. Then he gargled, drew up the water into the nostrils, passed his hands over the face, arms and head and then drank from it while standing. He said that this was ablution for a person who was already in a state of ablution.³ He said further that he had seen the Prophet doing the same thing. Anas bin Mâlik narrates that the Prophet used to stop three times while drinking water and to say that drinking water in this manner helps to digest the food and quenches thirst. Ibn 'Abbâs narrates that the Prophet used to stop twice when drinking water. Kabsha⁴ says that the Prophet came to her and drank water from a hanging leather bag while standing. Then she stood up to the mouth of the leather bag and cut it.⁵

Sumâma bin 'Abdullâh⁶ says that Anas bin Mâlik used to stop for breath three times while drinking water and Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet used to stop for breath three times while drinking water. Sa'd bin Abi Waqqâs⁷ narrates that the Prophet drank water standing (i.e., did so sometimes).

On the application of perfume by the Prophet

Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet had *Sukka* (an aromatic composition) which he used as perfume. Sumâma

(1) Nazzâl bin Sabra was a reliable Traditionist. He died before A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 372.

(2) It was an elevated place in the mosque of Kufa where 'Alî used to deliver sermons to the people.

(3) Ablution (*wazu'*)—a sacred ablution performed before prayer—consists in washing, first the hands then the mouth inside, then drawing up water in the nostrils, then throwing water on the forehead washing the whole face, the arms, then drawing the hands over the head and lastly washing both the feet.

(4) Kabsha bint Thâbit was the sister of Hassan, the poet, and was a companion of the Prophet. *Ali al-Qari*, Vol. I, p. 312.

(5) She (Kabsha bint Thâbit) cut it for the reason that it had become sanctified by the lips of the Prophet and that she might keep it for blessing. In another Tradition we find that it is forbidden to drink water from the mouth of a leather bag. It was done as an advice so that some objectionable thing may not be swallowed.

(6) Sumâma bin 'Abdullah bin Anas bin Mâlik died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 62.

(7) Sa'd bin Abi Waqqâs died A.H. 55—A.D. 673. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 142.

bin 'Abdullâh says that Anas bin Mâlik did not refuse perfume and the latter says that the Prophet did not refuse perfume either. Ibn 'Umar says that the Prophet said that three things were not to be refused, namely, a pillow (if any one places it beneath the head), scented oil and milk. Abû Huraira narrates that the Prophet said that for men the colour of the perfume should be hidden and its smell apparent and for women vice versa. Abû 'Uthmân an-Nahdî¹ says that the Prophet said, "If any one of you is given a fragrant flower he should not refuse it because flowers come from paradise." Jarîr bin 'Abdullâh² says that he was once taken before 'Umar bin al-Khattâb. Jarîr cast off his scarf and went in his trousers. 'Umar, however, told Jarîr to put on his scarf and to the people he said that he had not seen any man more beautiful than Jarîr except Joseph of whose beauty he had already been told.

On the conversation of the Prophet

'A'isha says that the Prophet did not speak fast like other people but distinctly, pronouncing every word separately so that the person who sat near him could remember his words. Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet repeated words three times so that they could be understood. Hasan bin 'Alî says that he asked his maternal uncle Hind bin Abi Hala to describe the manner in which the Prophet used to speak. The latter said that the Prophet was always sorrowful (because men did not accept the unity of God) and was thoughtful. He had no comfort (in this world). Generally he remained silent. He did not speak unnecessarily. He used to begin and finish his talk clearly.³ He talked in such a way that he conveyed a world of meaning with the fewest words. His speech made a distinction (between right and wrong) and it was not idle talk and there was no shortcoming in his speech. He was not unjust towards any person, nor did he allow any person to be looked down upon. He considered a gift to be great although it was a petty one. He

(1) Abû 'Uthmân an-Nahdi according to some died A.H. 95—A.D. 713. His name is 'Abdur Rahman bin Mall, vide *Ali al-Qari*, Vol. II, p. 6.

(2) Jarîr bin 'Abdullah al-Bajali died A.H. 54—A.D. 673, *Al-Mu'arif* p. 149.

(3) In some readings we find in the place of "clearly" "with the words *Bismillah*," in the name of God.

did not find fault with presents, unless they were eatable things which he neither praised nor blamed. The world and the things in it could not annoy him. But when truth was disregarded then nothing could pacify his anger unless and until religious injunctions were enforced. He did not take offence at any remark of a personal nature, neither did he revenge himself upon anybody.

When he pointed out anything he did so with his palm outspread. When he wondered he used to reverse his palm. When he talked he brought both the hands together: and struck the left thumb with his right palm; he looked away whenever he became angry and looked down (and shut the eyes) when he was pleased. Most of his laughter was smiling.¹ When smiling, his teeth appeared like hail-stones.

On the Prophet's laughter

Jâbir bin Samura says, "The Prophet's legs were thin and he never laughed, but merely smiled. And, whenever I saw him I noticed collyrium in his eyes although he had not applied it."

'Abdullâh bin Hârith² says that he never saw any person with a more smiling³ countenance than the Prophet. Abû Zarr⁴ narrates that the Prophet said that he knew full well the first person who would enter Paradise and the last person who would come out of hell. A person will be brought out on the day of Judgment; then the angels will be asked to describe to him his smaller sins but his greater sins will be concealed from him. Then he will be told the particular occasions when he had committed these faults. He will not deny but confess all these. He will be, however, afraid of the greater sins. Then it will be said, "Give him one good action for every sin that he has committed" (because he has repented sincerely);

(1) This was the usual practice with the Prophet. It is said that sometimes he laughed till the teeth at the corners were visible.

(2) 'Abdullah bin Hârith died A.H. 86—A.D. 705. *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 195.

(3) In a previous Tradition it is narrated that he always appeared to be sorrowful, but according to this, smiling. This is not contradictory because he used to remember mournful phases of the work at hand, but when he conversed with the people he used to smile.

(4) Abû Zarr died A.H. 32—A.D. 352. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 418.

then the person will say, "Verily there are other sins of mine which I do not find here." Abû Zarr says that he saw the Prophet laughing till the teeth at the corners were visible. Jarîr bin 'Abdullâh says, "The Prophet did not forbid me from going to him from the time I became a Muslim and whenever he saw me he smiled." 'Abdullâh bin Mas'ûd¹ narrates that the Prophet said that he knew the last person who would come out of hell. He is a person who will come out of hell-fire, creeping. Then he will be asked to go and enter Paradise. He will go, so that he enters Paradise. Then he will find that the people have occupied the places. Then he will return and say, "O God! people have taken their places." Then he will be asked, "Do you remember the time when you were (in the world)." Then he will reply "Aye." Then he will be asked to express his desire. This he will do. Then he will be told, "Verily you will get what you desire and over and above that ten times of the world." Then he will say (to God) that He (God) is joking with him whereas He (God) is the King. 'Abdullâh says that he saw the Prophet laughing till the teeth at the corners were visible. 'Alî bin Rabî'a² says that he presented himself to 'Alî. A beast was brought so that 'Alî might mount it. When he placed his foot on the stirrup he said "Bismillâh" (in the name of God); when he mounted on its back he said, "Al-hamdulillâh" etc. (praise be to God), "Holy is the Being Who has made this beast obedient to us." "We did not possess strength to make it obedient and verily we shall return to our Lord." Then he said, "Praise be to God," three times and "God is Greater," three times. "Thou art Holy, verily I have done harm to my soul; therefore, forgive me because none can forgive sins except Thee," and then he laughed. Then the narrator asked, "What made you laugh? O Prince of Believers!" He replied that he saw the Prophet doing just as he did and then laughing. 'Alî said that he had asked the Prophet why he had laughed. The Prophet replied that God was pleased with a man when he said, "O God! forgive my sins" and he knew that none

(1) 'Abdullah bin Mas'ûd died A.H. 32—A.D. 652. *Tagrib at-Tahzib*, p. 215.

(2) 'Alî bin Rabî'a died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Tagrib at-Tahzib*, p. 271.

except Him (God) can forgive sins. 'Amir¹ narrates on the authority of (his father) Sa'd² who said that he saw the Prophet laughing on the day of the Battle of the Trench³ so that the teeth at the corners were visible. 'Amir asked Sa'd the cause of the laughing. Sa'd replied that there was a person who had a shield, and Sa'd was an archer and that person protected himself with the shield. He hid his forehead and then Sa'd took out an arrow and as soon as that person raised his head Sa'd shot at him and this arrow did not miss him. The infidel fell down and raised his feet. This made the Prophet laugh so much that his teeth were visible. 'Amir asked: "What made him laugh?" Sa'd replied, "The way in which I shot the arrow and the manner in which my opponent fell down notwithstanding all the precautions he had taken made the Prophet laugh."

On the humour of the Prophet

Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet once addressed him as the possessor of two cars and in this way (he the Prophet) joked with him. Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet used to mix with his people so freely that he said to his (Anas bin Mâlik's) younger brother (step-brother). "O Abâ 'Umar! What has become of your sparrow with red beak?" This remark has been explained by 'Isâ, the author, who says that the Prophet used to joke and nickname the young man Abâ 'Umar. (Tirmizî further remarks that from this Tradition it is concluded that there is no harm if a young boy is given a bird to play with). The Prophet used the expression, "O Abâ 'Umar! *ma fa'ala an-nughair.*" (O Abâ 'Umar! What has become of the sparrow with red beak) for the reason that the boy had a sparrow with which he played and upon whose death he was severely pained. The Prophet said the above sentence jocosely (with a view to lessen the boy's grief).

Abû Huraira narrates that the people said, "O Prophet! Verily you joke with us." He replied that he did not say anything but the truth. Anas bin Mâlik narrates that a person asked for a conveyance from the Prophet.

(1) 'Amir bin Sa'd died A.H. 104—A.D. 722. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 185.

(2) Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas died A.H. 55—A.D. 672. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 142.

(3) The Battle of the Trench took place in A.H. 4—A.D. 625.

Then the Prophet promised that he would make him ride on "the young of the she-camel"; then the person said, "O Prophet! What shall I do with 'the young of the she-camel'?" The Prophet replied that the camel was nothing but the young¹ of the she-camel. Anas bin Mâlik narrates that a villager whose name was Zâhir² used to send country gifts (such as fruit) to the Prophet and the Prophet also, in return, used to supply him with necessary articles (useful for the village) at the time of his departure from the town. The Prophet said, "Verily Zâhir is an inhabitant of our village and we are the inhabitants of his town." And the Prophet liked him very much although he was ugly. One day the Prophet went to him when he was selling his goods and embraced him from behind before he could see the Prophet. Then he said, "Who are you? Leave me." but, when he turned he recognised that it was the Prophet, and he kept on touching the breast of the Prophet with his back. Then the Prophet began to say, "Who will buy this slave?"³ Then the person said, "I swear by God that you will find me worthless." Then the Prophet replied that he was not worthless before God; or⁴ the Prophet said that the person was valuable to God. Al-Hasan Bisri⁵ says that an old woman⁶ went to the Prophet and asked him to pray for her so that she might be admitted into Paradise. The Prophet replied, "O mother of So-and-so.⁷ Old women are not admitted into Paradise." The narrator says that she

(1) All camels are the young of the she-camel. The person thought that the Prophet would give him a young camel and he would not be able to ride it. Then the Prophet said that a big camel was also the young of a she-camel and this was the truth and he said it in a joke.

(2) Zâhir bin Haram al-Ashai took part in the Battle of Badr A.H. (2,) A.D. 623). *Al-Munawi*, Vol. II., page 35.

(3) This was said by the Prophet as a joke and this is true because every one is a slave of God.

(4) The narrator is doubtful about the words used by the Prophet.

(5) Al-Hasan al-Bisri died A.H. 110—A.D. 728. *Tagrib at-Tahzib*, page 87.

(6) Some commentaries say that she was Safiya, the daughter of 'Abdul Muttalib, mother of az-Zubair bin 'Awwâm and aunt of the Prophet. *'Ali al-Qari*, Vol. II., p. 38.

(7) The narrator has evidently forgotten the name and consequently says 'So-and-so.'

went away weeping. Then the Prophet said, "Inform her that she will not enter Paradise as an old woman. God the Almighty says that verily He will create them anew and make them virgins."*

* *Sura 56*, verses 34 and 35.

HIDAYET HOSAIN.

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF KHWAJA NIZAMU'L-MULK TUSI

THE tenth and the eleventh centuries of the Christian era form a distinct epoch in the history of Central and Western Asia, for it was then that the great political edifice built on the foundations first laid by the Apostle of Islam finally tottered and fell under the strain of the onslaught of the Persians and Turks from the East. As early as the ninth century the Khilâfat of Baghdâd shows clear signs of its impending fall. By the end of the century we see a number of Sultâns, Kings and even Khalîfahs in the far flung corners of what was once the glorious realm of the House of 'Abbâs, and new dynasties arising in various parts such as the Tahirites, the Saffarites and the Samanids in Persia, the Tulunids and the Fatimids in Egypt, and the Ghaznavids in Afghânistan and North-western India. We see the mournful, though very significant, spectacle of the scions of these upstart Houses challenging the supremacy of the land of Islam of the 'Abbâsid Khalîfah whose very name recalled the traditions of the birth of Islam and the life of its Prophet.

It is in these critical times that a man appears in the fastnesses of Turkistân, named Seljûq, who by his prowess and ability enlarges his sphere of influence to such an extent that his fame reaches the very gates of the 'Abbâsid capital, and when the Khalîfah Qâ'im bi Amr'illâh is hard pressed by his enemies, he has to call in the assistance of his powerful subject, the grandson of Seljûq, Abû Tâlib Ruknu'd-dîn Tughrâ Beg. This Tughrâ extended his dominions to practically the whole of Central and Western Asia, and his banner floated over the expanse of territory from Afghânistan right up to the Mediterranean Sea. The very seat of the Khilâfat came under his direct influence, and this alliance was further cemented by the marriage of his sister, the famous Arslân Khatûn with the reigning Khalîfah; after which Tughrâ was formally made the Viceroy of all the lands under the sway of Baghdâd.

Tughral died in 1063, and was succeeded by his nephew, 'Adadu'd-dîn Abû Shujâ' Alp Arslân, who finally conquered all the territories in Western Asia till then ruled by the Eastern Roman Emperor of Constantinople, capturing the Emperor Diogènes himself in 1070 and forcing him to promise the payment of a large annual tribute to the Islamic State. M. Sedillot quite rightly says in his *Histoire des Arabes* that Alp Arslân "ruled over a large part of the Asiatic continent and commanded two hundred thousand warriors under his banner. Still, in spite of this eminence, it cannot be said that Alp Arslân was the greatest ruler of his line, for this place is really reserved for his son and successor, Sultân Malik Shâh, who ruled from 1074 to 1092. This great king doubled the number of the mosques and educational institutions of Baghdâd, and conveyance between the various parts of his huge Empire was facilitated by the construction of new roads and canals. His name was mentioned in the Friday sermons from Mecca to Baghdâd and from Isfahân to Kashghar, and he annexed all the parts of Asia Minor to his dominions right up to the Mediterranean sea-coast."

It was in the reign of these two potentates that the great Empire was really governed by the man who is the subject of the present article. Khwâja Abû 'Alî Hasan ibn 'Alî ibn Ishâq, better known in history as Nizâmu'l-Mulk Tûsî, was born at Nuqân, a suburb of Tûs, in 1017. It is related that when he was at school he had as his fellow-students two boys who later became two of the most prominent men of their time, the great poet and *savant* of Persia, 'Umar Khayyâm, and the founder of the Bâtinîyah sect of the Hashshâshîn (the Assassins), Hasan ibn Sabbâh el-Hamîrî el-Qûmmî, one of whose followers, Abû Tâhir Hârith, murdered our hero in 1092. The Khwâja of Tûs was first appointed a kâtib by Alp Arslân's father, Chaghri Bêg Dawûd; after that the Khwâja rose step by step till he became Joint-Minister and, after the death of Hamîdu'l-Mulk, Chief Minister of the Seljûq realm. During his term of office he was showered with all kinds of honorific titles and dignities both by his masters, Alp Arslân and Malik Shâh, and by the Khalîfah of Baghdâd, al-Qâ'im bi Amrillâh, so that he became, in course of time, Wazîr kebîr, Khwâja-i-buzurg, Tâju'l-hadratain, Qiwwamu'd-dîn, Nizâmu'l-Mulk, Atâbek, Râdiu

Emirî'l-mu'minîn, al-Wazîru'l-'Alîmu'l-'Adil;¹ and, as if all these high sounding titles did not suffice to connote the qualities of the man, the great *savant* and divine of the period, Imâmu'l-Harameyn Sheykh 'Abdu'l-Malik Juweynî added the distinctions of Sayyidu'l-warâ, Mu'iyidu'd-din, Mulâdhu'l-umamî. Mustakhdîm li's-seyfi wa'l-qalam² to his already high sounding names. A mere perusal of these titles gives us an idea of the great position which the Khwâja held in the eyes of his contemporaries. The reason for this exalted status is not far to seek, for not only was he the Prime Minister of the great realm which extended from the Oxus and the Jaxartes to the Bosphorus, the power behind the throne of the Khilâfat itself, but he was a *savant* and a man of culture who actually wrote down the principles which he put in practice as a statesman, besides being God-fearing, just, and a lover of learning. It was he who laid the foundation of the Nizâmîyah University of Baghdâd, and established colleges in the great centres of the Empire such as Isfahân, Nîshâpûr, Merv, Mûsal, Hîrât, and Tûs as feeders for that seat of learning. It is related that no gift was so acceptable to the Khwâja as a gift of books, and he invariably gave over the books presented to him to the University Library of Baghdâd.

There are two treatises on the science of politics which are attributed to him: the *Siasat-Nameh* or *Siyaru'l-Muluk*, written mainly for the guidance of Sultân Malik Shâh, and *Majma'u'l-wasaya* or *Dasturu'l-wuzara*, which he is said to have written for his son, Fakhru'l-Mulk. Of these, the *Siasat-Nameh* was written towards the end of the Minister's life. It is said that once Malik Shâh asked his nobles the real cause of the troubles under which the kingdom laboured; to which everyone of note tried to give some kind of answer. Of course Nizâmu'l-Mulk was one of those to whom the query was addressed, and the reasoned reply he gave forms the *Siasat-Nameh* as we know it. When the work was placed before the king he read it thoroughly and declared that it would form the law of the constitution in future. The other work, *Dasturu'l-wuzara*, which is attributed to him, was

probably the work of someone who seems to have compiled it for Emîr Fakhru'd-dîn Hasan ibn Tâji'dîn sometime about the fifteenth century. Although the technique of this work is more or less the same as that of the *Siasat-Nameh*—that is to say, in both these books every principle of political conduct is substantiated and illustrated by a number of historical anecdotes—still the present trend of thought is that the work did not originate with Nizâmu'l-Mulk.

Under these circumstances, we shall content ourselves with analysing the principles enunciated in the *Siasat-Nameh* and try to give it its place in the field of political thought. Before attempting to deal with the work, we shall delineate the true perspective of the time of which the Khwâja was a product. We can appreciate his foresight, his erudition and his method of government only when we bear in mind that he was a contemporary of William, the Conqueror of England; that when he was expounding his views, the seemingly eternal quarrels between the Pope and the Emperor were still going on, Sultân Mahmûd of Ghaznah was still in the act of subjugating the land of Hindustân piecemeal, while there was hardly an Indian in the length and breadth of this great sub-continent who had embraced the faith of Islam; and it was only a few years before that 'Abdu'r-Rahmân an-Nâsir li Dîni'llâh had laid the foundation of the Khilâfat of the West at Cordova. We cannot gauge the importance of the Eastern sciences and arts till we are aware of the conditions prevalent in different parts of the world at the time which we happen to be scanning, and it is only when we know exactly the condition of things nine hundred years ago in Europe and Asia that we can estimate the eminence of the Khwâja as statesman and political scientist.

If it is possible to label the Khwâja's method with any particular epithet, it is that his method is, to a large extent, historical. He does not enunciate any principle, nor write a single sentence till he has tested it on the touchstone of historical facts. Sometimes we see that he states a comparatively simple idea but illustrates it with a series of facts covering a number of pages. Perhaps in order to save himself from the charge of arguing from the particular to the general, he gives instances of a principle of political conduct from the history of various countries.

Thus while enunciating the principle that the king should make such persons his officers as are God-fearing and above temptation, he proves it by illustrations taken from the Qur'ân, the Traditions of the Prophet, the lives of the Saints and the history of Baghdâd ; thus,

(1) " It was the habit of Emîr 'Abdu'llâh ibn Tâhir that he invariably took God-fearing and pious men into his service, with the result that his subjects became happy and contented, and his treasury was filled with lawful gold."

(2) " It is stated in the Traditions that ' Justice is the cause of all worldly honour and of the power of the ruler, and in it lies all public and private good.' "

(3) " It is said in the Holy Qur'ân, ' God is He who sent His Book with Truth and Justice.' " *

(4) " Fadl ibn 'Ayadh used to say that, if his prayers were of any avail, he would pray to the Almighty that He should give them a just ruler."

Not only does he illustrate his maxims with a reference to the history of the Islamic countries, but he goes on to refer to non-Muslim lands as well, so much so that his book is full of instances from the history of Persia and even of China. While discussing the importance of the Judiciary, he mentions that the rulers of ancient Persia used to hold a big durbar twice a year, at which every complainant had free access to the Royal Person ; and whoever kept any one back was put to death. The Khwâja says that this principle of impartiality in justice was held so sacred by the Persians of old that if there was any one who had a complaint against the King himself, he was brought into the Royal Presence, when the King vacated his throne and the case was placed before the Chief Justice with His Majesty himself appearing as the Respondent.

It will be seen that the *Siasat-Nameh* is a very good example of the deductive method of Political Science, and when we notice that the conclusions arrived at by our author from his study of the history of the world are so

correct, we are deeply impressed by his farsightedness, breadth of vision and erudition. Most of those who have written on politics in the West have had little to do with actual administration, and it often happens that the government of the country of which they are citizens views their work with a certain amount of diffidence and even antipathy. One of the first Europeans to write of political matters at any length was Plato; but the theories which he propounded are such that they can hardly ever be put into practice. Then comes Aristotle, who seems to argue from the constitutional history of Greek city-states, but it must be remembered that the Greece of the city-states was already a thing of the past in his time, and the Athens and Sparta which are the objects of his study had already disappeared before the might of Macedon when he picked up his pen to compile his work on Politics. The case of subsequent European writers on Political Science is not much different; the author of the *Leviathan* is exiled. Rousseau ends his days in a far-off land, 'unwept, unhonoured and unsung,' and even after his death his countrymen treat his ashes with scant respect; and when Bentham seeks to influence his contemporaries by his theory of law, no one seems to take much notice of him. But it is different with Eastern political scientists, for most of them were themselves members of governments, magistrates, judges and ministers. In India, Kautilivā and Abū'l-Faḍl were Ministers of State; Confucius was Minister of Justice; Ibn Khaldūn acted as a Judge and an Ambassador in a number of countries, and Al-Māwardī filled many offices of State.

Thus there is this great difference between the Western and the Eastern political scientists, that while most of the latter themselves belong to the governing body of their country and are well experienced in the art of government, the Western political scientist is, as a rule, inexperienced in that art, and his writings are not always viewed with sympathy by the powers that be. Like most other political scientists of Asia, Khwāja Nizāmū'l-Mulk was a member of the government, and while perusing his book we must bear in mind that whatever he has written has passed the acid test of experience as well as that of deep historical research.

First of all let us see what the Khwāja says about kingship, an institution which, under various names.

still survives as the centre of government in republican as well as monarchical States :

“ God the Almighty selects someone from among men and gives over to him the charge of the well-being of the world and the comfort and tranquillity of human beings after duly furnishing him with the arts of government. He also makes him responsible for the peace and security of the land and endows him with all the necessary *prestige* in order that God's creatures may live in peace and plenty and that Justice and Security may be the order of the day.”

It is therefore quite clear that instead of having a blind belief in the royal prerogative, Nizâmu'l-Mulk thinks that the basis and *raison d'être* of the Kingly office is that it precludes the possibility of internal turmoil to a large extent and makes it possible for the subjects to live in peace and security. It will be interesting here to note *en passant* that this is the identical principle propounded by Bodin, Hobbes and other political scientists of Europe nearly seven hundred years after the compilation of the Siâsat-Nâme when they stress the point that the Sovereign is endowed with the powers of government in order to save the country from turmoil and consequent troubles.

Our author makes it quite plain that it should not be understood that a man becomes less responsible for his acts after he has been crowned king, but as a matter of fact he should be working for the good of his people till the end of his days as the Sovereign, and he should remember that “ God the Almighty is pleased only when he treats his people with kindness and justice.” In the same way he should make his officials treat the people likewise, extract only the legal dues from them, and be ever careful of the affairs of State, for “ Darius is said to have exclaimed just before his last gasp that the carelessness of the King and the dishonesty of the Minister were the real causes of the downfall of his Empire.” While passing in review the authority of the Royal Person, our author discusses the position of the “ King's Friends,” and quotes from the sayings of the saint Sufiyân Thuri that “ the best of kings is he who keeps the company of the learned, and the worst of the learned is he who keeps the company of kings.” Apart from the Islamic Law which

was current in the land, the King was empowered to issue proclamations according to the need of the moment, and of these the Khwāja says that “if it is known that there is someone who treats these proclamations with disrespect or hesitates to act according to them, he should be punished forthwith, whether he be a prince of the royal blood or a mere commoner.” But he warns the King that he should not base these proclamations on his personal whim but should issue them after duly consulting those well-known for their experience, their sound views and their common-sense. He should always take care that his officials are doing their duty with diligence and honesty, and should at once depose them when their dishonesty or carelessness is known to him. Taking these ideas into consideration, he lays it down that the Ruler should never appoint members of his *entourage* to high posts in the State, nor force high officers of the Crown to be his companions. He should remember that capable officers are a great blessing to the State, and that “the wise have said that a worthy servant and an able slave rank superior even to one’s own son.” We know for a fact that indolent or dishonest officials lead a country to utter ruin, however well-meaning and sympathetic the Ruler himself may be; while, on the other hand, if the State officials are honest, and mean to perform their duty well, they are bound to improve the lot of the people, in spite of the incapacity and possible immorality of the Ruler.

We are struck by the great farsightedness of the Khwāja when we read what he has to say about foreign representatives; for he writes as if he were writing today in a western country in the twentieth century:

“We must remember that the real object of foreign ambassadors is not only that they should convey the messages of their governments, but if we were to look deeply into their purpose we should find a number of secret objects, for they wish to know the exact position and condition of the roads, paths, valleys, canals and tanks, whether they are fit for the passage of troops, and whether fodder is available anywhere near them. They also seek to know something about the ruler of the country and the exact state of the army and other equipments, the feelings of the soldiers as well as of the common people, and all about the wealth of

the subjects and the comparative population of the different districts. They try to penetrate into the working of the government of the country and to know whether the ministers are honest or dishonest and whether the generals are experienced or inexperienced. The real object of all these investigations is that, if it were the programme of their native country to fight the country to which they are sent or to occupy it, then all this information might prove useful to the invading State."

After this survey of the inner motive of sending out ambassadors, our author discusses the question of espionage, and says that what the ambassadors are to the countries to which they are sent, spies are to the departments by which they are accredited. Even today we do not fail to see the presence of spies in the freest countries of the world, and it is almost an axiom in the science of administration that it is not possible to know the real condition of popular opinion without some kind of secret service. Even such a useful institution as the Post-office had its origin in the system of espionage, for it was the postal department which was the channel for an efficient secret service in almost all the well-governed States of the world. But Nizâmu'l-Mulk goes much further in order to demonstrate the utility of the system, for he says that 'whenever the Ruler gives over the charge of an important office to somebody, he should appoint another person unknown to that official to be always at his side in order that he may be able to inform him as to how that official is doing his work,' and advises the spies 'to dress themselves as merchants, travellers, Sûfis and chemists' so that they may come into direct contact with all and sundry. He says that the greatest benefit which the State draws from this department is that the executive head keeps informed of the conduct of his officials, so that he can immediately put an end to any evil which may arise in the proper working of the various departments. It is interesting to note how Nizâmu'l-Mulk views and justifies the existence of a department which was, in those days, perhaps one of the most useful in the State, but which is made to do so much dirty work in most States nowadays.

Last but, according to Nizâmu'l-Mulk, the most important organ of government is the Judiciary. Practi-

cally all the political scientists of the East have regarded Justice as the chief function of the Ruler of a State. In the early days of Islam, the Qâdi or Judge was not regarded as in any way inferior to the Governor, but was held directly responsible to the Khalifah. Go even today to the capital of the glory that was the Mughal Empire, to the Fort which was one of the most magnificent piles of buildings ever conceived by man, a large part of which has, alas, disappeared with the descendants of those who built it; go to the very sanctum, the Imperial baths, and walk over the delightful marble path where even 'the angels feared to tread,' and what will you see in the wonderful marble trellis which divides the baths from the private apartments of the Imperial household—nothing but the scales of Justice prominent in boldest relief, a perpetual reminder to the dweller in the palace of the foremost duty of the State. Nizâmû'l-Mulk also, working under the same spell, first of all propounds the principle that it is the judges who really rule over the innermost minds of the people, and thus form the most important set of State officials. He then goes on to say that the ruler should be fully aware of his judicial officers and should appoint only those who will be scrupulously honest and above all temptation. He insists on the absolute impartiality of the judges, and lays it down that if any person fails to be present in a court of law when summoned, he shall be forced to do so without any regard to his wealth or position. He admonishes the ruler to pay all respect to the Courts of Law, because, after all, the judges are the real representatives of the State.

Here, in our limited compass, it is impossible to discuss all the principles of government mentioned in the *Siasat-Nameh*, nor is it possible to discuss the question: which part of the book is from the pen of Nizâmû'l-Mulk and what particular portions are spurious. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that most of the ideas contained in the *Siasat-Nameh* come from the Prime Minister of the Seljuqids, and are the identical ones which were accepted by his master Jalâlu'd-dîn Abû'l-Fath Malik Shâh as the constitutional code of his extensive Empire. It must be remembered that the book was compiled nearly one thousand years ago, when the 'Abbâsid edifice was tottering, the days of the Eastern Empire of Constantinople were near their end, and India was suffering from internal dissensions, the ailment of the caste system and threats of

permanent foreign conquest ; and it is to the great credit of Khwâja Nizâmu'l-Mulk that in that dark and uncertain epoch he sat down to write a book which is as useful to the seeker after political truth in our own time as it was to his contemporaries. Nizâmu'l-Mulk, in fact, marks an epoch in the history of Eastern learning and action, for he was an expert in the arts and sciences of his day, a faithful counsellor of his patron and his eminent son, a friend of the great Persian Sûfi astronomer-poet 'Umar, Khayyâm of Nîshapûr, the founder of the Nizâmiah University and its branches, and a martyr at the hands of a religious fanatic ; in a word he rose to such eminence that the whole continent of Asia may well take a pride in his personality and his work.

HAROON KHAN SHERWANI.

THE TUGHLUQ-NÂMAH

THE Tughluq-Nâmah, as the biographies of Amîr Khusrau and some well-known Indian histories tell us, was the last work of that famous court-poet of the first Delhi Empire. Like his four¹ earlier historical *Masnawîs* handed down to posterity, it is a faithful narrative of contemporary events in Persian verse. According to the historian Badaonî, who is supported by the internal evidence of the Tughluq-Nâmah itself, the poem was composed by the order of the Emperor Ghyâsuddîn Tughluq whose triumph over the regicide Hasan Khusrau Khan, is its main theme. The book is said to have been completed in the fifth and closing year of Tughluq;² but, with our recovery of more than 2,700 original lines out of a reported total of 3,000,³ it may be surmised that the author must have dealt with other matters relating to the reign of his hero briefly, if at all.

As will be seen from the Summary below, the subject-matter of the poem is preserved from its beginning, and we need hardly attach much importance to the missing pages of this part of the book, which, leaving aside Hayâtî's reconstructed introduction, opens with a prefatory address to the Emperor Tughluq and other formal preliminaries. Continuing, it describes in graphic detail the murder of the infatuated Emperor Sultan Qutbuddîn Khaljî by the hands of his treacherous protege Hasan Khusrau Khan; the latter's usurpation of supreme power; inhuman atrocities committed by his wild companions on the royal family of his former patron; Ghyâsuddîn Tughluq's revolt, victories and final accession to the throne; ending with an account

(1) These are : (1) قرآن السعدین (2) عشيقه (3) سپهر and (4) a short,

little known poem مفتاح الفتوح. See Elliot Vol. 3, Appendix A.

(2) Badaonî. N. Kishore edition, page 321.

(3) *Kashfû'z-Zunun*, 1835, Leipzig edition, p. 58.

of the traitor Khusrau Khan's arrest and ignominious execution. But the catchword (زک) at the foot of the last page shows the incompleteness of the manuscript, while a versified heading mysteriously appears on the margin of a back page and is similar to others that occur at the beginning of every chapter or section of the *Masnawi*. Thus it is evident that at least one concluding chapter of the book has been lost. This contained approximately from 200 to 300 lines, as I have explained above on the authority of the *Kashfu'z-Zunun*. What is more important to note is the fact that, while Haji Khalifa had apparently a complete copy of the Tughluq-Namah before him at his Constantinople Library, it was being eagerly and, it seems vainly, sought nearer its home even some years earlier. This is borne out by a letter from the Emperor Akbar's poet-laureate Faizi to Raje Ali Khan, ruler of Khandes, requesting that prince to have copied out the first sixteen and as many last leaves of the Tughluq-Namah of Amir Khusrau for the writer, because some of them were missing from his own copy.¹

Another contemporary of Faizi, namely Jamâluddîn Anjou, the learned author of the Persian lexicon, *Farhang-i-Jehângiri*, quotes a number of verses from the Tughluq-Namah² among other works of Amir Khusrau, but we have

(1) Mr. Muhammad Ashraf of Bihar, a scholar of London University in 1930, kindly gave me a reference to this interesting letter, now preserved in Sir Henry Elliot's collection at the British Museum. I subjoin the Persian text below :

”بسلطنت و اہت پناہ سیدالاقراں راجے علی خان فاروقی والی خاندیس
 آمید کہ نواب معی القاب مزکی اوصاف موید و منصور باشند۔ این ذرہ
 بے نام و نشان حال کشین راجہ یار اکدم از اشتیاق بموجب ضرور
 استد عامی نماید کہ از کتاب تغلق نامہ کہ از انقاس مقدسہ امیر خسرو هست،
 چند ورق از اوّل و چندے از آخر قفہ، التفات فرمودہ دو بحر از اوّل
 و ہمین قدر از آخر بہ یکے از خدمت گاران امر فرماید کہ بہر خطی مسودہ
 نمودہ بجهت بندہ مصحوب حاملان عریضہ فرستند۔ آمید کہ مکارم عالیہ
 را عذر پذیر این برأت و تصدیع خواهند داشت۔ ادامہ اللہ افضالکم۔
 العبد الاقل فیضی“

(2) I was able to pick up more than a dozen such lines from the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri* and have appended them to the Urdu introduction of my edition of the *Tughluq-Namah*.

no other means to decide that he was more fortunate than Faizi in having possessed a complete copy of the book that remained unknown to the latter and what is more improbable, even to the Emperor Jehangîr, to whom Anjou dedicated his remarkable lexicon, which was begun in the reign and by the order of Jehangîr's father, Akbar.

Nearly contemporary with Anjou is the historian Farishta who speaks of the rarity of the Tughluq-Nâmah 'composed by Anîr Khusrâu and named after the Emperor Ghyâsuddîn Tughluq.'¹ He quotes four lines from the Tughluq-Nâmah in his account of a former emperor, viz., Mu'izzu ddîn Kaiqubad² but, curiously enough, none in its natural place, that is, where he describes the reign of Qutbuddîn Khalji and the following revolution that eventually brought Ghyâsuddîn Tughluq to the throne, although he is as lavish in his verse quotations in this part of the book as elsewhere. It is, therefore, allowable to think he had no complete copy of the poem to hand.

All this circumstantial evidence helps us the better to understand the brief introductory note³ by Hayâti Kâshi to his edition of the Tughluq-Nâmah, wherein he indicates how he had to add the following few sections to round off the great Khusrâu's book which 'had neither a trace of its preface nor any clue to its conclusion.' He amplifies this

(1) N. Kishore edition, p. 132.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 86. These verses are numbered 279 to 282 in my edition of the *Tughluq-Namah* and read as follows :

نه در عشق و هوس پیوست بودن	و شاید پادشاه رامست بودن
خطا باشد که باشد پاسبان مست	بود شه پاسبان خلق پیوست
روم در معده گرگان کند خواب	سببان چون شد خراب از باد ناب
تبات کارها در هوشیاری ست	در آئینه که رسم ملک داری ست

(3) This reads as follows :

و آغاز سخن در شرح چگونگی بنظم آوردن این چند داستان و
 با تمام رسانیدن کتاب تغلق نامه سخن پیرایه گلزار هراتازی و نوی گنجور
 خزانہ معنوی امیر خسرو دهلوی رحمۃ اللہ علیہ کہ نہ از نقوش دیباچہ اش
 اثر می بود و نہ از نگارش خاتمہ اش خبر می . بہ حدیقہ حمدش را درها
 باز و نہ گلشن مدحت را داستان سرا می باواز .،،

statement in his opening verses of which a fuller abstract is given in my summary of the book below. His contribution to this part of the *Tughluq-Nâmah* consists of no more than 175 lines. It is likely he had to make other additions at the other end ; but these, whatever the number of verses, have been lost. On the whole, the historical value of these 'improvements' by Hayâti is nil, although judged from a purely literary viewpoint, the composition may appear remarkably fine. Indeed it was so highly rated by the Emperor Jehângîr that he had the lucky poet weighed in gold and silver, offering the whole amount in largess, as had become a tradition with the magnificent Moghuls. The event was duly commemorated in a neat versified chronogram¹ and is of importance for preserving the date of Hayâti's composition as 1019 H. (1610 A.D.).²

It is a matter of some surprise that even these efforts of Jehângîr to revive the *Tughluq-Nâmah* apparently failed to popularise it to any appreciable extent, and few references to its doubtful existence can be traced in the works of the two following centuries. Compared to other masterpieces of Amîr Khusrâu, the book must have always appeared a simple story devoid of ornamentation or even the brilliance that were generally associated with his poetry. As a story, too, the *Tughluq-Nâmah* was, much of it, a tragedy full of gruesome scenes of murder and rapine

(1) Composed by Sa'îda of Gilân and quoted by some anthologists as follows :—

” چون حیاتى را بر رسنجد شاهشاه عصر
 بادشاه عدل گستر شاه گردون اقتدار
 شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه
 آفتاب همت کشور سایه پروردگار
 بهر تار بخش بروئے کفه میزان پر خ
 شاعر سنجیده شاهی رقم زد روزگار،

۱۰۱۹ هـ

(2) Hayâti Kâshî who was thus rewarded by Jehângîr is to be distinguished from his namesake Hayâti of Gilân, who prospered a little earlier, in the days of the Emperor Akbar. It is to Hayâti Kâshî that we owe the present edition of the *Tughluq-Namah*. He is not much known in India, presumably because he migrated to this country in his old age. The author of 'Khazâna-i-Amira' alone, so far as I know gives a comparatively full notice of his life, without dates. (See Introduction to my edition of the *Tughluq-Namah*).

inside the very harem of a renowned dynasty—a subject hardly calculated to form pleasant reading for the Muslim gentry. The main reason, however, of the disappearance of the book in the latter half of the 18th century, may still be assigned to the return of the same political chaos and anarchy from which Amîr Khusrau's works, like many other treasures of Muslim literature, inevitably suffered after the disruption of the first Delhi Empire, some three hundred years before. Whatever the causes, the book became so scarce that an eminent authority on Khusrau like Nawab Ziauddin Nayyar of Delhi thought it existed nor more except as a title.*

In our own times, when a regular office was set up by the late Nawab Ishâq Khan of the Aligarh Muslim University to collect and publish new editions of Amir Khusrau's works, little hope was entertained of ever finding out the missing Tughluq-Nâmah. In fact it was something of an accident that its manuscript copy was discovered in Maulâna Habîb-ur-Rahmân Khan Sherwânî's private library at Habîbganj (district Aligarh). This had been wrongly catalogued as *Jehangir-Namah* and the learned owner himself was for some time in doubt as to the identity of the manuscript. The credit of bringing it to light belongs to the late Maulvî Rashîd Ahmed Ansârî of Aligarh who soon categorically proved it to be the genuine Tughluq-Nâmah of Khusrau including Hayâtî's additions, and brought a copy in his own handwriting to Aligarh. The internal evidence is too overwhelming to allow any apprehension that the manuscript had been written by anyone except on eye-witness and a court-poet of the Emperor Ghyâsuddîn Tughluq. Moreover, it contains a number of

* The Nawab drew up a memorandum on Amîr Khusrau's life and works for Sir Henry Elliot, which is preserved in the latter's collection at the British Museum. It was probably written in 1838 and contains the following remarks regarding the Tughluq-Nâmah.

۱۔ ”متنوی ہمیں تعلق نامہ است کہ در حال تعلق شاہ تصنیف نموده کہ بس عذیم الوجود است و آخرین تصنیفات اوست“

and on the margin :—

۲۔ ”ہمگی کتب مذکورہ مصنفہ امیر خسرو بجز تعلق نامہ کہ جز اسمی مسمی ندارد نزد این احقر العباد موجود۔“

identical verses quoted by authors older than Hayâti Kâshî. It is, however, true that the Habîbganj manuscript represents only the incomplete copy in possession of the Emperor Jehângîr and some last leaves of this manuscript too are missing as related above.*

This remarkable discovery of the Tughluq-Nâmah was shortly followed by the death of Nawab Ishâq Khan and, a little later, that of Maulvi Rashîd Ahmed, both of whom were so keen to publish this last, and for so many generations regarded as lost, work of Anûr Khusrau; and the manuscript received no further attention from any of the numerous admirers of the great poet, until Maulvi Rashîd Ahmed's copy was acquired by the Persian Manuscripts Society, Hyderabad, from his widow a couple of years ago. All efforts to trace any other copy of the book failed, but Maulâna Sherwânî (Nawab Sadr Yar Jung) kindly lent his unique manuscript to the Society who were enabled through the generous aid of the Hyderabad Government to print the Persian text with notes, introduction and a summary of the historical poem in Urdu. An incomplete but interesting introduction by the late Maulvi Rashîd Ahmed has also been appended.

The whole period covered by the Tughluq-Nâmah is not much longer than two months, but, apart from the thrilling nature of the important events it depicts, the value of the poem has greatly enhanced in contrast with the meagre information supplied by the very few other contemporary sources. The story of the murder of the Emperor Qutb-uddîn, Hasan Khusrau Khan's short-lived reign and the victories of Ghyâsuddîn Tughluq as told by the African traveller Ibn Batûtah is rather vague and incoherent.

* The title page of the manuscript has the following inscription :

چھانگیر نامہ عطاءئے حیاتى كاشى
 اللہ اكبر
 دہلى خاتقاہ قطب صاحب
 مرزا سكندر بخت،

This naturally leads one to guess that the copy might have been presented by Hayâti Kâshî himself to some friend, and the paper of the manuscript seems old enough to justify such a conjecture, but unfortunately no further history of the manuscript can be traced than that it was bought by the present owner from some casual bookseller.

Not that we have a right to demand much history from him; but what causes real disappointment is the irresponsible way in which the only contemporary historian, Ziauddin Barani, has treated the subject in his well-known '*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*.' This author, so far as we are in a position to judge, was living in Delhi or its vicinity all the time that the bloody drama was being enacted there, yet he failed to record even the correct dates of Qutbuddin's murder or the victorious Tughluq's election and accession to the throne of Delhi. In fact his indefinite statements¹ seem to have involved such shrewd latter-day compilers as the historian Farishta in terrible inconsistencies, so that practically all dates up to the succession of Tughluq II have got upset. Students of Indian history can, therefore, hardly fail to appreciate their indebtedness to the author of the Tughluq-Namah for supplying them with precise dates of all the important episodes of that memorable revolution. For instance Amir Khusrau expressly records that it was the night of the new moon, Jamāda II, 720 A.H. (that is 9th July 1320 A.D.) when the conspirators assassinated the Emperor Qutbuddin :² and that the last battle and fall of Delhi took place exactly two months afterwards. Tughluq ascending the throne the next day which was Saturday the 1st of Sha'bān³ (6th September 1320 A.D.).

These correct dates have another important bearing inasmuch as the combined information helps students to form an idea of the excellent means of communication that had been developed in mediæval India. It is indeed wonderful how Malik Ghyāsuddīn Tughluq was able to organise a large-scale revolt and fight his way from Depalpur to Delhi in two months. The names and seats of governors with whom Tughluq entered into correspondence are given by Amir Khusrau in considerable detail. The most distant amongst them were the governors of

(1) At one place he says the usurper Khusrau Khan's reign lasted four months, but a little further makes it more vague by the words 'three four months,' but nowhere specifies the month or year. (See Barani, B. I. edition, pp. 411 to 414).

(2) See Summary below, v. 345.

The "سیرالاولیا" and some other biographies of the Saint Nizām-uddīn Awlia mention that Qutbuddin was murdered on the night of the new moon but the precise month, so far as I know, is omitted.

(3) Friday is mentioned by Barani as well as his copyists as the day of the final battle with Khusrau Khan, but the date is left out.

Sihwan (in the modern district of Larkana, Sindh) and Jalower (Western Rajputana) lying no less than 400 miles east and south-east of Depalpur. He, however, received their replies and in one instance, a military contingent, in one month's interval, which seems to have been made possible only through a very efficient system of *dak chowki*.

SUMMARY OF THE TUGHLUQ-NAMAH

Hayâti's reconstructed introduction opens with 36 couplets in praise of God and nearly as many to eulogise his temporal patron, the Emperor Jehângîr. It was, he continues, in the year 1019 Hijri that fortune's wheel turned in his (the poet's) favour: one evening that "was the very dawn of youth" the Emperor most graciously 'fitted these gems into eloquent speech': The poet Amîr Khusrau, said he, after writing many other things in the year 600 and odd (A.H.)* took up the composition of the Tughluq-Nâmah completing all its parts properly. A copy of the book existed but the opening and concluding leaves were missing. The idea had just crossed his (the Emperor's) mind to appoint some competent poet to re-write the lost portions and make up the deficiency, so that the sacred spirit of Khusrau might be pleased with him and bless him. At that auspicious, evil-free moment, the Emperor turned towards Hayâti and charged him to carry out the idea. (Verses 80-102).

After expressing his gratitude and high gratification at this recognition of his merit by the 'universe-capturing' Emperor, Hayâti quotes the following two lines from the missing part of the Tughluq-Nâmah:

” چون بیند آسمان اردیده مهر شود خارا، ز راز زیبائی چهر
نگرهد هد که مرع کم هنر شد سلیمان چون گزیدش تا حور شد،،

” When the Heavens look in through the eye of Sun (also meaning 'affection').

” The flint, for beauty of its appearance, turns into gold.

” See, the hoopoe was an artless bird,

” But cherished by Solomon, acquired a diadem.”

* This is an error of Jehângîr or Hayâti for, although Amîr Khusrau thrived in the 7th century A.H., obviously the *Tughluq-Namah* could not have been composed prior to the Tughluqs occupying the throne in 720 A.H.

The poet further develops the same theme and explains how he reconstructed a whole chapter out of these two stray lines of Amîr Khusrau. Promises to repeat the performance at the other end of the book; again quotes the two lines and leaves the original *Masnawi* to proceed. (Verses 125 to 177).

—:o:—

The old or the real text of the book begins with an illustration: In order to judge the competence of jewelers, a king had a piece of green glass set on his ring and, giving it to an expert, enquired its approximate price. The jeweller was not only expert in the art of distinguishing genuine and false stones, but knew manners as well. He declared it was a matchless gem and could be found nowhere in the world. This flattering hypocrisy made the king so furious that he decided to put out the jeweller's eyes, who besought with tears to be pardoned. "O my master" he cried "with one glance I gauged the real worth of the glass, but it became a most precious stone for being on your auspicious hand. I did not rank it with emerald as it has nothing save the emerald colour, but I pronounced it to be matchless as a loyal homage to your Majesty."

The poet (Amîr Khusrau) turns to his own sovereign, Malik Ghiyâsuddîn Tughluq. "My work" he says "has scarcely any value but the present from a Faqîr to a Sultân is a rough blanket and never costly silk." If the Emperor approved of it, though but slightly, it might become a monumental work. (V. 180 to 217).

II

As in his *Nuh Siphir*, the poet has written the headings of chapters in verse following the same rhyme to the end, but in a different metre than that of the text. The first of these versified headings may be quoted here as a specimen:

« خطاب از حضرت شاه و از و حواش به بستای
که از چشم رضا و مرحمت بید درین دفتر، »

In this formal 'address' the poet further indulges in his master's praises, extolling his might in the battle-field as well as his statesmanship and benevolent administration.

He represents his court to be a 'Firdaus' (Paradise) on earth, counting many Firdausis, that is, great epic-poets in its fold, who were commemorating the victorious monarch's exploits in their own enchanting styles. "I was also beckoned by the benign court" the author informs us "to inscribe a fresh account of the Emperor's reign." (v. 227). After renewed professions of the author's incapacity to do full justice to the subject, the real story opens with a fine didacticism :

” در شروع نظم می گوید
 ” شراب و عشق و مستی و حوائی نشاط و عیش و ملک و کامرانی
 کسے کس بادہاش افتاد در خویش کے اندیشہ کند ز اندیشہ پیش “
 “Liquor and love, lust and youth
 “Luck and luxury, happiness and power
 “When such winds blow in one's head
 “He will scarcely give thought to the future.”
 (v. 277, 278).

Illustrating the dire and sure consequences of a monarch's indiscretion in selecting the wrong type of favourites, he says it was manifest to all thoughtful men that a great calamity to the empire was impending and that the life of Sultân Qutbuddin Khalji was no longer safe. Hasan Khusrau Khan whom that Emperor raised from the lowest to the most exalted of positions, reposing implicit faith in his fidelity, turned a deadly enemy like the snake which is eager to bite its own nourisher.

Khusrau Khan was by birth a Hindu whom the Emperor had given the post of Chief Minister and Vice-regent. In spite of all these unmerited honours, the ungrateful wretch was now plotting against his master, taking good care to conceal his wicked intentions under the cloak of the most servile flattery. Indeed he succeeded in deceiving his royal master so well, that the infatuated Qutbuddin totally ignored all reports of his own secret informers regarding the treason of Khusrau Khan, who had already employed numbers of his own tribesmen, called *Bradus*, who were a warlike Hindu clan, to keep watch at the royal castle. The keys of all the gates of the inner courtyard were also entrusted to Khusrau Khan, and he had little difficulty in quietly admitting and concealing his mercenaries one evening in that interior part

of the palace of which the upper storey served as sleeping quarters to the Emperor. It was the night of the new moon of Jamâda II, 720 Hijra: —

«وچوتاریخ عرب شد هفصد و بیست ثبات قطب کم شد جانب زیست
جماد دومین را سدیدیدار هلال تیره و تاریک دیدار،»

Khusrau Khan was in personal attendance on the Emperor and only a quarter (پاسه) of night had passed when he secretly sent word to the hired assassins to come out of their hiding-place. At the outset they encountered the Qâzi¹ whom they forthwith despatched. Other attendants of the palace were also killed in the way until the 'army' of the conspirators closed on the guard of the imperial chambers, and easily overwhelmed it. The whole palace was now in an uproar, and the stupefied Emperor also realised the imminent danger to his life. In the first fit of fury he threw down the traitor Khusrau Khan on the floor but could get no weapon with which to slay him; and, as the sound of steps coming from below showed that the ruffians were rushing the staircase, he abandoned Khusrau Khan and hurried towards another stairway. But before the unfortunate monarch could make good his escape, Khusrau Khan leapt forth, seized his long hair and continued to struggle till the murderous *Brudus* came up and one of them named Jaharya, 'the very heinous devil in human form,' struck the death-blow. The helpless monarch's head was cut off and thrown down to the ground below.²

After this gruesome business, the conspirators discussed the question of succession to the assassinated Emperor. It was argued that there could be no security for Khusrau Khan and his party if some other prince of the royal family were enthroned. The only safety for the regicide

(1) According to the historian Barani, his full name was Qâzi Ziauddin. He was the old tutor of the Emperor Qutbuddin whom he more than once warned of the evil designs of Khusrau Khan. The Emperor paid no heed and, instead, informed Khusrau Khan what the Qâzi had confidentially told him. This made the Qâzi particularly offensive to the conspirators.

(2) Barani relates the tragedy without any material difference to the above, adding that it took place at the *Hazar Sutun* (1,000 pillars) Castle (built by the Emperor Balban).

lay in seizing the supreme power at once; and accordingly he was ceremoniously installed on the throne next morning.* (to v. 392).

III

”مخن درس عمر و خواندن شهزادگان وانگه
حدیث دو خلف کان از خلاف آمد ته حنجر“

(A word with regard to the age and education of the princes and how two of them came to be slaughtered).

The chapter opens with a soliloquy on the delusive nature of worldly pleasures and the inevitable disappointments. Returning to the subject, the poet says, we used to hear of calamities of the past but now the worst of them was occurring before our own eyes. Who could dream that the innocent children and wives of the great and august Emperor Alauddin would have to suffer such brutal treatment at the hands of his own contemptible slaves? But so it happened.

* Barani suggests that Khusrau Khan was for long plotting to assassinate Qutbuddin and usurp the imperial power himself. He also states that the same tragic night Khusrau Khan sent for all the great nobles to the Castle and interned them till next morning, when apparently they were forced to take the oath of allegiance to the usurper. (Also compare *Ibn Batuta*, volume III, chapter 12).

SYED HASHIMI.

(*Faridabadi*).

(*To be continued.*)

THE HOUSE OF ALTUNTASH KHWÂRAZM-SHÂH

As the Empire of Mahmud Ghaznavi grew larger and larger it became his policy to appoint his deputies in the newly conquered kingdoms. In Khwârazm, which was an important strategic position for Khurâsân and Mâwarâ'l-Nahr, he appointed his Hâjib, Altuntash, who had been long with him in Herat, Hindustan and elsewhere. The subject of this article is an account of his house which was established on the ruins of the Mamunid rulers of Khwârazm. Nothing is known about his early life and career and his family. It is only after Mahmûd's overthrow of the Mamunids in Safar, 407 A.H. that he acquires prominence. The exact date of his receiving the office and the title of Khwârazmshâh is unfortunately not known and even Abu'l-Fazl Bayhaqî, perhaps the most discursive of historians, has omitted it. His departure to Mâwarâ'l-Nahr to fight with Ali Tigin and his death in Dabusi are all described in a very detailed and entertaining way; but in this case the author does not give any dates, and the first date we come across, after long accounts of his prowess and military tactics (except the 20th of Rabî' I, 423 A.H. when a letter of Abdus reached Mas'ûd about the departure of Altuntash to Amug) is the 8th of Jumâda I, 423 A.H.;* when his son Hârûn, on the recommendation of Altuntash's secretary Ahmad 'Abd al-Samad and in recognition of his father's meritorious services, was granted *Khil'at* and sent to Khwârazm as a deputy to Mas'ûd's son, Sa'id, who was given the title of Khwârazmshâh. Quiet and content for the time being, Hârûn waited for an opportunity and when Ahmed 'Abd al-Samad was offered the Ministry by Mas'ûd on the death of Ahmad Hasan Maymandi, and his son 'Abd al-Jabbâr was appointed the secretary to Khwârazm, Hârûn started

* Putting these two dates together, we may conclude without hesitation that the death of Altuntash took place between 20 Rabî' I and 8 Jamâda I, 423 A.H.

negotiations with the sons of Ali Tigin, joined hands with the Seljuqs and reinforced them in their invasion of Khurâsân and himself aimed at it. On Sha'bân 27 or 28, 425, he appointed Bû Nasr Barghashi his Minister ; he inserted his own name in the Khutbah and struck off that of Mas'ûd on Ramzan 23rd. But his dream of capturing Khurâsân was not realised and he was murdered on the 2nd of Jumâda, II, 426. He was succeeded by his brother Isma'il, called Khândân, on the 9th of Jumâda II, who was again put to flight by Shâh Malik the Amîr of Jînd, on 22nd Rajab, 432 A.H. Thus ended the rule of the Altuntash dynasty in Khwârazm after a short period of 25 years and some months. Although Isma'il made good his escape and took refuge with the Seljuqs it was only to be routed later on. Nor did Shâh Malik enjoy dominion long, for he was murdered by the Seljuqs in the reign of Maudûd, the son of Mas'ûd, who died in 440 A.H. This brief history of about twenty-five years, of which about sixteen years were covered by the founder, three by his son and successor and six by another son of his, is full of details concerning court intrigues, means of communication, military tactics, State policy, defeats and victories. The following article deals with all that, and is mostly a translation of the relevant portions of *Tarikh-i-Bayhaqi*, omitting repetitions and adding facts occasionally in order to supply the sequence of events. The whole article is divided into two parts : the first dealing with Altuntash Khwârazmshâh and the second with Hârûn, his brother Isma'il and their destroyer Shâh Malik. The pages referred to in footnotes, except where otherwise stated, are those of the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of *Tarikh-i-Bayhaqi*.

PART I

Altuntash Khwarazmshah

When Abu'l-'Abbâs Ma'mûn ibn Ma'mûn al-Khwârazmshâh was murdered by his army on the 15th of Shawwâl, 407 A.H. and a reign of pillage followed during the four months' rule of his nephew Abu'l-Hârith Muhammad ibn 'Alî ibn Ma'mûn, a seventeen year old boy, under the Regency of Alptigin Bukhâri and the Ministry of Ahmad Tughan, Mahmûd intervened, took vengeance for Abu'l-'Abbâs upon his murderers, put an end to the Mamûnid dynasty in Khwârazm and annexed that kingdom

to his own vast empire. Hâjib Altuntash* was left in Khwârazm by Mahmûd, after this victory, as the Khwârazmshâh, and given the horse of the Khwârazmshâh, with Arslân Jâzib to help him settle down in peace and stop any further incursions by the enemy. Bû Ishâq, father-in-law of Abu'l-'Abbâs, collected a huge force and attacked Khwârazm unawares. But he was put to flight after severe fighting and many of his people were left behind and massacred by Arslân. This quieted the territory and there was no need of further punishment. Arslân Jâzib returned to Ghaznin and Altuntash remained in Khwârazm with dignity. He was a capable man, possessed of wisdom and sagacity. Here is an instance of his valour as related to the author of the *Tarikh-i-Bayhaqi* by Altuntash's secretary, Ahmad 'Abd ul-Samad:—

“When Amîr Mahmûd returned from Khwârazm and affairs were settled, there were 7,500 royal cavalry with officers like Qalbaq and others, besides the pages, and Altuntash said to me, ‘Here we must keep perfect order so as to have an absolute authority and not let any one strengthen himself with a piece of the land, because there will be spent a tremendous amount of money in the beginning of the year for the salary of this army and the grand presents to the Sultan and the nobles of the kingdom. These people think that this territory is their morsel and must be plundered. If it happens so, then there is no place for us.’

“I said, ‘Certainly it is so, and it should not be and cannot be otherwise.’ We established absolute order; every day our dignity increased and those who were more overbearing and would not go straight were at once set right. One day I had mounted my horse in order to go to the court when the Vakîl Dur Tash appeared and said that the pages were riding, the she-camels were being examined, Altuntash was putting on armour, and he did not know what it was all about. I was very worried and, without a moment's loss, went all the more hurriedly. When I reached him he was standing, putting on his belt. I asked him what the matter was and he replied that he was going to fight. I said that there was no news of the arrival of the enemy, and he asked if I did not know that the pages and pony-keepers of Qalbaq had gone and might

* pp. 852-53.

raise a Sultân, all of a sudden, to pillage and pilfer; and he said if it so happened it would be very serious and that when an enemy arose in the house it would give rise to war with strangers. After much entreaty he sat down. Qalbaq came, kissed the ground, apologised and repented, saying that he would never do it again. Altuntash became quiet and forgave him." With this one instance of punishment he was free of all anxieties until his death in Dabusi, which will be related in the course of this article.

When Mahmûd¹ died on the 22nd or 23rd of Rabî' II, 421 A.H., on account² of the absence of his eldest son and heir-apparent Mas'ûd in Ispahan the State officials—such as Ali Dayah, Mahmûd's son-in-law, Amîr Yûsuf, Mahmûd's brother and Muhammad's father-in-law, Bû Nasr Mushkan, the Chief Secretary, and Bû'l Qâsim Kabîr—seated Muhammad on the throne. But Mahmûd's³ sister, Hurrah Khuttali, sent quick messengers to Mas'ûd urging his immediate return to the capital and Mas'ûd hurried back to Ghaznin. On the news of his arrival, the above-mentioned officials captured Muhammad and imprisoned him in Qil'ah-i-Kuhshir. Tiginabad, and wrote⁴ to Mas'ûd an apology for their behaviour. Now every official was fearing death, imprisonment, confiscation of property and ruin in one way or another. Altuntash, who was very much afraid of the new order, conveyed his apprehensions through his secretary⁵ Bû Sa'd Mas'adî, to Bû'l-Hasan 'Uqayl and Bû Nasr Mushkan that he might be destroyed like other men of Mahmûd's time. But Bû'l-Hasan replied that he himself was counted among them and did not feel quite secure. Bû Nasr's answer was of a much more hopeful kind, and he promised to recommend him to Mas'ûd to be sent back to Khwârazm provided he was consulted in the matter; but if Mas'ûd asked Altuntash anything about it he should say that as he was very old he would much rather sit on Mahmûd's grave than command forces, and that one of the Sultân's sons had better be appointed Khwârazmshâh.

Bû'l-Hasan mentioned him several times to Mas'ûd who said that he would send him soon to Khwârazm because he was afraid lest any mishap might befall him.

(1) p. 12

(2) *Tarikh-i-Bayhaqi*. Tehran, edition p. 1.

(3) p. 12.

(4) p. 18.

(5) pp. 89-93.

This incident was related by Bû'l-Hasan to Altuntash and by him to his clerk. Bû Nasr also mentioned that Mas'ûd was very pleased with him as he had advised the people of Ghaznin to be loyal to Mas'ûd and paid him homage in Herât with presents, although others persuaded Mas'ûd to seize him. When consulted by Mas'ûd, Bû Nasr urged that, in spite of all his power and influence, he was loyal and innocent, and that Khwârazm, the border of the Turks and gateway to Bust, must be guarded by a strong man like him. Mas'ûd remarked that no one would ever be allowed to say a single word against him, ordered him a khil'at and a permit to go back to Khwârazm; but, as he was afraid something might happen to him in that region and it was nearer to go from Faryâb to Andakhud, said that he should make preparations to go from Faryâb. Revived by these favours, Altuntash stood on his feet, kissed the floor and said that, although for reasons of old age he wanted to retire from the army, still he must obey the royal order. On his arrival at Faryâb the following day, Mas'ûd granted him a khil'at grander than that given in the reign of Mahmûd, embraced him and permitted him to go the following day. Altuntash, frightened as he still was, sent his clerk Bû Mansûr to Bû Nasr with the news of Mas'ûd's permission to go and the request to take care of him in his absence, and left at night. But the intriguing courtiers did not want to let him escape unscathed and succeeded in persuading Mas'ûd to send 'Abdus to recall him in the Sultân's name. Altuntash pretended that, as he was going under royal orders, it did not behove him to go back, and, moreover, his presence in Khwârazm was urgently required by his Kadkhuday. Ahmad 'Abdal-Samad, on account of troubles in the tribes of Kajat, Chaghraq and Qibchaq. 'Abdus returned to the Dargah, the courtiers discussed Altuntash's fears among themselves and accused Bû'l-Hasan of treachery as the Pidaris (i.e., men of Mahmud's time) would not let the Amîr do any good. They were all silenced and put to shame by Mas'ûd who expressed Altuntash's fears to Bû Nasr. The latter highly praised his loyalty and prudence, reminded Mas'ûd that he had already said in Herât that his enemies would never leave him in peace, and related how on his departure Altuntash had betrayed his apprehensions about himself and his friends on account of the Amîr's permission to everybody to say whatever he liked, and how much he appreciated Mas'ûd's magnanimity, generosity and forgiveness.

In his heart of hearts, Mas'ûd fully realised the faithfulness of Altuntash and respected him for behaviour befitting a State official in relation to his royal master whether in his presence or absence. This is borne out by the following letter* which the ruler wrote to his deputy in Khwârazm on the advice of Bû Nasr :—

“ We give to the great Chamberlain, uncle Altuntash, in our heart the same place as to our late father, as from childhood until now he has been as kind and good to us as fathers are to their sons. When our father wanted to nominate his heir-apparent and consulted him and other nobles, he did his best until that tremendous task was done in our favour. And, afterwards, when, through jealousy and enmity, people poisoned his mind against us and he sent us to Multân with an intention of revoking his favourable opinion of us and bestowing the khil'at of succession upon someone else. Altuntash so championed our cause that, when Fortune turned its back upon us, he was waiting for an opportunity, finding excuses and making friends, until he found out our father's opinion about us, had us recalled from Multân and returned to Herât. And when our father set out for Merv accompanied by us, and the Hâjib came from Kurkanj to Kirmân, and discussions went on regarding the distribution of the kingdom between us and brothers, he sent a man privately to us with the message that it was not the time to say a word, but, whatever the royal master (i.e., Mahmûd) thought or ordered must be obeyed. We took that fatherly advice and it all ended as is evident today.

“ When our father died and our brother was brought to Ghaznî, his letter (to us), his advice and his allegiance to us and aloofness from them— all was what friends, wise men and kind folk really say and write. All this was related to us and the truth of it has appeared. When a man is like this, his faith in friendship and loyalty can be gauged. And to what extent we, who have seen throughout this faithfulness and sincerity, must be inclined to good treatment, entrusting the kingdom to him, augmenting his status and raising his sons high, can be easily understood. Again, when we came to Herât and asked him to see us and receive rewards for his noble deeds, he had started on his way to us before the letter reached him.

* pp 94-97.

“ We wanted to take him to Balkh with us, firstly, in order to consult him in such matters as the correspondence and treaty with the Khân of Turkistân (Qâdir Khân), bringing ‘Ali Tigin, a neighbour who had got a wind in his head on account of these disturbances, back to his former position, and rewarding the nobles and the soldiery, keeping everyone of them in his proper position, and fulfilling their hopes; and secondly in order to send him back more duly rewarded. But afterwards we thought that, in face of such a tremendous quandary, when he left his place and we still did not reach Ghaznin, people might put a different construction on it and troubles arise in his absence; therefore, we gave him permission to go back. Because he had received letters, as mentioned by ‘Abdus, that the opportunity-seekers were agitating and his return was essential, he went in haste. We, on our part, sent ‘Abdus after him to give him more honours and bring him back as we wished to talk over a few other important matters with him: but he came back with the reply that, as he had started, it looked awkward to go back; and if there was any order it should be given by correspondence. We think that the Hâjib took a grand view of the matter and, out of his kindness and advice to us and to the kingdom, he thought it obligatory to hurry in order to reach the spot as his secretaries had written to him about the seriousness of the situation. As for the affairs which were to be discussed with him face to face, they can be settled by letters. But there is one thing which pinches our heart, and we are afraid the enemies of the State, whose task it is to try to make one go, and to worry one in case one does not go, like the scorpion whose work is to bite whatever it comes across, may suggest that in his withdrawal there had been a previous talk in the court. We do not know whether what has struck our mind is right or wrong. But as we must do our utmost in whatever gives him comfort and joy, this letter is written. It is signed by us, with a few lines in our hand at the end. ‘Abdus, and Bû Sa’d Masa’dî (his secretary and agent at Mas’ûd’s court) are ordered to take it to him immediately, have it delivered and get the reply, so that we may know it.

“ There are a few other things which we shall tackle on our safe arrival in Balkh, such as correspondence with the Khan of Turkistan, bringing the learned Khwâja Abu’l-Qâsim Ahmad ibn al-Hasan al Maymandî for taking

over charge of the Ministry, and the case of Hâjib Asaf-Tagin Ghâzi who did us valuable services in Nishapur for which he got the command-in-chief of the forces. He should hear also the verbal messages and give detailed reply. He must know that whatever of these affairs we undertake, we would speak to him about it as our father used to say that his opinion was blessed. He too must adopt the same principle and show his heart to us and advise us in matters, undaunted, as his words, be it understood, have great weight with us."

The letter of Mas'ûd, in his own hand :—

"The great Hâjib, may God perpetuate his honour. He must rely upon this letter and keep up a strong heart, as our heart is towards him. And God help the fulfilment of His rights ! "

When 'Abdus and Mas'adi returned from Khwârazm with the reply Mas'ûd had reached Balkh. It was a very humble reply with excuses for the hurried departure. Mas'ûd gave a private audience to Bû Nasr and Mas'adi and said that he was terribly frightened ; but his fears were allayed by that letter and he went back with pleasure. The letter* of Altuntash is as follows :—

"The correspondence with the Khâns of Turkistan on arrival in Balkh and the despatch of envoys later on and a treaty and agreement with them is necessary, as it is known what troubles the late Anûr (Mahmûd) undertook and what large sums of money he spent until Qâdir Khân got the Khânate with his reinforcement and his affairs were settled. Today it must be supplemented with greater friendship, not because they would be real friends but simply for the sake of outward connections and avoidance of rebellion. 'Ali-Tigin, of course, is an enemy, and a "tail-cut" snake as his brother Tughan Khân was overthrown by Mahmûd and a foe can never be turned into a friend. Although entirely undependable, a pact must, of necessity, be brought about with him. That done, the neighbourhoods of Balkh, Tukharistân, Chaghaniyan, Tirmiz, Qabadiyan and Khatlan must be filled with men as, wherever an opportunity arises and a place is vacant, he will pilfer and plunder. As for Ahmad Hasan, this humble servant has nothing to say in such matters and is aloof, and whatever pleases the royal

* pp. 98-99.

Amîr must be done, because people know that an ill-feeling exists between me and that noble. With regard to Asaftigin Hâjib the late Amîr chose him out of all the men he had and knew, to fill the place of Arslân Jâzib, the treasurer of Mahmûd, on Arslân's death. Had he not been worthy of such a great position, he would not have picked him out. Moreover, he has done good service to the Amîr, and the Amîr should not listen to people but keep the welfare of the State in view. As for the permission and order to give advice by correspondence, I have said something to the secretary Mas'adi. As the royal master knows and needs not to be told by me or others, the late Amîr had a long rule and died leaving before the Amîr a kingdom tremendously fortified, and if it pleases the royal master he should not let any one disturb that policy as it would upset the whole edifice. I shall not say more than this and this is sufficient."

Mas'ûd was immensely pleased with this letter, and Mas'adi and Bû Nasr returned. The following day Mas'adi went to Bû Nasr and delivered Altuntash's message :—

"The enemies had done their task but Mas'ûd did what a great man like him would do with an exceptionally sincere, honest servant like me. I felt a little at ease and went away in a hurry. But if there should be any other important affair at the court, I should never be called as I will not go, although I should never flinch from sending a force, commanding an army and even staking my life and all my property : because I have seen the state of affairs at court and they will never let the Amîr do anything right. There is nothing wrong with the Amîr ; but it is the fault of ill-advisers." Bû Nasr took this message honestly to Mas'ûd and requested him to keep it secret, but he did not ; and they found another way of destroying him, and Altuntash became all the more suspicious.*

* p. 100.

S. M. SIDDIQ.

(To be continued.)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE ARABIC ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF ISLAM*

THE appearance of the first two numbers of *Da'iratu'l-Ma'arifi'l-Islamiyah*, an Arabic translation of the standard European *Encyclopædia of Islam*, is an event of some importance; for the Muslim world to-day, in pathetic contrast to the Muslim world of old, has as yet produced no work of reference that can compare with it. The modern encyclopædias which have hitherto appeared in Arabic—which are, so far as we know, two in Syria and two in Egypt—have been either ponderous and uncompleted, or else sciolistic, a journalist's attempt to write on everything. They have been very far from possessing the authority which this compendium of the results of European Arabist research possesses. We have received the first two numbers, which cover from الف ابن حبان to الف; and are very favourably impressed. The print is beautifully clear and great care has been taken with the publication.

The fact that the point of view of European orientalists is not the Oriental or the Muslim point of view has caused some misgivings in Egypt as to the desirability of recommending such a work for general acceptance, as we judge from two articles in *Al-Minar* (the mouthpiece of the learned Sayyid Muhammad Rashîd Ridâ); of which the first is an impassioned warning from the Amîr Shaqîb Arslân against the subtle, carefully disguised hostility of many orientalists and the danger to Islam that lies in

* دائرة المعارف الإسلامية نقلها إلى اللغة العربية محمد ثابت الفندي أحمد
الششناوى إبراهيم ذكى خورشيد عبد الحميد يونس شارع قصر النيل رقم ٣٣ بمصر-

(The Islamic Encyclopædia, translated into Arabic by Muhammad Thabit Al-Fandi, Ahmad Ash-Shintanawi, Ibrahim Zakî Khurshid and Abdul Hamid Yunus. Cairo, 33, Sharr' Qasr-an-Nîl. 1933. Subscription (outside Egypt) 70 Eg. Piastres for 6 numbers.)

deference to their opinion, while the second is the Sayyid Rashîd Ridâ's criticism of Vol. I. No. 1 of the *Encyclopædia* itself. In order to meet these objections, the editors of the translation have undertaken to add comments and corrections to the text where necessary, and the onus of Rashîd Ridâ's criticism falls on two of the additions (most of them are unexceptionable) which have thus been made; not because they are unnecessary but because they are infirm, the writers chosen for the purpose being inexpert. He suggests that supervision from the Muslim point of view should be entrusted to three men, or any one of them—the former Rector of Al-Azhar (Sheykh Mustafa Al-Marâghî), the Grand Mufti, and the present Rector of Al-Azhar. If these first numbers are typical, the task would be a light one; for it is only here and there that any statement calls for comment, and most of the additions which have been made are quite uncontroversial and will be welcomed by the European authors as illuminating—e.g. the long notes to the entries *Ibnû'l-Athîr* and *Ibn Batutah*. It is only where sectarian zeal or bias is apparent that the editor's task becomes delicate, and the case is happily of rare occurrence. Eisenberg, in his account of the Prophet *Ibrahim*, suggests that the name *Azar* given as that of his father in the *Qur'ân* is really the name of his servant Eleazar (Ar. *Al-Ya'azar*) mentioned in the Bible, and therefore a mistake. On this point the editorial note is so infirm as fully to justify the wrathful scorn which the learned and belligerent Rashîd Ridâ has poured on it. It actually accepts the theory of the German orientalist; and then proceeds to suggest reasons why the name of the servant may have been deliberately substituted. As if the Arabs had never heard of Abraham as their ancestor before our Prophet preached concerning him, and, with their love of pedigrees, had no idea whatever of his father's name! As if they, with their scrupulous regard for the form of words, were likely to confuse ع. الز with البعادر, and altogether miss the sound of ع. Another editorial note appended to Wensinck's contribution to the entry *Ibrahim* (the Prophet) is intended to refute a somewhat similar insinuation, and it is even more disappointing, being long and wordy and failing altogether to get to the point. We can just imagine how succinctly and conclusively the Sayyid Rashîd Ridâ would himself have done the work of refutation; and, if our weak and

distant voices can be heard in Egypt, we should like to propose his name, in addition to those above mentioned, as that of one well fitted for the task. On subjects other than religion the added notes seem competent, and the defects we have mentioned, provided they are not increased in later numbers, are not such as to impair the value of the work for Muslim scholars, as a book of reference.

M. P.

AN ASSAMESE CHRONICLE

THE name of Professor S. K. Bhuyan is well known to readers of "Islamic Culture," for he is among our oldest contributors, and we are glad to see that his extremely useful work upon the *Buranjis* or private chronicles of Assam is becoming widely known. His contributions from Assamese sources to "Islamic Culture" have been concerned with the contact of Assam with Muslim India. The present volume* is a translation of a chronicle of the dynasty which ruled in Assam from A.D. 1681 to 1826 and Muslims are hardly mentioned in it. It was written in 1804—6 by Srinath Barbarua, who had held high offices of State and "was a strong supporter of the policy of Purnananda Burgohain the Prime Minister, who had to adopt vigilant measures to counteract the grave situation of his country brought about by the interminable hostilities of the Moamarias. The author had at his disposal all the papers and correspondence in the State archives, and the habit of sifting (a misprint makes it 'shifting') evidence which he had acquired in his capacity as the highest judicial officer of the State has been brought to bear upon his marshalling of facts in due order of importance. The result is an Assamese historical classic..." Thus Professor Bhuyan in his introduction, and it is probable that he voices the judgment of posterity, though the author of the chronicle himself was diffident, for on the first page he has written :

"This is the *Buranji* written in *saka* 1725 under the orders of the Duara Barbarua. Keep it secretly. Do not give it even to your son if you have no confidence in him. Show it to one who is unhostile and well-disposed

* *Tungkhungia Buranji* or a History of Assam from 1681 to 1826 A. D., an old Assamese Chronicle of the Tungkhungia dynasty of Ahom sovereigns. Compiled, edited and translated by Prof. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1933.

towards you. Pandits have prohibited the betrayal of princes ; and if trust is violated it amounts to an insult shown to one's mother. So keep it in confidence ; more especially it is an unfathomable sastra, who ever finds it bottom ? Even great sages become victims of confusion in such matters which I have handled with whatever judgement I can command. So Pandits should not at random find fault with this book. If one is bent upon detecting blemishes he will find many."

The book is a remarkably vivid, colourful and racy historical narrative, written without affectation but with literary skill and judgment. The only difficulties it presents lie in the lengthy unfamiliar names and dignities, which occur in every paragraph with bewildering effect, and in the rushing crowd of incidents and events. For an understanding of these, careful study of Professor Bhuyan's introduction is essential and will add much to the reader's enjoyment of the book. Thus he writes :—

"The Ahoms, a branch of the Shan race, crossed the Patkai range to the South-east of Assam in the early years of the thirteenth century A.D. under the leadership of Sukapha, who was compelled to leave his ancestral kingdom of Nara as he had no prospect of sovereignty there. Sukapha's followers hardly came up to a thousand and they had left behind their women folk. The Ahoms were thus compelled to increase their numerical strength by incorporating non-Ahoms into their fold accompanied by intermarriage with the original settlers of the land.

"By right of joint conquest the enjoyment of the soil was vested in the leader Sukapha and his commanders and camp-followers who had shared with him the fatigues of the adventurous march. All subsequent appointments in the Ahom administration were made on this understanding. Sukapha's descendants enjoyed a hereditary title to the throne ; those of his commanders and camp-followers to the principal offices of the State ; and this principle was followed throughout the entire period of the Ahom rule in Assam. Only the descendants of Sukapha's Burgohain and Bargohain could be appointed to these respective posts ; and the Barbarua and the Barphukan must always be selected from the four leading families who had accompanied Sukapha, viz., Lahan, Duara, Dibingia and Sandikai. Any

appointment from outside these families was viewed with disfavour. . . . The language and religion of the Ahoms were distinct from those of the conquered races, but gradually the Ahom rulers accepted the Assamese language and the Hindu religion, and the change was perceptible from the reign of Pratap Singha, 1603—1641. . . .

The above enables us to know that the Tungkhungia dynasty was a branch of the descendants of Sukapha, and to have a pretty clear idea of the meaning of the constantly recurring titles, Burgohain, Barphukan, Phukan, Barbarua—as, for instance, in the following paragraph which we choose at random :

“ After this followed a period of amusement including hawk-flights and other pastimes. The king went to Kahwara to watch and participate in hawk-flights (i.e.. His Majesty went hawking). He was followed by the Barbarua at some space. Ramnath Bharali Barua went before the Barbarua on horseback. The Barbarua said to himself.—‘ Ramnath who is my tenant should not go before me riding on a horse.’ Accordingly he informed the king who caused the eyes of Ramnath and his brother to be extracted near the tank at Pajkata. This Ramnath was a sworn friend of the Kalita Phukan. As fate would have it there was a secret misunderstanding between the Kalita Phukan and the Barbarua, and one would not spare the other if there was an opportunity. The Kalita Phukan confidentially informed the king—The Barbarua is contemplating a revolt against His Majesty conspiring with two Nati-Gosains. His Majesty should ascertain the facts after making proper inquiries.”

The Tungkhungias and indeed all the Ahoms would “ extract ” a person’s eyes for a slight offence, cut off his limbs or press him to death “ between two wooden cylinders ”; but these attentions seem to have been reserved for the nobility and gentry. The peasants suffered chiefly from rebellions or invasions which the Ahoms did their utmost to prevent and repel. The most interesting portion of the book is that dealing with events that happened in the life-time of the chronicler, the dictatorship of Purnananda, “ protecting the people like a mother-bird guarding the nestlings under her wings ” in the troublous times

before the Burman occupation of the country which led inevitably to British annexation. We get an interesting glimpse of Burma :

“ The Assamese consorts of King Bodawpaya exercised considerable influence in shaping the policy of their royal partner permanently affecting the destiny of their motherland. Bodawpaya had 122 children and 208 grand-children and his seraglio was a crowded and magnificent one. Two Assamese ladies graced his harem.”

To the British there are very few references in the chronicle. On p. 132 we read :—

“ The Moamarias then attacked the fort of the Dangaria, but fortunately the Sahebs now joined the Mahamantri Buragohain at Dichoi. The Dangaria engaged the sepoys in the fight and it resulted in his victory. The intelligence was communicated to the Captain by Mihnagar Saheb and the Chota Saheb ; and the Dangaria sent a similar message to the Swargadeo (i.e. the King) through his own men. The Dangaria supplied the two Sahebs with provisions and kept them in due style.”

And on p. 198 :—

“ Pratapballabh Barphukan realised that the association of the East India Company was the only possible remedy for counteracting the grave situation into which his country had been plunged. He submitted formal proposals to the Prime Minister requesting him to negotiate with the East India Company to extend to Assam the protection of the Company's arms. Purnananda had firm faith in his own powers, and thought that he would be able to restore his country to peace and orderly government without the intervention of any exterior power. The Barphukan's proposals were shelved as being pessimistic and premature.”

We take it that the first of these two extracts is from the chronicle itself and the second from Prof. Bhuyan's supplement thereto from other sources, but this is not made clear ; and this, since we are not concerned to signalise defects of English, is the only criticism which we have to offer : the text of the translation of the *Tungkhungia Buranji* ought to have been made clearly distinguishable from all additions whatsoever, and the source and

authorship of all additions stated. The bibliography which figures as Appendix II adds to the confusion, because bibliographies are generally the sources of a book, but we gather that this is a list of works on Assamese history in general. Appendix I consists of genealogical tables; Appendix III is a welcome glossary of vernacular terms and Appendix IV a serviceable index.

The book is of quite exceptional interest.

M. P.

THE ISMAILI LAW OF WILLS*

"Till lately Ismailism was almost a sealed book, but of late it is attracting a great deal of attention among serious students of Islam," writes Mr. Fyzee in his introduction to the Arabic text and English translation of *Kitabu'l-Wasaya* (the Book of Wills) from the second volume of *Da'a'imu'l-Islam* by Qâdi An-Nu'mân who died at Old Cairo in 363 A.H. (974 A.D.); "the views of Qâdi An-Nu'mân may differ from those of Manu or Savigny, Montesquieu or Bentham, Kemal or Lenin, and yet, for understanding the social structure of the times, the close study of law and legal theory is indispensable. The Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt was a period of remarkable brilliance in many respects, and any facts which would throw a light on the social structure of those times would be most welcome. This is the aspect which attracts me most, and the study of the Da'â'im has been undertaken principally for its human interest.

"Secondly, in India at any rate, the Da'â'im is a text applicable to a large and flourishing trading community of Western Ismâ'ilis, the Bohoras. The Bohoras are to be divided into Dâ'ûdis, the richest and largest of these communities in India, the Sulaimânîs, the so-called 'Alyas, the Malaks of Nagpur, C.P., the Nagoshias, and last but not least, the many dissenters from the authority of the Dâ'i of the Dâ'ûdis, who, although excommunicated, still preserve intact their belief in Ismâ'îli doctrines and assert that *iman* is a question of personal faith, and, as such, no human being, not even the Dâ'i, can possibly excommunicate them. Many of them are very learned and, in spite of persecution and difficulties, they keep up their religious independence and maintain the study of Arabic and

* *The Ismaili Law of Wills*. By Asaf A. A. Fyzee. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

Haqa'iq. To all these the law courts in India would apply the law as laid down in the *Da'a'im*. From this point of view it is most unfortunate that, except for occasional references in Tyabji's *Principles of Muhammadan Law*—not to the text of the *Da'a'im*, nor to verified translations of extracts, but merely to notes prepared by a learned Ismâ'ili doctor—and a brief manual to which reference will be made later, no part of the *Da'a'imul-Islam* has ever been edited or translated."

The author's concern is for the enlightenment and instruction of the Ismâ'ili communities, but it seems to us that the publication of authentic and authoritative Ismâ'ili texts like this will be serviceable in another way, being sure to have an excellent effect upon the great body of Muslim opinion by dispelling the notion, which undoubtedly prevails in many quarters, that these sects conceal unmentionable tenets, and by showing that their teaching and tradition is undoubtedly Islamic.

The Arabic text has been carefully established and the translation and annotation leave nothing to be desired. The book, though unpretentious in appearance, represents the results of much research and labour conscientiously performed; and Mr. Fyzee's project of making known the original teaching of the Ismâ'ili school of thought to those who claim to follow that school of thought today is one which we should like to see copied by every other school of thought among Muslims, for it cannot fail to make for greater unity.

The book is provided with an index.

M. P.

RECENT URDU PUBLICATIONS

IN MEMORIAM : THE DELHI COLLEGE*

WE suspect that it was the analogy of the Osmania University which first drew a distinguished professor of that university to study with such sympathy the history of the former Delhi College in which, a century ago, the

*مرحوم دہلی کالج ہوسٹہ مولوی عبدالحق صاحب بی۔ اے۔

(علیگ) معتمد اعرازی المحسن رقی اردو اورنگ آباد دکن سہ ۱۹۳۳۔

'The Late Delhi College.' By Moulvi Abdul Haqq, B.A., (Alig.)
Aurangabad, Deccan 1933. Price Rs. 1-8-0.

same experiment of making the language of instruction Urdu, with the necessity of writing or translating all the necessary text-books, was being made at the instance and under the leadership of Englishmen and with such remarkable enthusiasm and success. Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq, whose devotion and services to the Urdu language are unsurpassed, writes of the departed Delhi College with more than sympathy, with real affection. Founded in days when a descendant of the Mughal emperors still nominally reigned at Delhi, in the face of much opposition from both sides—those who stood out for the traditional Oriental method of instruction and those who thought that modern knowledge could not be effectively conveyed in any Indian language—the College made itself tremendously respected and turned out scholars whose names are household words to-day in India, and whose influence upon the progress of the Urdu language has been very great. The tribute which one of these paid in after-life to the college is worth quoting: "Breadth of knowledge, freedom of opinion, toleration, the goodwill of Government, conscientious effort: these things which are the sweet results of education and which are indeed a condition of life I learnt and acquired from the college. And if I had not studied in the college, how can I describe what I should have been? I should have been a narrow-minded, fanatical Maulvi, never calling myself to account, always spying out the vices of others. . . . Whatever of good has come to me in a religious or a worldly sense is owing to the college." The outstanding success of the experiment in education represented by the college was very largely due to the enthusiastic devotion of successive Principals—We derive the impression that the Englishmen practically concerned with Indian education in those days were lovers of the country as well as learned Orientalists—especially Mr. Taylor who had served a life-time in the college and become its life and soul when the Mutiny broke out and he was murdered, to the sorrow of all Delhi.

Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq, in this most interesting book, besides giving us the history of the college, describes in detail the course of instruction, the work done by the college staff under the auspices of the Delhi Vernacular Society in providing, and providing handsomely, the literature necessary to make the choice of Urdu as the language of instruction justifiable, the way in which the teachers and the students passed their time; he also gives

us short biographies of the Principals, some Indian members of the staff, and many of the leading students. Incidentally we get glimpses of a Delhi, prosperous and happy, of a Delhi brought to ruin through no wish or fault of hers, and of a Delhi, shorn of splendour and romance, slowly and sadly getting used to new conditions. The book is the tribute of a patriotic worker to the splendid work of men who have preceded him in the same field.

On p. 10 we find the date of the demise of Nawab Itimâd-ud-daulah given as 1930, and in two other places dates have been transferred from the nineteenth century to the twentieth; otherwise we have found no misprints.

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY EPIC*

THIS is the complete text of an Urdu poem of the early seventeenth century, describing the battle in which Nawab Asaf Jah Nizâm-ud-Daulah I. defeated A'âlim 'Ali Khân, the subedar of the Deccan appointed by the Barha Sayyids who had usurped the Emperor Farrukhsiyar's power at Delhi. The writer of the poem is a warm adherent of the subedar, who was defeated and slain in the battle. A'âlim 'Ali Khân's heroism, his youth and beauty and the pity of it all, are in fact the subject of the poem, which consists of 491 couplets in old Urdu of a kind which leaves no doubt but that the poet was a native of the Deccan in the opinion of so competent a judge as Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq, his present editor.

The Maulvi Sahib writes: "Three copies of this *Jangnamah* have been available to me. One is my own property. . . . the second copy Maulvi 'Abdul Hamid Sahib, Vakil, kindly lent me. . . . and the third is that copy to which Mr. William Irvine had access from the library of the Maharajah of Benares and which he published with an English translation in the *Indian Antiquary* for January and March 1904."

* جنگ نامہ عالم علی خان - مصنفہ غضنفر حسین مرحوم مرتبہ مولوی عبدالحق صاحب بی۔ اے (علیگ) - سلسلہ انجمن ترقی اردو نمبر (۵۵) اورنگ آباد دکن سنہ ۱۹۳۳ ع۔

Jangnamah-i-A'âlim Ali Khan by Ghazanfar Huseyn. Edited by Maulvi Abdul Haqq, B.A., Aurangabad. 1933. Price 6 annas.

Of these three copies Maulvi Abdul Haqq's is the most perfect, and thus he has been able to correct a number of mistakes in Mr. Irvine's published version of the poem. notably with regard to its authorship. Mr. Irvine had given the poet's name as *Saudusht* from the line

سودشتایہ کیا ستم ہائے ہائے

which in other copies reads

سوا ایسا ستم پر ستم ہائے ہائے۔

And he endeavoured to explain the use of a Hindu *Takhallus* by a Muslim poet by the theory that Muslim authors, when they wrote in Hindi, took a Hindu pen-name. Mr. Irvine, against the opinion of his Munshi, who held that the poet was a Panjabi from the same district which was the home of the Barha Sayyids, guessed that the poet was a Deccani and believed him to be no other than the well-known poet Wali. That, as Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq points out, is because his copy, which he thought complete, lacked many verses at the end, in one of which the author has given his name

نہ ہر دل کون راحت نہ خاطر کون چین

کہا ہے یو قصہ غضنفر حسین

The poem, artless and a little rugged, is full of vigour and carries to us in this later age the clear impression of a deep, sincere emotion. The text has been very carefully established and corrected, and the price of the little book—six annas—seems incredibly small in view of all the labour its production must have entailed.

THE INFLUENCE OF PERSIAN ON MARATHI*

It was during the period when the Bahmani dynasty ruled nearly the whole of the Mahratta Deccan, and succeeded in bringing about a unanimity of Hindus with Muslims such as was never achieved elsewhere in India, that Persian, the court language, began to colour and enrich the language of the country; and the influence

* مرہٹی زبان پر فارسی کا اثر۔ نوشتہ مولوی عبدالحق صاحب

بی۔ اے (علیگ) اورنگ آباد دکن سنہ ۱۹۳۳ ع

The Influence of Persian on the Marathi Language. By Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq, B.A., (Alig.). Aurangabad, Deccan, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Press 1933. Price 8 annas.

increased rather than diminished when the empire of the Bahmanis broke into five separate Sultanates, each of which had Persian for the language of the court and Maratha chiefs among its principal supporters. Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq, in this erudite and very interesting little work, traces that influence, with quotations from official documents, historic letters and the work of poets. He shows not only how new words were introduced but also how a new way of constructing sentences betrays the Persian influence even where no Persian word is present. He also shows, which is still more interesting, that Marathas derived from the Muslims a number of ideas which they had never before cherished—among others that of patriotism in the modern sense, as associated with the race and not the homestead. The great Shivaji was an alumnus of the court of Bijâpûr and in his letters, quoted by our author, the Persian influence is very evident. He conferred Persian titles on his henchmen, and in the building of his State was mindful of the Muslim models. The same tendency was visible in the Maratha Empire. The very title of its rulers, *Peshwa*, is a Persian word. Proverbs are the expression of a people's own peculiar genius, as Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq observes, and they are generally put in homely words, yet in Marathi proverbs Persian words are found, a large number of examples being quoted here.

There is no doubt but that the influence of the Persian language on Marathi has been deep and lasting; Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq exclaims in admiration at one point when he finds Marathas using Persian words for notions to connote which English words are used today in Urdu. His heart is warm towards a people whose language is so near to his beloved Urdu. His conclusion is :—

“ Marathi and Hindustani (Urdu) are sisters. Both are of Indian birth and of the Aryan family. Both, more or less, have drunk the Persian milk, and both nowadays are dwelling side by side. This is a clear sign of the relations between the Marathas and the Muslims. From the near relation of the languages is born a close connection and a sympathy between the peoples who speak them, and sympathy is the essence of life.”

We hope this book will be translated into Marathi.

RANI KETKI*

We learn from the preface that this delightful *tour de force* of an erratic genius was often spoken of but never seen till the Principal of Lamartine College, Lucknow allowed a copy which he possessed to be published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, part in 1852 and part in 1855. That publication contained many mistakes and printer's errors. Corrected in so far as obvious errors were concerned, the same version was republished in the *Magazine Urdu* (Vol. VI, April 1926). Since then the editor of the present volume has been able to compare it with a copy printed at some time or other in Nagari characters at Lucknow, and further corrections have been made.

The author tells us at the outset that his purpose was to write a story in which not a single Arabic or Persian word should find a place. This he has done; but he has done a great deal more. He has written, in language sometimes beautiful, always amusing, a story which is typical of Hindu folklore. The story, in itself ridiculous, is raised to classic height by sheer dexterity in choice of words. We naturally hesitate to trust our judgment on anything outside our circle of experience; but it seems to us that this work is a gem of wit and literary joyousness, a little masterpiece which any language might be glad to own.

The editor claims for it that it can be read with equal ease by people who know Hindi and by people who know Urdu only. Of the truth of this we are incompetent to judge. We only know that, though the sense of many passages escaped us and our Urdu dictionary, the rhythm of the language held us and the story charmed. These publications of the *Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu*, though low-priced—the price of this book is only 4 annas—have none of the defects which one associates with cheap editions. They are all fit for the library table, binding and the book-shelf.

* داستان رانی کیٹکی اور کمر اودے بھان تصنیف سید

انشاء اللہ خان الشاہہ اہتمام محمد صدیق حسن۔ مینیجر انجمن ترقی اردو

اورنگ آباد دکن کے مطبع مبن چھپ کر شائع ہوئی۔ سنہ ۱۹۳۳ء۔

'The Story of Rani Ketki and Raja Udey Bhan' by Sayyid Insha'llah Khan Insha. Edited by Md. Siddiq Hasan. Aurangabad, Deccan. Anjuman-i Taraqqi Urdu Press. Price 4 annas.

A VINDICATION OF THE OSMANLI TURKS¹

THIS is an Urdu translation of the series of three lectures in English, delivered by Prof. Germanus before the Osmania University in the autumn of 1931, which have already been published in "Islamic Culture" under the titles "The Awakening of Turkish Literature" and "The Rôle of the Turks in Islam." The translation is faithful and reads well, but more care might have been given to secure clear printing of the little gems of Turkish poetry, quoted here and there. These, as they now appear, are often hardly recognisable at first sight owing chiefly to wrong spacing of the letters but also to misprints. Now that Turkey has said farewell to the history and etymology and half the beauty of her language by adopting the Latin character with phonetic spelling, one regards her literature in the Arabic character much as one regards the portrait of a loved one newly dead, and dislikes to see it mutilated or disfigured. Professor Germanus' lectures claim attention for the splendid contribution of the Turks to Islamic civilisation, which has too often overlooked, especially in India; and we welcome their translation into Urdu for that reason. The analogy of the Osmanli-Turki language with Urdu is a subject worthy of investigation, for it is extremely close; Arabic and Persian words and phrases being found in almost exactly the same proportion in a Turkish setting as they are found in Urdu in a Hindi setting. And in Turkey, as in India, there is now a movement to get rid of them, no matter though the language would be much impoverished.

URDU AND THE SAINTS²

JUST as in the case of the Delhi College, Maulvi Abdul

(۱) ترکون کی اسلامی خدمات اور ان کی زبان و ادبیات پر تین لکچر جو ڈاکٹر جولیس جرمانس پروفیسر ہدایت یونیورسٹی جلمعہ عثمانیہ حیدرآباد دکن میں دیے۔ مترجمہ سید وھاج الدین صاحب انجمن ترقی اردو اورنگ آباد دکن سہ ۱۹۳۲ ع۔

Three Lectures on the Services of the Turks to Islam, and their Language and Literature. Delivered by Prof. J. Germanus of Budapest in the Osmania University, Hyderabad. Translated by Sayyid Abdul Wahhāj. Aurangabad, Deccan. 1932. Price Rs. 1-8-0.

(۲) اردو کی ابتدائی نشوونما میں صوفیائے کرام کا کام - نوشتہ مولوی عبدالحق صاحب بی۔ اے (علیگ) مطبوعہ مطبع انجمن ترقی اردو اورنگ آباد دکن سہ ۱۹۳۳ ع۔

The Sufis' work in the early development of the Urdu language By Maulvi Abdul Haqq, B.A., (Alig.), Anjuman Tarraqi Urdu Press., Aurangabad Deccan. 1933. Price 8 annas.

Haqq, in this small but scholarly and useful book, is paying tribute to past benefactors of the Urdu language. His reverence for the Muslim saints of Hindustan and of the Deccan is as great as that of any devotee; when writing of them he employs their honorific titles and invokes the customary blessings on them; but it is not the miracles or the conversions ascribed to them, nor yet the sanctity of their lives, which has enthralled him, but simply the fact that they enriched the Urdu language with their thought and culture, and did not disdain it, in days when it was held in high contempt by all the learned. They were missionaries, and their object was to reach the people of the country. They took the common language of the country for their own and, as the thoughts which they desired to express were new to the people of the country—as new as European science is to-day—they introduced a number of new terms connoting the new thoughts and thus enlarged the range of Urdu and increased its power enormously. They were men of imagination and of high spirituality and they endowed the language with these qualities and also with a subtlety which it had not possessed before.

The book is a *Tazkarah* or anthology of Muslim Saints of India from Sheykh Farīd-ud-dīn Shukar Ganj to Kabīr, and in it the saints of the Deccan have a large and honourable place. It is indispensable to the student of the history of the rise of Urdu, the youngest of the world's great languages; and as the rise of Urdu is typical of the rise of every language from the status of a jargon onward to the classic status, we may say that it is of interest to all philologists.

THE CARAVAN FROM LAHORE *

WE confess that we had no idea that such artistic work in printing could be done in Urdu as is found in *Karwan*, until this year's number of that sumptuous production found its way into our hands. It calls itself "an album of the arts and literature of East and West," but it is as a product of the East that it appeals to us, and as an evidence of high ideals in art and letters, not evaporated in the air but actually achieved and realised in print and line and colour. The pictures, which are many, and the

* *Karwan*. An Annual. Illustrated Lahore 1934.

incidental designs are beautiful. Particularly noteworthy are the picture of two mourners at a tomb by Chughtai and the design which forms a setting for the little poem on the page facing it, the coloured drawing of a peacock which faces p. 44; the Mughal painting reproduced opposite p. 188; the drawing called "Shab-i-Shîrâz" facing p. 248; Chughtai's "Qalandar" p. 260. There are many more illustrations hardly less deserving of notice, but our space is limited. The design of deer upon the title page must be mentioned, however, and the magnificent cover-design. The contributions, short or long, in prose and verse, are all of literary merit, while many of them have a freshness and, if we may say so, an effrontery which we find invigorating. The Nestor of the Caravan, as we imagine, must be Maulvî 'Abdul Haqq who makes a solid contribution on his chosen subject, the development of Urdu, which it seems to us that Kârwan is furthering in a very pleasant and effective way. The magazine will be treasured by all who have the luck to own a copy of it. It is a very gallant caravan indeed, and bears rich merchandise.

M. P.

TWO OLD ANTHOLOGIES*

THE editor in his preface to one of these two books explains why the *Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu* spends so much time in editing and printing old anthologies. It is because, although they do not differ much in style or method of arrangement, there are to be found in each a number of words and phrases which are luminous and worth preserving in the treasury of Urdu. Gurdezi flourished in the eighteenth century—his father was killed defending Delhi against the inroad of Ahmad Shah Abdâli—while the author of *Makhzan-i-Shu'ara* was a contemporary and correspondent of Mirza Ghâlib, the great Urdu poet. The

* (۱) تذکرہ ریختہ گویان - مولفہ سید فتح علی حسینی گردیزی مرحوم

(۲) مخزن شعراء یعنی تذکرہ شعرائے گجرات مولفہ قاضی

نور الدین حسین خان رضوی فائق مرحوم -

Tazkirah-i-Rekhta Gujan. A biographical anthology of Rekhta poets. By Sayyid Fath 'Alî Huseynî Gurdezi. Price Re. 1-4-0.

Makhzan-i-Shu'ara. A biographical anthology of Urdu poets of Gujarat. By Qazî Nuru'd-din Huseynî Khan Razvî Faiq. Price Re. 1-4-0.

Both edited by Maulvî 'Abdul Haqq, B.A., (Aligarh). Aurangabad Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu.

latter in his introductory remarks apologises to the polite of Delhi and Lucknow for the liberty that he is taking in venturing to claim their notice for the Urdu poetry of Gujarat ; an apology which the learned editor declares to have been quite unjustified since the Urdu poetry of Gujarat was then exceptionally beautiful. These two books, we notice, have been printed in Delhi at the *Jami*, Press. They are in clear type and, like all the publications of the *Anjuman Taragqi Urdu*, have been very carefully edited.

FOR CONNOISSEURS

At the time of going to press we have received from Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, Director of Archæology, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, a beautiful reproduction in facsimile of a MS. copy of the *Mathnawi* of Maulâna Jalâluddîn Rûmî written by Mirza 'Abdul Karîm, the great-grandson of the famous calligraphist Mir 'Imâd, very handsomely bound and got up. It is a little humiliating for us in the East to know that in order to secure such perfect treatment of a Persian MS. recourse had to be had to Germany ; but the result is a thing of beauty for which the world of connoisseurs is indebted to the eleven notables of the Nizam's Dominions whose subscriptions made this publication possible. The price of the book is 3 guineas or B.G. Rs. 40. It can be obtained from the Curator, Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad Deccan and in London from A. Probstham, 41, Great Russell Street, W.C. 1, Luzac & Co., Russell Street W.C. 1., or Bernard Quaritch Ltd., 11, Grafton Street W. It is a fine memento of an exclusively Islamic art, which we propose to describe more fully in our July number.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The Degeneracy of Muslims : Its Causes and Remedies. By Mr. Zahir Ahmad, M.C.S. With a foreword by Nawab Sir Nizam Jung Bahadur. A thoughtful and well-written pamphlet which will appeal strongly to the younger generation of Muslims everywhere. In English.

Ar-Rabitatu'l-Islamiyah. Ramdân 1352 A.H. An illustrated Review of Islamic religion, history and social conditions. Published in Damascus. In Arabic.

Al-Manahij. A Psychological Review. Edited by Sheykh Md. Ma'mûn 'Abdul Wahhâb Al-Arzinjânî. Published in Damascus. In Arabic.

NIZAMU'L-MULK ASAF JAH I

FOUNDER OF THE HYDERABAD STATE

Introduction

NIZAMU'L-MULK was the most remarkable personage in the history of the later Mughals. He had been brought up in the traditions of Aurangzîb, and had been one of the chief favourites of the Emperor in the latter's declining years. He was a clever strategist and a far-sighted statesman who clearly envisaged, and truly estimated, the magnitude and the extent of the difficulties which arose for the Mughal Government during the inefficient reigns of Aurangzîb's successors, lacking both in military genius and administrative capacity. He saw the danger to which the Mughal Empire was exposed, and realised the evils which had overtaken it. With rare tact and courage he undertook the stupendous task of restoring the Mughal conquests and re-establishing the Imperial authority in the Deccan, where, ultimately, he was destined to found a dynasty. His beneficent administration in that part of the country succeeded in putting down local tyrannies and establishing a regular system of law and order.

It is a pity that historians of Mughal India have paid scant attention to this great man. So far as I know, no-one, so far, has attempted to present events as viewed in relation to the dynamic and outstanding personality of Nizâmu'l-Mulk; although his influence has proved deep and lasting on the course of Indian history. It was in the midst of strife, resulting from the action of disintegrating forces in the Mughal Empire, that Nizâmu'l-Mulk succeeded in effectively checking the rising tide of the Mahrâtta aggression, and restoring the supremacy of Islam in the Deccan. His bold initiative resulted in the creation of our present Hyderabad State. A critical study of Nizâmu'l-Mulk, based on contemporary histories and records, has long been overdue, valuable though it would

obviously be in elucidating and supplementing our information concerning the later period of Mughal history. It is not that there is any dearth or paucity of contemporary documents; on the contrary, there is abundant material for the study of the subject which has never yet been fully utilized by scholars. The present writer has endeavoured, from reliable sources, to compile a connected story of Nizâmu'l-Mulk's life and times, as the beginning of the epilogue to the great drama enacted by the Mughals on the stage of Indian history. This sketch is at once a narrative and a critical study. Its object is to enable the reader to form a correct estimate of the career of the ablest and most clear-sighted general and statesman of the early eighteenth century in India.

His ancestry, early life and career

Khwâja 'Abid, grandfather of Nizâmu'l-Mulk was born at 'Alîâbâd in the neighbourhood of Samarqand, in the kingdom of Bukhârâ. He was the son of 'Alam Sheykh, a celebrated man of letters and a well-known Sûfî of his time. He traced his descent to Sheykh Shihâbu'd-dîn Suhrawardy, a great spiritual teacher and author of important works on Tasawwuf, who, in his turn, called himself a descendant of Abû Bakr, the First Caliph.*

'Alam Sheykh gave religious education to his son Khwâja 'Abid, who after the death of his father moved to Bukhârâ. His intelligence, ability and piety soon attracted the attention of men in authority there and he was made Sheikhu'l-Islam, a very important office in the realm.

Khwâja 'Abid first came to India in 1065 A.H. (1654-55 A.D.) on his way to Mecca, in the twenty-ninth year of Shâhjahân's reign. He presented himself at the Imperial court, where he was received with distinction, invested with a robe of honour and given a purse of six thousand rupees. He was also offered a post in the Imperial

*The names in the pedigree are :—

1. Sheykh Shihâbu'd-dîn ; 2. Abû Muhammad Hifz ; 3. Sheykh Qutbu'l-Aqtâb Zeynu'd-dîn ; 4. Sheykh 'Alâu'd-dîn ; 5. Sheykh Tâju'd-dîn ; 6. Sheykh Fathu'llâh ; 7. Sheykh Najîbu'llâh ; 8. Sheykh Jawîd *alias* Sarmast ; 9. Sheykh Fathu'llâh II ; 10. Sheykh Jawîd II ; 11. Muhammad Darwish ; 12. Sheykh Muhammad Mu'min ; 13. Mîr Muhammad 'Alam Siddîqî ; 14. 'Azîzan-i-'Alam ; 15. Khwâja Mîr Ismâ'il *alias* 'Alam Sheykh ; 16. Khwâja 'Abid.

Service, which he promised to accept after his return from Mecca. He came back from the Hajj in 1067 A.H. (1657 A.D.) and joined Aurangzib in the Deccan, who gave him high command over the Tûrânî soldiery. He remained with Aurangzib during the fateful period of Shâhjahân's severe illness and the struggle of his sons for the throne. After Aurangzib ascended the throne, he appointed Khwâja 'Abid to the distinguished post of *Sidarât-i-Kul* during his early reign. He gave him the title of Qalich Khân, in recognition of his services in the Râjputâna expedition. Khwâja 'Abid took a conspicuous part in the siege of Golconda. Being the leader of the storming party, he was struck by a musket-ball while raiding on the fortress. His right arm was badly shattered. He died after three days and was buried in the neighbourhood of the Golconda fort.

Khwâja 'Abid left five sons. The eldest, Shihâbu'd-dîn, later known as Ghâziu'd-dîn Khân Fîrûz Jang, earned the position of highest distinction possible for any Mughal noble.*

Shihâbu'd-dîn was born in Samarqand about the year 1649 A.D. After his father left for India, he entered the employ of Subhân Qulî Khân, ruler of Bukhârâ. As he desired to join his father, he managed to obtain permission from his master to visit India, where he arrived in the twelfth year of Aurangzib's reign, being hardly twenty years of age. He was well received by the Emperor who evinced interest in him by getting him married to Safia Khânûm, daughter of Sa'du'llâh Khân, the chief minister of the Emperor Shâhjahân.

For nearly ten years Shihâbu'd-dîn served as an esquire with his father. His extraordinary courage and skill were first noticed by the Emperor during the operations in Râjputâna. In recognition of his services the Emperor gave him the title of 'Khân.'

When Aurangzib started from Ajmer for the Deccan to check the growing power of the Mahrâtât, Shihâbu'd-dîn Khân accompanied him thither. He soon won fresh honours and distinction by his successful enterprises against the Mahrâtât. The Emperor conferred on him the

*Shihâbu'd-dîn Khân had two real brothers, Mujâhid Khân and Muhâmid Khân. His two step-brothers were Hâmid Khân and Abdu'r-Rahîm.

title of Ghâziu'd-dîn Khân Fîrûz Jang in recognition of his services in the Konkan and in other parts of the Deccan. His marvellous feat saved prince 'A'zam and his men from total destruction at the siege of Bijâpûr, which prompted the Emperor to give expression to the following sentiment : "As God Almighty has saved the honour of the house of Timur through the exertions of Fîrûz Jang, so may He guard the honour of his descendants till the Day of Resurrection." (*Khafi Khan*, vol : 2, p. 319).

In January 1688, Fîrûz Jang was directed to lay siege to the fortress of Adoni, situated to the south of the Tungabhadra river, which was then occupied by Siddî Mas'ûd, a slave-general of Sikander 'Adil Shâh. The fortress could not long withstand the prodigies of Fîrûz Jang's valour and skill. The Siddî was forced to capitulate. This success completely established Mughal supremacy in the Deccan. In 1688, the Emperor started preparations for a vigorous offensive against the Mahrâtâtas. Fîrûz Jang was directed to proceed towards Bahâdurgarh and to pursue Sambhajî. In the same year plague broke out in the royal camp at Bijâpûr and among others Fîrûz Jang caught the infection, which resulted in the complete loss of his eyesight.

In consideration of Fîrûz Jang's disability, the Emperor sent him to Berâr to take charge of the administration of that province. He stayed there nearly two years. Then he was again summoned to the court and his advice was sought in connection with the renewal of the Mahrâtâ depredations. He relieved Jumdatu'l-Mulk Asad Khân in command of the forces stationed at Islâmpûrî, the base-camp of the Imperial armies. For two years Fîrûz Jang did not move out of Islâmpûrî.

In 1702, the Emperor again directed him to proceed to Berâr as Sûbedâr. During his Sûbedârî, Fîrûz Jang undertook to check the inroads of Nemajî Sindhia who had enlisted a huge army in order to ravage the Mughal provinces. He marched against him and defeated him at Sironj, in the Mâlwa. He then established himself at Ellichpur and very efficiently governed the province of Berâr till the death of Aurangzîb in 1707. He refused to take sides in the fratricidal struggle which ensued between the princes Mu'azzam and 'A'zam.

When, having emerged victorious at the decisive battle of Jajau, Mu'azzam proclaimed himself king with the title of

Bahâdur Shâh, he invited the leading nobles of the realm to the court. A similar invitation was also sent to Fîrûz Jang, who was, in fact, much in dread of Bahâdur Shâh, because during the siege of Golconda it was on his report that the latter was disgraced and put in confinement on the charge of disloyal intentions. But Bahâdur Shâh reassured him and granted him exemption from the duty of waiting on him in person. The new Emperor confirmed Fîrûz Jang in the Sûbedârî of Gujerât, where he governed for a little more than two years. Fîrûz Jang died at Ahmedabad in 1710, at the age of sixty-two (lunar) years. His remains were carried to Delhi and buried in a tomb which he had built during his life-time in the neighbourhood of the Ajmerî Gate (*Ma'athiru'l-Umara*, vol. 2, 878).

Fîrûz Jang was a very able and efficient general. In the words of Khâfî Khân "he was a man born to victory, and a disciplinarian who always prevailed over his enemy. An aristocrat of such rank and power and yet so polite and good-natured has rarely been seen or heard of among the men of Tûrân." (Vol. 2, p. 671).

Mîr Qamru'd-dîn was born on 11 August, 1671, the first year of his parents' wedlock. The Emperor Aurangzîb gave the child the name of Mîr Qamru'd-dîn. History is silent as to his birthplace. Most probably he was born at Agra, the Imperial capital, where his father lived for some time after his arrival in India. We know on good authority that Ghâziu'd-dîn Khân Fîrûz Jang came to India in 1669 and was introduced at court by the friends of Qalich Khân, his father, who was at that time Subedâr of Ajmêr. The Emperor seems to have taken a fancy to the young man from Turkistân, and showed his favour by getting him married to Sa'dullâh Khân's daughter. The chronogram of the first-fruit of this union is to be found in the words "nik bakht" (man of destiny).

At the tender age of six, Mîr Qamru'd-dîn came to the court with his father and was awarded a mansab. The Emperor, on seeing him, predicted his future greatness. Asad Khân Jumdatu'l-Mulk, Chief Minister of Aurangzîb, used to say to Fîrûz Jang: 'The star of destiny shines on the forehead of your son.' (*Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, p. 49).

Mîr Qamru'd-dîn, as a young man, used to accompany his father on his military expeditions. In 1683-84 (1095 H.) he received the rank of 400 personal, 100 horse, after the

return of Fîrûz Jang from his expedition to Pûna and Supa, when he was scarcely thirteen years old. Mir Qamru'd-dîn distinguished himself on that expedition. After this he joined his father when the latter was going to start his campaign against the Raigarh fortress. In recognition of his services he obtained a sword and a robe of honour. After his return to court he was honoured with an elephant and was charged to carry a sword and a robe of honour to his father. Next year, when Fîrûz Jang came to wait on the Emperor, Mir Qamru'd-dîn was with him. The Emperor was pleased to further honour him with a poniard and a jewelled strap. (*Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri*, pp. 271, 277).

In 1688, Mir Qamru'd-dîn took an active part in the investment of the fortress of Adonî, against Siddî Mas'ûd, under the command of his father. The Emperor raised him to the rank of 2,000 personal, 500 horse, and awarded him a steed. (*Ibid*, p. 332).

In 1691, Mir Qamru'd-dîn received the title of Chin Qalich Khân and a she-elephant by way of present. The Emperor seems to have begun to show special consideration to him, on account of his father's disability, in 1689. The leadership of the Tûrânî element in the Mughal army was now gradually passing from father to son.

In 1693 a vast Mahrâtta army had surrounded the Mughal besiegers of the fortress of Panhala, who were in great distress. On receiving this intelligence, the Emperor ordered reinforcements under the command of Fîrûz Jang and Khânazâd Khân. In the meantime, Dhanâ Jâdav had retreated towards Satârâ. Fîrûz Jang sent Chin Qalich Khân and Rustam Khân to give him chase. A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Karad. The Mahrâtta's were severely beaten, leaving 30 prisoners and 600 horses. Their troops were dispersed. The Mughals also lost many lives.

In 1697, Chin Qalich Khân had a quarrel with Fîrûz Jang, his father. He repaired to the court with his men. Although the Emperor was very fond of Chin Qalich Khân, still he refused to see him as he had left his father without his permission. The Emperor also wanted to show consideration to Fîrûz Jang by treating Chin Qalich Khân in this manner, and to make this case serve as an example to others in matters of military discipline. On the recommendation of Asad Khân Jumdatu'l-Mulk, he was brought

to the Imperial presence. The Emperor gave him a note for Fîrûz Jang and asked him to take it to his father. He addressed him thus. "Chin Qalich Khân says that if thou wilt not forgive us and be benevolent to us, we shall surely be the losers." (*Kalimat-i-Tayyibat*).

On receiving this note of the Emperor, Fîrûz Jang was reconciled with his son and forgave him. Next year the Emperor showed his confidence in Chin Qalich Khân by appointing him to undertake an expedition to punish the evil-doers of Naguri near Bijâpûr (*Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 395). The Emperor was satisfied with his work and on his return awarded him a poniard, and sent him to Kota to restore order there. When he was returning from this expedition, the Emperor issued orders to Mukhlis Khân, paymaster-general, to go and welcome Chin Qalich Khân at Islâmpurî and escort him to the court. The Emperor raised him to the rank of 3,000 personal, five hundred horse. (*Ibid*, p. 405). In the year 1699, the Emperor promoted Chin Qalich Khân to the rank of 3,500 personal, 3,000 horse. (*Ibid*, p. 424).

After the fall of Satârâ, the fortress of Parlî was invested by the Imperial forces. This fortress, situated on a high hill, was considered to be impregnable. Fathu'l-lâh Khân was directed to proceed in advance and lay siege to it. Chin Qalich Khân was ordered to surround the adjoining villages in order to keep out the armed bands of the Mahrâtâs, who infested the neighbourhood and wanted to close all roads by which supplies could reach the besiegers and cut off the Mughal outposts. The fort was captured on 9 June, 1700. In recognition of his services the Emperor was pleased to bestow on Chin Qalich Khân the important post of faujdâr of Bijâpûr in place of M'amûr Khân, and an increase of 400 horse was also granted to him. So that now he had the rank of 4,000 personal, 3,400 horse. (*Ibid*, p. 441).

In 1702, Chin Qalich Khân was raised to the governorship of Bijâpûr and was awarded a head-ornament (*sarpech*) and a steed. A few months later the faujdârî of Tilkokan ('Adil-Khânî), A'zamnagar and Balgâon as well as the Thanedârî of Sanpgâon was placed under his charge. Now his rank was raised to 4,000 personal, 4,000 horse and he was given a crore of dam by way of reward. Seyf Khân, the former faujdâr of Balgâon was made his deputy. In 1704, as a result of the transfer of Rustam Dil Khân to

Hyderâbâd, the faujdârî of Nusratâbâd and Mudgal was also placed under his administration. (*Ibid.*, pp. 494, 496).

After reducing almost all the important Mahrâtta forts to submission, the Emperor moved his armies towards Wakin Kherâ, the famous Berad stronghold. The Berads, besides helping the Mahrâtts against the Mughals, were a constant source of mischief in Gulbarga district. Piryâ Nâyak had succeeded Pêm Nâyak as chief of the tribe. He had collected a large army, and his daring raids into Imperial territory became too frequent to be ignored any longer. The Emperor resolved to lay siege to the fort in person. He reached it on the 8 February, 1705. Chin Qalich Khân, the Subedâr of Bijâpûr, in whose jurisdiction the territory of the Berads lay, joined the Emperor. The siege operations began under the command of Chin Qalich Khân and Tarbiyat Khân (commander of artillery). They raised two high mounds and carried their approaches to the walls of the fortress. The siege continued for a considerable time without any substantial results for the besiegers. The besieged had ample provisions for a protracted resistance. The garrison kept up an incessant fire, driving back the attacks of the besiegers. Seeing that the siege was going to be a long one, the Emperor in person joined the besiegers. When Dhanâ Jâdav came to know this, he immediately dashed up to the fort in order to rescue his family who had taken shelter there. He pressed the Mughal army hard, and succeeded in cutting the lines of communication.

Chin Qalich Khân seems to have played a conspicuous part in this siege. He led the assault on Lâl Tikrî, a hillock of considerable strategic importance in the neighbourhood of the fortress. Muhammad Amîn Khân, Tarbiyat Khân Bahâdur, 'Aziz Khân Rohelâ and Ikhâlâs Khân joined his party. But they had no material for digging trenches nor had they enough men to be able to resist for any length of time the assaults of the enemy. They were soon outnumbered and compelled to retire. As Chin Qalich Khân had not consulted other wings of the army, he failed to get any reinforcements in time. (*Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 499; *Khafî Khan*, vol. 2, p. 528).

One day Chin Qalich Khân and Muhammad Amîn Khân with their men had gone out to select a suitable site for trenches, when they were overtaken by an intermittent fire from the walls of the fortress. Both the hind legs of

the former's horse and one foreleg of the latter's were shattered by cannon-balls. Both fell off their horses, and with great difficulty managed to regain the trenches. On hearing this the Emperor sent two Arab steeds, with gold trappings, one for each, and a pastille perfumed with ambergris through Amîn Khân, one of the confidants of the Emperor. (*Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 499 ; *Khafi Khan*, vol. 2, p. 529).

Meanwhile, the Emperor had summoned Zulfiqâr Khân to join him at Wakin Kherâ. He, along with Dâ'ûd Khân Pannî, Yûsuf Khân, Qiledâr of Qamarnagar, and Kamyâb Khân, Qiledâr of Gulbarga, arrived just in time and brought fresh reinforcements with them. The Emperor re-organised the plan of attack. Chin Qalich Khân was given charge of the line of communication between Lâl Tikrî and the trenches. He was directed to guard the rear against the inroads of the Mahrâtât. Zulfiqâr Khân with this fresh forces began the attacks on the garrison. For four or five days severe fighting took place. Chin Qalich Khân, Jamshêd Khân and Dâ'ûd Khân exerted themselves most strenuously and thwarted all attempts of the Mahrâtât generals to send men and provisions to the besieged. At last the Berads were compelled to yield and take to flight. Chin Qalich Khân and his Turanian soldiery, in the words of the court historian, "chased furiously the crow after it had left the noose and their anxious search sent that broken-winged one into the wilderness of wandering." (*Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 506). This siege was the last undertaken by the old Emperor.

In recognition of his ability and service Chin Qalich Khân was raised to the rank of 5,000 personal, 5,000 horse, and was awarded one crore and fifty lakhs of dams, a jewelled sabre and an elephant. Muhammad Amîn Khân was promoted to the rank of 4,000 personal, 1,200 horse and was also given a sabre by way of reward (*Ibid* ; *Khafi Khan*, 2, p. 538).

It seems that Chin Qalich Khân, after the capture of Wakin Kherâ, had acquired great influence over the Emperor who consulted him on all important matters of the State. He asked permission from the Emperor to set out for his province and to restore peace and order in the distracted land under his charge, whence many people had fled on account of war and famine. Chin Qalich Khân, after

reaching Bijâpûr, did all he could to call back the frightened peasantry and to induce them to resume their avocations, without which there was no prospect of general prosperity. While he was thus busy in the work of reconstruction, he received orders from the Emperor, asking him to select some healthy place where he (the Emperor) and his troops might pass the rainy season. Chin Qalich Khân selected Devapur for this purpose, and joined him there. Here the Emperor was seized with a severe illness with pain in joints and limbs. But he continued to do all his usual business. After some time he began to have fainting fits. By the advice of his court physician, Sâdiq Khân, he took China-root (smilax china) which did him good. After his recovery he honoured his physician with the title of Hakîmu'l-Mulk, and loaded him with ashrafis by way of reward. (*Khafi Khan*, vol. 2, p. 539).

Chin Qalich Khân stayed with the Emperor till he had recovered from his illness and was able to undertake his march in the direction of Bahâdurgarh (*Ma'athir-i-'Alam-giri*, p. 510). Then he came back to Bijâpûr to look after the administration of the province.

From Bahâdurgarh, the Emperor proceeded towards Ahmednagar, the place destined to be his "journey's end," (*Khafi Khan*, vol. 2, p. 541). His was a restless, lonely journey, albeit attended by vast and impressive armies and a busy court.

While the Emperor was in Ahmednagar, he made Chin Qalich Khân responsible for the administration of the faujdârî of Fîrûznagar and Tâlikotâ. (*Ma'athir-i-'Alam-giri*, p. 513) Two months before his death Aurangzib summoned Chin Qalich Khân to court for some important consultation. Probably he knew that his end was approaching. He wanted him to espouse the cause of prince Kâm Bakhsh, the pet of his old age, for whom he had the strongest affection. He knew also that A'zam had won over to his side Asad Khân Jumdatu'l-Mulk, Zulfiqâr Khân and other Amîrs. On the 9 February, 1707, the Emperor gave leave to Kâm Bakhsh to go to Bijâpûr as Subedâr. Probably the Emperor had already consulted with Chin Qalich Khân about this matter, and explained to him the situation. For quite a long while, the Emperor had been endeavouring to bring the Tûrânî party of his court, which had Fîrûz Jang, Chin Qalich Khân and Muhammad Amîn

Khân as its leaders, to support the claims of Kâm Bakhsh as against the pretensions of A'zam who enjoyed the backing of the Persian party. At Aurangzîb's death, Chin Qalich Khân was still at Bijâpûr. After giving charge of the province to prince Kâm Bakhsh, he joined Muhammad Amîn Khân who was appointed in command of the prince's escort. The Tûrânîs deserted the prince at this crisis, though they had been purposely appointed for his protection, by Aurangzîb. (*Irâdat Khân*, p. 12).

Both Chin Qalich Khân and Muhammad Amîn Khân on grounds of prudence, joined A'zam Shâh in his march towards Aurangâbâd. A'zam Shâh, to conciliate Chin Qalich Khân whom he knew to be the most influential person in the Tûrânî party, conferred on him the title of Khân-i-Daurân, which the latter felt constrained to accept. He left A'zam Shâh, with his troops, in the neighbourhood of Aurangâbâd, on the pretext of his presence being required in the Deccan, and made himself master of the adjoining territory (*Khafî Khan*, vol. 2, p. 572). He too, like his father Fîrûz Jang, decided not to take any active part in the imminent wars of succession between the sons of Aurangzîb.

When Bahâdur Shâh finally emerged triumphant over his brother A'zam Shâh, he, on the advice of his Chief Minister Khân-i-Khânân Mun'im Khân, appointed Chin Qalich Khân Subedâr of the province of Oudh and faujdâr of Lucknow, and conferred on him the title of Khân-i-Daurân Bahâdur. Chin Qalich Khân took charge of the administration of the province of Oudh on the 9 December, 1707. Mîr Abdu'l-Jalîl, a savant of Oudh, composed a chronogram of this event in the words "Khân-i-Daurân Bahâdur" = 1119 A.H. (*Ma'athîr-ul-Umara*, vol. 3, p. 839). He remained there for a few months. When Bahâdur Shâh returned from the Deccan, after his successful campaign against Kâm Bakhsh, Chin Qalich Khân repaired to the court. He felt disgusted at the absolute power assumed by his rival Zulfikâr Khân in the affairs of the State, and resigned from the Subedârî of Oudh as well as the title bestowed by the new Emperor. He made up his mind to retire from the world altogether and to assume the garb of a Faqîr. But his talents were so great that surely this could not have been the end of his career. (*Ibid*, p. 839 : *Tarikh-i-Fathîyah*).

After the death of his father Fîrûz Jang, at the end of 1710, Chin Qalich Khân felt still more dejected. During

his retirement from the world he had been on intimate terms with prince 'Azîmu'sh Shân, son of Bahâdur Shân, who used to come to see him frequently and promised him that if ever he became King, he would make him his Chief Minister. It seems that the prince had marked him out as a man whose personality and influence could very well be used against Zulfiqâr Khân, whose overweening authority he regarded with intense dislike.

The period of history under review corresponds with the supremacy acquired by Zulfiqâr Khân in the counsels of the State. He owed his rise to the generosity of Mun'im Khân, who had obtained for him the pardon and favour of the Emperor. Mun'im Khân had taken pains to persuade his master that the old nobility were the pillars of the State and that the welfare of the Empire depended on those whose ancestors had held high office and acquired influence and respect with the people of the realm. It was at the request of Mun'im Khân that the dignified office of Vakil-i-Mutlaq (vicegerent) was entrusted to Asad Khân Jumdatu'l-Mulk and the important post of Mir Bakhshî to his son, Zulfiqâr Khân. Asad Khân was given the title of Nizâmu'l-Mulk Asaf-ud-Daulah and his son that of Samsânî-ud-Daulah Amîr-ul-Umârâ Bahâdur Nusrat Jang. To the latter was granted the administration of the provinces of the Deccan, and he was allowed to leave Daûd Khân Pannî as his deputy there, while he in person attended the court and discharged the duties of the office of Amîru'l-Umarâ. Zulfiqâr Khân Nusrat Jang, who had acquired absolute authority as Asad Khân, on account of extreme old age could not take any active part in the affairs of the State. His son acted as his deputy in the office of Vakil-i-Mutlaq.

After the death of Mun'im Khân at the end of 1710 there was difference of opinion in the court as to who should be appointed Chief Minister in his place. Prince 'Azîmu'sh Shân and Sa'dullâh Khân, the Dîwân, desired that Zulfiqâr Khân should be entrusted with this office, provided Na'im Khân and Khânazâd Khân, the two sons of Mun'im Khân, were appointed Bakhshî-ul-Mulk and Subedâr of the Deccan, respectively. But Zulfiqâr Khân was not willing to give up his position for the mere Chief Ministership. Prince 'Azîmu'sh-Shân, who always suspected the ambitious motives of Zulfiqâr Khân, raised objection, saying that he (Zulfiqâr Khân) desired to usurp all authority for himself by having his father (Asad Khân)

appointed to the vacant post of Chief Minister. (*Khafī Khan*, vol. 2, p. 678).

The Emperor, being a weak man, could not make up his mind to any final decision. First he wavered, then he appointed, as a temporary measure, Sa'dullāh Khān son of 'Ināyatullāh Khān, dīwān of Person and Khālsa, to act as deputy under the control of prince 'Azīmu'sh-Shān.

In spite of these checks to his authority, Zulfiqār Khān succeeded in giving practical shape to his ambitions. He had an eye on the Deccan and knew its resources as well as the possibility of its easily becoming independent. He had experience enough to understand the significance of the forces of disintegration that were vitally undermining the Imperial structure. That is why he wanted to retain his control of the province of the Deccan, where he had already gained reputation in the last decade of Aurang-zīb's reign, as the captor of Jinjī and Wakin Kherā. It was chiefly by his advice and suggestion that practically all the Tūrānī high officials, whom he regarded as his potential rivals, were removed from the Deccan and dispersed to different and distant parts of the country, so that they might not be in the way of his ambition. The Emperor being a negligent person in so far as the affairs of the State were concerned, Zulfiqār Khān had every chance of extending his power and influence. The former's complacence had reached the point that a certain wit found the chronogram of his accession to the throne in the words 'Shāh-i-Bēkhabar' (heedless monarch).

At the death of Bahādur Shāh early in 1712, Zulfiqār Khān assumed the role of a king-maker. A struggle for succession to the throne ensued between the sons of Bahādur Shāh. Zulfiqār Khān had a long-standing aversion to 'Azīmu'sh-Shān, whom he considered to be a man of independent judgment. He succeeded in persuading the other three brothers, Mu'izzu'd-dīn, Rafī'u'sh-Shān, and Jehān Shāh to present a common front against 'Azīmu'sh-Shān. He promised to effect an equal division of the Empire between them after the defeat of the latter. But their agreement did not last long, as is the fate of such agreements. After the defeat and death of 'Azīmu'sh-Shān, the soldiery of the latter flocked under the banner of Zulfiqār Khān who contrived so that the three brothers came to an open conflict over the division of the spoil. After the death of Jehān Shāh and Rafī'u'sh-Shān,

Mu'izzu'd-dîn, with the support of Zulfiqâr Khân, emerged triumphant and ascended the throne without fear of a competitor.

After his accession Mu'izzu'd-dîn styled himself Jehândâr Shâh and redistributed the high offices of State. Asad Khân Jumdatu'l-Mulk was confirmed in the dignity of *Vakil-i-Mutlaq*, Zulfiqâr Khân was made Chief Minister, besides holding the offices of Amîru'l-Umarâ and Viceroy of the Deccan. The new monarch was totally devoid of both courage and merit, which suited the ambition of Zulfiqâr Khân.

On the death of the Emperor Bahâdur Shâh at Lahore, his sons had appealed to influential people in the realm to take their sides. Chin Qalich Khân was summoned to Lahore by all the four princes. There was great confusion in Delhi at the news of the struggle between the princes, while the corpse of Bahâdur Shâh awaited burial till the issue of succession should be settled. On hearing these reports from Lahore, a body of three thousand soldiers, mostly Tûrânîs, went to Chin Qalich Khân in his retirement, and requested him to give them a lead at this crisis. In the meantime Ghulâm Muhammad, agent of 'Azîmu'sh-Shân, came to Chin Qalich Khân and delivered the message of his master, who wanted him to go to Lahore. Ghulâm Muhammad also asked him to carry a few loads of gunpowder along with him to the prince. He agreed to do so and had already made one march from Delhi when news came of the defeat and death of 'Azîmu'sh-Shân, Jehân Shâh and Raf'û'sh-Shân and the accession of Jehândâr Shâh.

But for the intercession of Asad Khân Jumdatu'l-Mulk and Abdu's-Samad Khân, brother-in-law of Muhammad Amin Khân and a right-hand man of Zulfiqâr Khân, the latter would have used this opportunity to crush Chin Qalich Khân for ever. But the importance of Chin Qalich Khân as the leader of the Tûrânîs was recognised and he was re-instated in his rank of 7,000 personal, 7,000 horse, with the title of Ghâzîu'd-dîn Khân Bahâdur Firûz Jang. (*Tarikh-i-Fathiyah*). In fact, Zulfiqâr Khân and his father Asad Khân Jumdatu'l-Mulk considered themselves so secure in their position of authority and influence that they had nothing to lose in conciliating a man like Chin Qalich Khân and bringing him out of his self-imposed retirement.

In the new regime, Zulfiqâr Khân continued to exercise his uncontrolled authority. He had become so powerful that even the Emperor carefully avoided opposing him. The nobility were disgusted at his tyranny and arrogance but found themselves unable to do anything against him. In the words of Irâdat Khân, "He, creator of Emperors, with such an image of humanity in his hands, became absolute and so proud that Pharaoh and Shaddâd could not have obtained admission to his threshold. He studied to ruin the most ancient families, inventing pretexts to put them to death, or disgrace them, that he might plunder their possessions. Unhappy was the person he suspected to be rich, as wealth and vexatious accusations always accompanied each other. He established many exactions and abuses such as no prior age had beheld, and by which alone he is now remembered. He took enormous emoluments and revenues for himself, while he doled out money to others with a hand so sparing, that even his own creatures felt severe poverty with empty titles, for he never allowed jagîrs to any. The minds of high and low, rich and poor, near or distant, friends or strangers, were turned against him, and wished his destruction. Hindus and Muslims agreed in praying to Heaven for the fall of his power, night and day." (p. 84).

Jehândâr Shâh was a drunken scamp, a mediocrity without any gift of imagination or courage. On reaching Delhi he gave himself up to dissipation and debauchery, indulging in the lowest pleasures imaginable. He moved in the company of minstrels and singers and left the administration of the State in the hands of Zulfiqâr Khân. As Khâfî Khân observes ; "there seemed to be a likelihood that Qâzîs would turn toppers and Muftîs become tipplers." (Vol. 2, p. 689). He gave the title of Imtiyâz Mahal Begum to his mistress Lâl Kunwar and gave her the privilege of riding close to him, on an elephant covered by an umbrella like that of the Emperor himself. Lâl Kunwar had been intimately connected with a herb-woman, called Zohra, who used to sell greens along the streets. This Zohra also obtained great influence in the counsels of the Emperor. She used to go out on an elephant to see her friend Lâl Kunwar in the palace, riding right up to the apartments of the ladies, a privilege given only to princesses of the royal blood. The people of her retinue had grown extremely haughty and used to insult inoffensive people whom they met in the streets. The nobility of the

city of Delhi felt indignant at all this, but nobody had the courage to bring the matter to the notice of the Emperor or that of Amîru'l-Umarâ Zulfîqâr Khân.

One day, as chance would have it, Chin Qalich Khân was passing along a street with a few men of his escort, when he met a large retinue of Zohra, behaving as if the whole street belonged to them. Chin Qalich Khân made a sign to his people to step aside and let them pass. Zohra's people made sarcastic remarks, as they usually did if they happened to come across the retinue of any noble. Chin Qalich Khân's men did not relish this and wanted to chastise them. Chin Qalich Khân tried his best to keep them under control in spite of the severe provocation, when Zohra herself, riding on an elephant, approached the place where Chin Qalich Khân's men were standing. She asked in an overbearing tone whose retinue it was? On being told, she put out her head from the curtain and called out, "Thou Chin Qalich Khân, surely thou must be the son of a blind man." On hearing this Chin Qalich Khân felt shocked by the indignity of her words. He made a sign to his attendants to punish the people of her retinue. The Tûrânî veterans, already indignant, fell upon Zohra's people and, after giving them a thorough beating, dispersed them. They compelled Zohra herself to quit the elephant and escape barefooted to the palace of the Emperor, which was not far off.

Then Chin Qalich Khân went straight to the house of Zulfîqâr Khân, whom he had not yet visited after his becoming the Chief Minister. The latter was surprised, and desired to know what brought him there, knowing as he did that it must have been something serious. Chin Qalich Khân told the whole story and made him realise that such undignified treatment of the old nobility by upstarts was simply intolerable. Zulfîqâr Khân, who himself looked with suspicion on the growing influence of Lâl Kunwar's family, applauded his behaviour and sent a message to the Emperor saying that he himself took part with Chin Qalich Khân in so far as the honour of the old nobility was concerned.* Lâl Kunwar and Zohra urged the Emperor to take strong measures against Chin Qalich Khân, but he dared not do anything on account of Zulfîqâr Khân's attitude in the matter (*Siyar-ul-Mut'akherin*, vol. 2, p. 386).

*Khushhâl Khân, brother of Lâl Kunwar, had obtained the rank of 5,000 Zât, 3,000 horse and was made a noble.

Zulfiqâr Khân had a deeper purpose to serve by his conciliatory attitude towards Chin Qalich Khân. He knew that Farrukhsiyâr, son of 'Azîmu'sh-Shân, who, after the death of Bahâdur Shâh, had proclaimed his father's accession to the throne, was going to march on Delhi. When he heard of his father's death he had caused coins to be struck and public prayers to be recited in his own name throughout Bengal. He found a ready supporter in Huseyn 'Alî Khân Bârha, governor of Bihâr and an old adherent of his father. Being an ambitious man himself, he looked askance at the absolute authority assumed by Zulfiqâr Khân at the Centre. He managed to borrow large sums of money from the rich bankers of Patna, for which he gave bonds signed by Farrukhsiyâr, payable after the latter had subdued his enemies and consolidated his rule. He also wrote to his brother 'Abdullâh Khân, governor of Allahâbâd, to seize the convoys carrying tribute from Bengal to the Capital.

By the support of the Syed brothers of Bârha, Farrukhsiyâr assembled a huge army at Allahâbâd. Before he reached it, Abdul Ghaffâr, deputy of Râji Muhammad Khân, the new governor of Allahâbâd appointed by the Emperor, had been defeated and his force dispersed. Before crossing the Ganges, on his way to Agra, Farrukhsiyâr conferred the post of Chief Minister on 'Abdullâh Khân and that of Amîru'l-Umarâ on Husayn 'Alî Khân. While Farrukhsiyâr was gathering strength Jehândâr Shâh's ministry, divided against itself, failed to produce a concerted plan of action against him. In the end it was decided to dispatch prince A'izzu'd-dîn, at the head of an army of fifty thousand horse. Khwâja Ahsan Khân, son-in-law of Kokaltâsh Khân, to whom the title of Khan-i-Daurân was given, accompanied the prince. Zulfiqâr Khân disapproved of this arrangement. On account of his rivalry with Kokaltâsh Khân, whose increasing influence he suspected, he wanted Chin Qalich Khân to go along with the prince. The King accepted his proposal and approved of Chin Qalich Khân's going with the prince. The latter, being a clever man, understood the game. He purposely delayed his departure on account of lack of transport necessities (*Khafi Khan*, vol. 2, p. 698).

After a few days, Chin Qalich Khân started his march from Delhi, following the army of the prince. He was advanced one lakh of rupees at Delhi and the sum of two

lakhs was to be had from the treasury at Agra, for the expenses of his Tûrânî Contingents. (*Tarikh-i-Fathiyah*).

When Chin Qalich Khân arrived at Agra, the prince had already started his march in the direction of Etawah and from thence to Khajwâ. Chin Qalich Khân undertook to provide for the safety of the city of Agra instead of advancing further. In fact, he desired the prince not to advance further. But the prince stopped at Khajwâ and entrenched himself there, although he outnumbered the forces of Farrukhsiyâr and possessed artillery vastly superior to that of his enemy. Even here the nobles and chief officers of Jehândâr Shâh, could not decide on a concerted plan of action.

Muhammad Khân Bangash, an Afghân adventurer at the head of 5,000 horse, sent his deputy in A'izzu'd-dîn's camp to offer his services but, feeling disgusted at the disorder prevailing in the camp in consequence of the imbecility of the prince and lack of co-operation among his high officers, he thought it wiser not to run the risk of joining him. Abdullâh Khân Bârha, on the contrary welcomed him into the service of Farrukhsiyâr and promised him rewards in case of victory.

The two camps being not far from each other, Syed Abdullâh Khân Bârha, who commanded the advanced guard of Farrukhsiyâr, opened fire. Khân-i-Daurân, being a stranger to warfare, felt alarmed and perplexed. He thought it advisable to save his own life and that of the prince, by taking to flight about midnight in a lady's covered palanquin. Next morning, the officers and soldiers, finding that their chiefs had fled, lost heart and ran away, leaving their tents and munitions to the plunderers. Many went over to the camp of Farrukhsiyâr and entered his service.

When prince A'izzu'd-dîn and Khân-i-Daurân came to Agra, Chin Qalich Khân advised them to re-organise their forces which were returning precipitately towards Agra, and not to retreat further. (*Khafi Khan*, vol. 2, p. 700). According to *Siyaru'l-Mut'akherin*, Chin Qalich Khân made use of force to stop the prince and Khân-i-Daurân, who, laying aside all thought of offering any further resistance, wanted to fly to Delhi. Chin Qalich Khân obliged both of them to wait in his camp till the arrival of the Emperor's orders. (Vol. 2, p. 391).

On receiving news of the defeat of the prince's army, Jehândâr Shâh, in accordance with the advice of Zulfiqâr

Khân, Chief Minister and Kokaltâsh Khân, the first Bakhshî, started his march towards Agra, at the head of seventy thousand horse, besides a large force of infantry and artillery, including many big guns.

The two armies met at Samugarh, in the neighbourhood of Agra. A bloody battle was fought. The divided counsels in Jehândâr's camp threw every plan into confusion. Zulfiqâr Khân and Kokaltâsh Khân had such a deep aversion for each other that it was impossible for them to co-operate in any thing. Thus unity of command was conspicuously absent in Jehândâr's camp. Meanwhile, Syed Abdullâh Khân had started secret negotiations with Chin Qalich Khân and Muhammad Amîn Khân who, thinking Jehândâr's cause to be hopeless, agreed to stand aloof and to prevent their Tûrâni troops from taking any active part in the contest. (*Khafi Khan*, vol. 2, p. 700).

The fierce attacks of the Bârha Syeds and Muhammad Khân Bangash broke the lines of Jehândâr Shâh's forces and threw them into complete confusion. The engagement was finally won by Farrukhsiyâr. Kokaltâsh Khân was killed. The Emperor Jehândâr Shâh, seeing no hope for his cause, thought of providing for his own safety by flight. He mounted the elephant of his mistress, Lâl Kunwar, and in the dusk of evening started for Agra, where he shaved off his beard and changed his dress in order not to be recognised, and then took the road to Delhi. Zulfiqâr Khân fought bravely but, seeing no hope of success, left the field. The troops, left without leaders either joined Farrukhsiyâr or fled to save their lives. The tents and baggage of Jehândâr's army were plundered by the enemy.

Jehândâr Shâh reached Delhi a short time before Zulfiqâr Khân. He went to Asad Khân Jumdatu'l-Mulk for counsel and assistance. Asad Khân, as an experienced man, knew that Jehândâr Shâh had not the pluck to raise a fresh force and offer further resistance to Farrukhsiyâr and that it was impossible to raise money for the expenses of a fresh campaign. He put Jehândâr Shâh into confinement in order to gain favour with Farrukhsiyâr. But his son, Zulfiqâr Khân, disapproved of this policy of quiescence. He realised the danger of offering submission to Farrukhsiyâr, whose father's ('Azîmu'sh-Shân's) blood was still crying for vengeance. He thought of raising an army by the help of his deputy, Dâ'ûd Khân who had established cordial relations with the Mahrâtta Chiefs in the Deccan.

At last the father prevailed upon his son to give up futile schemes of continuing resistance to Farrukhsiyâr, and succeeded in making him realise the flimsiness of his resources. After that he wrote a petition to Farrukhsiyâr, recounting his services, and implying that he should be considered as one of his most faithful servants. He also wrote to him saying that he was waiting for his (Farrukhsiyâr's) orders regarding Jehândâr Shâh's fate.

When Farrukhsiyâr arrived in Delhi he ordered Asad Khân and Zulfiqâr Khân to be brought to his presence. The former was kindly treated and a robe of honour was accorded to him. He was allowed to go back to his house.* Zulfiqâr Khân was detained. He was asked several questions regarding the blood of 'Azîmu'sh-Shân and Abdul-Karîm, Farrukhsiyâr's elder brother, and then he was strangled. His body was tied to that of Jehândâr Shâh, who had been put to death in prison, and exhibited in the city.

After peace and quiet had been re-established in Delhi, new appointments were made. Syed Abdullâh Khân was appointed Chief Minister and given the titles of Qutbu'l-Mulk, Yamînu'd-Daulah, Zafar Jang, Yâr-i-wafâdâr. Husayn 'Alî Khân was made First Bakhshî with the titles of 'Umdu'tu'l-Mulk, Amîru'l-Umarâ Bahâdur, Fîrûz Jang, Sipâh-Sâlâr. Muhammad Amîn Khân was created 'Itimâdu'd-Daulah, Nusrat Jang and was appointed Second Bakhshî. Chîn Qalich Khân obtained the title of Nizâmu'l-Mulk Bahâdur, Fâth Jang and was appointed viceroy of the six Deccan provinces. Dâ'ûd Khân Pannî, the deputy of Zulfiqâr Khân, was removed from the Deccan and appointed deputy-governor of Gujerât. Shakru'llâh Khân was appointed deputy to Nizâmu'l-Mulk in the Deccan.

* All the property of Asad Khân and Zulfiqâr Khân was confiscated. Asad Khân was confined for life in Khân-i-Jehân's palace, Chîn Qalich Khân (Nizâmu'l-Mulk), before he left for the Deccan, went to see him one day and had great pity on his condition. He went to Qutbu'l-Mulk, the Chief Minister, and told him that any service done to the old man would be a means of securing a good name in this world. On Nizâmu'l-Mulk's suggestion, the Chief Minister used to send to Asad Khân all the necessaries of life from his own house till his death on the 15th June, 1716, at the age of 88 years. Amîru'l-Umarâ also used to take royal presents to him in consideration of his past dignity and service to the State.

YUSUF HUSAIN.

(To be continued.)

*"THE ROAD TO MEDINA"**

1. ALOOF and grim the mountains stand
Where not a plant will grow,
Where silent heaves a sea of sand
Beneath the Sun's fierce glow.
2. A pilgrim bends, with labouring breath,
O'er scorching sand and stones
Marked by that monument of death—
A camel's bleaching bones.
3. He gazes on the mountain heights
And on the desert bare,
If life presents no soft delights,
Death has no terrors there.
4. How leisurely that Caravan
Of camels passes by !
How, lurching o'er the gravelly span,
The creaking motors fly !
5. He stands at gaze with longing eyes
Uplifts an eager hand
And as the last one mocking flies
He sinks upon the sand.
6. Then creeps to some acacia-tree
With sparse but friendly shade,
And 'neath that thorny canopy
His listless form is laid.
7. To his own land his fancy flies,
To roads and roadside trees
Where, close at hand, the well supplies
Its bounty, and the breeze

* This poem is intended to suggest the need of constructing a road to Medina.

8. Through rustling leaves will softly come
To coll his brow to rest,
And birds will chirp, and insects hum
To soothe his lonely breast.
9. But here . . . his heart well understands
What can all fears defy :
When life and death are joining hands
'Tis one—to live or die !
10. On, on ! With striving soul untired,
With tottering steps, and slow ;
Fainting, but with faith's frenzy fired,
Still onward he must go.
11. Onward, beyond those hills . . . that plain,
Fair as yon vision that flies—*
(Ah, would he could those heights but gain !)
The chosen city lies.
12. Chosen of him whose presence shot
Through darkness living light,
Of him who unto mankind brought
The message of its might.
13. Faith gives him strength and quickens love,
And hope now quells despair.
The Master beckons from above—,
So onward he must fare.
14. New life is in his limbs, he treads
With firmer step the sand
That still immeasurably spreads
Betwixt him and the land
15. He fain would reach . . . Oh, for that hour
When, near and yet more near,
Those symbols of mysterious power,
Medina's hills appear !
16. But oh ! the bitter, bitter strife,
The endless, endless way.
'Twixt life and death ; 'twixt death and life,
Unending seems the day.

* Mirage.

17. Yet onward, onward, onward still
He drags his weary weight,
A martyr of unbending will,
A votary of fate.
18. At last, at last he gains the height
From whence his eye can roam
To scenes where, conscious of its might,
Islam first found a home.
19. There, cradled in a happy vale,
Medina's turrets lie. . . .
He gasps, as though his heart would fail—
The green dome strikes his eye !
20. That trembling, rapturous glance—the first.
So stirs his passions deep,
Had he a hundred hearts, they'd burst ;
A hundred eyes—they'd weep !
21. Man knows not why so throbs the heart
And bids the eyes o'erflow.
No power that secret will impart,
And none shall ever know.
22. He gazes on the rocky plain,
That overlooks the town.
Its verge his weary feet must gain
Before the Sun goes down.
23. " Ah ! there, where yon white turrets shine ;
At eventide to rest !
And at our master's holy shrine
To end my life-long quest ! "
24. He stands where light from heaven is shed,
His Maker to adore,
He finds his quest—he bows his head. . . .
And sinks to rise no more.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

A TRANSLATION OF ASH-SHAMAIL OF TIRMIZI

In exposition of the Prophet's Sayings concerning poetry

'A'isha says that she was asked if the Prophet used to quote verse (to bring a point home). She replied that he quoted the verses of Ibn Rawâha¹ and sometimes the lines of other poets as occasionally he recited the following (of Tarafa²):—

“That person will bring news to you for whom you have no provision.”

Abû Hureyrah relates that in the opinion of the Prophet the most truthful line of all the verses which the poets had sung is the following, of Labid³:—

“Beware! Everything besides God is false.”

Jandab⁴ bin Sufyân al-Bajalî says that a stone struck the finger of the Prophet (at the battle of Uhud),⁵ causing

(1) Ibn Rawâha accepted Islâm in the first year of Hijrah. His name was 'Abdullâh bin Rawâha al-Ansârî. Died A.H. 8—A.D. 629. *Ala al-Qari*, vol. II., p. 41.

(2) Tarafa bin al-'Abd was a member of the great tribe of Bakr. On the conclusion of peace between Bakr and Taghlib, the poet turned his eyes in the direction of Hira, where 'Amr bin Hind had lately succeeded to the throne (A.D. 554). He was well received by the king who attached him to the service of the heir-apparent. Finally owing to some misconduct, he was thrown into prison and executed at Bahreyn by order of the king. This line is a part of the poem (*Mu'allagah*) which has won for him universal admiration. Nicholson—*Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 107.

(3) Labid bin Rabi'a died A.H. 41—A.D. 661. He is the youngest of the “Seven poets.” He was a true Bedouin and another poem of his (*Mu'allagah*) has charmingly fresh descriptions of desert life and scenery. On accepting Islâm he abjured poetry. Nicholson, p. 119. The next line means “And every blessing will surely perish.”

(4) Jandab bin Sufyân was a companion of the Prophet. Died after A.H. 60—A.D. 679. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 70.

(5) Uhud is a hill about three miles from Madinah. It is celebrated for the battle fought there in A.H. 3—A.D. 624.

it to be stained with blood. Then the Prophet said : "Thou art nothing but a finger smeared with blood and what has befallen thee is only in the work of God."¹

Al-Barâ' bin 'Azib says that a person said to him, "O! Abû 'Umâra (which was a nickname of Barâ') you (all) ran away from the Prophet (in the battle of Huneyn)."² He replied, "No, I swear by God, we did not flee, neither did the Prophet, but only those who were hasty fled away." The tribe of *Hawazin* encountered the Muslims with arrows and the Prophet was on his mule³ and Abû Sufyân⁴ bin Hârith bin 'Abdul Muttalib was holding its reins. The Prophet said, "I am the Prophet, there is no doubt about it; I am the son of 'Abdul Muttalib." Anas says that the Prophet entered Mecca in the year of '*Umrât al-Qada*'. Ibn Rawâha was walking

(1) There is difference of opinion about the authorship of these lines. Some say the author is al-Walid bin al-Walid bin al-Mughira. He was an associate of Abû Nasir regarding the truce of Hudeybiyah after the death of the latter. Walid came back to Madinah and stumbled against a piece of stone, cut his fingers and recited these lines. Some say that the author of these lines is Ibn Rawâha who recited them after his fingers had been wounded. *Al-Munawi*, vol. II., p. 44.

(2) Huneyn is the name of a valley about three miles to the north-east of Mecca where in the 8th year of the Hijra a battle took place between the Prophet and the tribe of the Hawazin. The latter were defeated.

(3) It was a white she-mule called "Fizza" which Farwa bin Amr al-Judhâmi sent him as a present. Some say it was an ash-coloured she-mule which Muqawqis, the King of Egypt, sent him. It was called Dul-dul. The Prophet presented it to 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib and it died in the reign of Mu'âwiya (A.H. 41-60—A.D. 661-680). *Alî al-Qari*, vol. II., p. 47 and *Madarij* p. 1040. Dul-dul probably means porcupine (*Tajw'l-Urus*, vol. VII, p. 324). As this name is not a very appropriate one for a she-mule, it was probably given with reference to its speed.

(4) Abû Sufyân bin Hârith died A.H. 20—A.D. 640. *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 61.

(5) '*Umrât al-Qada*'—*Umrah* is a lesser pilgrimage, or visit, to the sacred mosque at Mecca, with the ceremonies of circumambulating the Ka'bah and running between Al-Marwa and as-Safâ, but omitting the sacrifices, etc. It is a meritorious act, but it has not the merit of the Hajj (pilgrimage). It can be performed at any times except on the 8th 9th and 10th of the month of Zul-Hijja (month of pilgrimage). *Al-Qada* means making up for an omission in religious duties. The Prophet made up his mind to perform 'Umrah in A.H. 6—A.D. 627, but the infidels of Mecca stopped him at Hudeybiyah and a truce was made between the Prophet and the inhabitants of Mecca, which is known as the *Truce of Hudeybiyah*. By this truce the Prophet agreed not to enter Mecca that year, and defer his visit until the next. Accordingly the Prophet went to Mecca in A.H. 7—A.D. 628 to make up for omission of the 'Umrah.

before the Prophet and saying, "Leave the path of the Prophet, O sons of unbelievers! I will strike you to-day after the Prophet gets down! I will give you such a beating that your skulls will be thrown off their positions! And it will make a friend forget a friend." 'Umar said, "O Ibn Rawâha, you are reciting poetry before the Prophet and in the Haram (the sacred precincts of Mecca)." Then the Prophet said, "Leave him, O 'Umar, because reciting poetry before the unbelievers is verily more effective than a shower of arrows." Jâbir bin Samura says that he was in the company of the Prophet on more than a hundred occasions and his companions used to recite poems and mention many things about the Days of Ignorance. The Prophet used to remain silent and, sometimes, smiled with them. Abû Hureyra narrates that the Prophet said that the best words which the Arab poets had chanted were the lines of Labîd, beginning:—

"Beware! Everything except God is perishable."

'Amr bin Sharîd¹ narrates on the authority of his father² that he (the father) was sitting behind the Prophet on the animal and recited to him one hundred lines of poetry by Umeyya bin Abî's-Salt.³ Having recited one verse the Prophet asked for another till he had recited a hundred verses. Then the Prophet said that Umeyya was about to become a Muslim. 'A'isha says that the Prophet kept a pulpit in the mosque for Hassân bin Thâbit⁴ who stood there to recite lines glorifying⁵ the Prophet or refuting the allegations made by the unbelievers against him (the Prophet). The Prophet used to say that God sent Gabriel to help Hassân in defending him (the Prophet) and refuting charges brought against him.

(1) 'Amr bin Sharîd died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Taqribat-Tahdhib*, p. 285.

(2) Sharîd was a companion of the Prophet. Some said his name was 'Abdul Malik as-Saqafi and some said Mâlik. Al-Bukhârî narrated Hadith on his authority. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib* p. 169 and *al-Munavi*, vol. I., p. 54.

(3) Umeyya bin Abî's-Salt read the Holy Scriptures and was inclined to disbelieve in idols and seek the true religion. But when the Prophet appeared he envied him. His verses are chiefly on religious topics. See *Aghani*, vol. III, p. 187 and *Nicholson*, p. 187.

(4) Hassân died A.H. 54—A.D. 673. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib*, p. 85.

(5) (a). The narrator is doubtful whether the word used by 'A'isha was "glorify" or "defend."

On the Prophet's telling stories at night

'A'isha says that the Prophet once told a story to his wives. Then one of them remarked that this saying was like that of Khurâfa. Then he asked them whether they knew who Khurâfa was. He belonged to the tribe of 'Uzra (a tribe well-known in Yaman). He was imprisoned by the Jinn in pre-Islamic days and he remained with them for a long time. Then they returned him to the world. He used to relate to the people the wonderful things he had seen among the Jinn. Then the people used to say (of any wonderful thing) that it was of Khurâfa's talk.

The conversation about Umm Zar

'A'isha says that once eleven women, sitting together, promised and pledged themselves that they would not conceal anything concerning their husbands. The first said that her husband was the flesh of a lean camel,¹ which is on the top of a mountain, the path of which is not level and cannot be reached. The flesh does not contain fat and is not fit to be chosen (by the people). Another said that she could not give any information regarding her husband. She² was afraid there would be no end of his accounts if she should begin them. If she were to speak of him she would have to expose his internal and external defects.³ The third woman said that her husband was extremely tall⁴ in stature. If she were to say anything she would be divorced and if she were to remain silent she would not be much better off. The fourth said that her husband was like the night of Tahâmah

(1) The flesh of this camel is worse than other flesh which is consumed. Besides this it is so lean that no-one cares to take it home, and again it is placed in such an inaccessible spot that it could not be reached. In this allegory it is pointed out that no lady is profited by him and he is miserly, and also uncivil.

(2) The text of this passage is *إن لا آذره أني أخاف*. Some commentators consider *لا آذره* *سندلا* superfluous and take the antecedent of *ha* in *لا آذره* for the word *زوج* (husband). The meaning of this would be "She was afraid lest that would make him abandon her," i.e., she was afraid if her husband heard those things he would divorce her and she was not prepared to leave him, as she had young children and her husband was their only source of maintenance. *Al-h al-Qari*, vol. II, p. 61 and *Al-Munawi*, vol. II, p. 61.

(3) The purport is this that her husband is full of defects and it is not possible to enumerate them.

(4) It means that he was a fool and also oppressive and furious.

(Mecca and its environs) which is neither very hot nor very cold. She had no fears of trouble¹ from him. The fifth said that when her husband came home he was like the leopard and when he went out he became a lion. He did not ask about the things he gave.² The sixth woman said that when her husband ate he would eat too much and when he drank he would drink hard. If he lay down, he would cover himself alone and he would not put his hand to her covering to know her troubles.³ The seventh said that either her husband was impotent or a fool in the darkness of ignorance. He was afflicted with all sorts of diseases. (In spite of these) he would break (his wife's) head or limb or both. The eighth woman said that her husband's touch was like that of a hare (i.e., his body was soft like that of a hare) and he smelt like zarnab (a sweet smelling⁴ plant). The ninth woman said that her husband had great pillars (lofty palaces), abundant ashes (hospitality) and had a long sword-belt (i.e., was tall); and his home was as the meeting-place of the whole tribe.⁵ The tenth woman said that her husband's name was Mâlik (master) and no master was better than he. He had camels in large numbers who were made to sit near the house and were seldom sent to graze in the fields. When they (the camels) heard the sound of music they were sure that they would be killed.⁶ The eleventh woman said, "I had a husband whose name was Abû Zar'. I have no words to express my praise for him. He was such that he filled my ears with ornaments and my arms with fat (i.e., she grew fat with eating). He pleased me.

(1) It means that her husband was very good. He was like the night of Mecca, temperate. There was no evil in him and in his society there was no pain or fear.

(2) The meaning is that when he came home he slept and when he went out he was brave like a lion in fighting, and he did not ask an account of anything given by him, i. e., he was generous and brave.

(3) The meaning is that when he was at home he slept alone and did not ask about household affairs and children. Neither did he enquire about the condition of his wife.

(4) She praises her husband, meaning that he was a man of mild temper, and physical and spiritual pleasure could be derived from him.

(5) The meaning is that his house was very lofty and food was cooked in abundance. The long sword-belt means that he was tall and people gathered at his house as he was hospitable.

(6) Because it was his habit to make merry, play music and kill camels for the entertainment of his guests when they visited him.

I became so conceited that I considered myself beautiful. He found me with the keepers of a small herd of goats at a time when we were passing our days with great hardship and he brought me up among those people where there was the sound of horses and camels and where there was threshing of flour and corn. I talked with him, and bad words were never spoken to me. I slept (the sleep of comfort) and rose in the morning and drank my fill. The mother of Abû Zar' possessed big vessels and her house was large (for the entertainment of guests). The son of Abû Zar' had his bed¹ like the sheath of a sword and the foreleg of a kid satisfied him; the daughter of Abû Zar' was obedient to her father and mother and she was compact in her clothes² (which was a source of anger for another wife of her husband owing to her beauty). The slave-girl of Abû Zar' did not make our talk known to the public nor take away our food. She did not fill our rooms with dirt. Umm Zar' went on to say that (her husband) Abû Zar' went out at a time when butter was being prepared from milk. Then he met a woman who had two sons like two leopards and both were playing in her lap with the two pomegranates (i.e., her breasts). Then he divorced me and married her. After that Umm Zar' married a person who was a leader and a horseman and used to have spears of Khat (a place noted for spears). He used to bring many quadrupeds (i.e., he had many camels, goats, etc.), which used to return home in the evening and he gave her a pair of each kind of animal and said to her, "Eat (freely) and also feed your relatives." "If I collected all the things which the second husband gave me," concluded Umm Zar' in her narration to the other ten women, "it would not come up to the smallest utensil of Abû Zar'." Then 'A'isha said that the Prophet told her that he was for her (in loving and giving comfort) as Abû Zar' was for Umm Zar'.³

(1) Some commentators explain the passage of the text مضجعه كسلى شطبة in a different way, as "his sleeping was an unsheathed sword or the green branch of a palm tree" (i.e., he was of fair body and slim waist). *Ali al-Qari*, vol. II, p. 69.

(2) It means that she was well-developed in her body and was plump. In Arabia it is beauty for a man to be thin and for a woman to be well-developed and fat.

(3) In another Tradition it is written that the Prophet also said, "But I shall not leave you or divorce you." 'A'isha replied that the Prophet treated her with much more kindness, comfort and love than Abû Zar' treated Umm Zar'.

On the Sleep of the Prophet

Al-Barâ' bin 'Azib narrates that when the Prophet lay down on his bed he used to put his right palm below his right cheek and used to say "O God! save me from the punishment on the day when Thou wilt raise Thy creatures." Hudheyfa¹ says that when the Prophet went to bed he said: "O God! in Thy name I die (sleep) and in Thy name I revive (get up after sleep)"; and when he awoke he said: "All praise to God who hath given me life after death." 'A'isha says that when the Prophet went to bed every night he would join his palms and blow upon them and read the following Sûrahs of the Qu'rân, namely:—¹ *Qul huwa'llahu Ahad, Qul A'udhu bi Rabbi'l-Falaq and Qul A'udhu bi Rabbi'n-Nas*. And then he would pass his hands over his body as far as he could. He would begin by rubbing his head and face and the front portion of his body. He used to do this three times. Ibn 'Abbâs narrates that the Prophet slept until he began to snore and when he slept he snored. Then Bilâl² would come to him and inform him of the time for prayers. He would stand

(1) Hudheyfa bin al-Yamân died A.H. 36, A.D. 656. *Taqrib*, p. 82.

(2) These are the last three chapters of the Qu'rân and their translation is as follows!—

Surah CXII

Say! He is Allah, the One:
Allah, the eternally Besought of all:
He begetteth not nor was begotten.
And there is none comparable unto Him.

Surah CXIII

Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of the Daybreak
From the evil of that which He created;
From the evil of the darkness when it is intense,
And from the evil of malignant witchcraft,
And from the evil of the envier when he envieth.

Surah CXIV

Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of mankind,
The King of mankind,
The God of mankind,
From the evil of the sneaking whisperer,
Who whispereth in the hearts of mankind.
Of the jinn and of mankind.

Marmaduke Pickthall's *The Glorious Qur'an*, pp. 676-78.

up and offer prayers without performing ablutions.¹ There is a story attached to this Tradition.² Anas bin Mâlik narrates that when the Prophet went to bed he used to say, "All praise is due to God who has fed me and made me drink, and fulfilled my work and has given me a place (i. e., of rest) when there are many people whose work is not done and who get no place (of rest)." Abû Qatâda says that the Prophet (when on a journey) used to alight during the latter part of the night. He used to lie down on his right side and, when he alighted a little before dawn, he would raise his right hand and put his head on his palm (so that he might not fall asleep in the morning).

On the devotions of the Prophet

Al-Mughîra bin Shu'ba says that the Prophet offered prayers so much that his feet were swollen (owing to standing for a long time). He was asked, "Why do you put yourself to so much trouble as verily God has forgiven all your past and future sins?" He replied "Shall I not be a grateful slave?" Al-Aswad bin Yazîd³ narrates that he asked 'A'isha about the prayers of the Prophet during the night. She replied that the Prophet used to sleep in the beginning of the night, then he would rise up and offer *Witr*⁴ prayers during the latter part of the night. Then he would go to bed and, if there was necessity, would go near his wife. When he heard the call to prayer he would stand up and, if he was in need of taking a bath, he would draw water himself; otherwise, he would make ablutions and go out for prayers. Ibn 'Abbâs says that, he passed the night with his aunt Umm Maimûnah. Then he laid himself down on the width of the bed and the Prophet laid himself down on the length of the bed and the Prophet slept till the middle of the night, a little more or a little less, and then the Prophet awoke and began

(1) When a man falls asleep he has to make ablutions before prayers, but in the case of the Prophet it was allowable because his heart remained awake at all times.

(2) The story is described in the next chapter under the fifth Tradition. It was connected with the sleep of Ibn 'Abbas in the house of his aunt.

(3) Al-Aswad bin Yazîd died A.H. 74—A.D. 698 or A.H. 75—A.D. 694. *Tagrib at-Tahdhib*, p. 39.

(4) *Witr* is a prayer which is said after the last prayer at night and before the dawn of the day.

to rub his eyes to drive away his sleep. Then he read the last ten verses of the Chapter "Al 'Imrân,"¹ from the Qur'ân, and stood up to the hanging water-bag to perform ablutions in the best manner. Then he stood up to offer prayers. 'Abdullâh bin 'Abbâs says that he stood up by the side of the Prophet when he (the Prophet) placed his right hand on his head, caught him by the right ear and squeezed it. Then he performed two *rak'ahs* (prayers), again two *rak'ahs*, again two *rak'ahs*, again two *rak'ahs* and again two *rak'ahs*. Ma'n² says six times (i.e., the Prophet offered twelve *rak'ahs* with six *salams*. Then he offered *Witr* prayers. Then he laid himself down. Then the Mu'azzin came to him and he stood up and offered two short *rak'ahs*. Then he came out and offered the morning prayers. Ibn 'Abbâs says that the Prophet used to perform thirteen *rak'ahs* at night. 'A'isha narrates that when the Prophet did not say his *Tahajjud*³ prayers at night, sleep preventing him from doing so or his eyes overcoming him (i.e. he slept), he used to say twelve *rak'ahs* of prayers during the day (i.e., during the hours between sunrise and noon). Abû Hureyrah heard from the Prophet: "Whoever among you awakes at night should begin his prayers with two short *rak'ahs*." Zeyd bin Khâlid al-Juhânî⁴ narrates that he said to himself that he would see the Prophet offering prayers. So he placed his head on the threshold of the house or the tent (i.e., he slept placing his hand on the threshold with the object of seeing the Prophet when he would pray at night). Then the Prophet offered prayers with two short *rak'ahs*, then with two very long *rak'ahs*, then with two *rak'ahs* which were shorter than the former ones. Again with two *rak'ahs* which were shorter than the previous ones and again with two *rak'ahs* which were shorter than the previous ones. Then he offered *Witr* prayer. Now these amount to thirteen *rak'ahs*. Abû Salma bin 'Abdur Rahman⁵ asked 'A'isha

(1) Third Chapter of the Qur'ân.

(2) Ma'n bin 'Isa died A.H. 198 A.D. 813. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 360.

(3) *Tahajjud* prayer is performed in the latter part of the night and from eight to twelve *rak'ahs* (prayers) are offered. These prayers are *Sunnah* (i.e., established according to the custom of the Prophet, but they are voluntary acts of devotion).

(4) Zeyd bin Khâlid died A.H. 68—A.D. 687 or A.H. 70—A.D. 689. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 134 and *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 142.

(5) Abu Salma bin 'Abdu'r Rahmân died A.H. 94 A.D. 712. His name was either Abdullah or Ismâ'il.

how the Prophet offered prayers during the *Ramadan*. She replied that he did not exceed eleven *rak'ahs* of the 'Ishâ (night prayer) during *Ramadan* or any other period. He offered four *rak'ahs* and she said, "Do not ask about the beauty and length of those four *rak'ahs*." Then he offered four *rak'ahs*, the beauty and length of which are simply indescribable. Then again he offered three *rak'ahs*. 'A'isha said that she asked the Prophet whether he slept before offering *Witr* prayer. He replied, "O 'A'isha! verily my eyes sleep and not my soul." 'A'isha narrates that the Prophet used to offer eleven *rak'ahs* at night. Among them he offered one *rak'ah* of *Witr*. When he had finished prayers he laid himself down on his right side. 'A'isha says that the Prophet used to offer (sometimes) nine *rak'ahs* at night.

Hudheyfa bin al-Yamân narrates that he offered prayers at night with the Prophet. And when the Prophet began prayers he said: "God is great. He is Lord of the worlds and He is powerful and He is Lord of greatness and eminence," and then he read the *Sûrah al-Baqarah* (Chapter II of the *Qur'ân*) then he performed *ruku'* (i.e., bowed down) quite as long as he had been standing and said, *Subhana Rabbi al-'Azim*, then he raised his head and his standing was like the bowing (i.e., equal in point of time) and he was saying, *li Rabbi al-Hamd*; then he prostrated himself and his prostration was nearly like his standing (in point of time) and he said *Subhana Rabbi al-'Ala*; then he raised his head from prostration and his sitting between the prostrations was nearly equal to his prostration and he was saying, *Rabbi'ghfir li* (O Lord! forgive me;) then he read *Surâhs Al-Baqarah*, and *Al-'Imran* (Chapters II and III of the *Qur'ân*) and *Sûrah An-Nisa* (Chapter IV) and *Sûrah Al-Ma'idah* (Chapter V) or *Sûrah Al-An'am* (Chapter VI). The narrator is doubtful whether the Prophet read *Sûrah Al-Ma'idah* or *Sûrah Al-An'am*. 'A'isha said that the Prophet offered prayers with only one verse of the *Qur'ân* on a certain night.*

* 'A'isha at one time says that he offered nine *rak'ahs*. The Prophet offered prayers differently at different times so that it might be easy for his followers to offer prayers accordingly. The verse of the *Qur'ân* is *In tu'azzibhum fa innahum Ibaduka wa in taghfir lahum fa innaka anta'l-'Azizu'l-Hakim*. [If Thou punish them, lo! they are Thy slaves, and if Thou forgive them (lo! they are Thy slaves). Lo! Thou, only Thou, art the Mighty, the Wise.] *Pickthall's Translation* Chapter V, verse 118.

'Abdullâh bin Mas'ûd said that he offered prayers with the Prophet one night and the latter went on with his prayers, standing, till he ('Abdullâh) intended doing some mischief. Then 'Abdullâh was asked what he intended to do. He replied that he intended to sit down and leave the Prophet (saying prayers standing). 'A'isha says that the Prophet sometimes offered prayers sitting. He used (according to 'A'isha) to read the Qur'ân sitting and, when some thirty or forty verses remained to be recited, he used to stand up and complete the rest standing. Then he would bend his body (rukû') and then prostrate himself and repeat the process in the next *rak'ah*. 'Abdullâh¹ bin Shaqîq says that he asked 'A'isha regarding the *nafal* (a supererogatory prayer) of the Prophet. She replied that the Prophet used to say prayers some nights standing for a long time and some nights he said his prayers sitting down for a long time; when the Prophet said his prayers standing, he bowed his body and prostrated himself as soon as he had finished standing, and when he offered prayers sitting he bent his body and prostrated himself after sitting.²

Hafsa,³ the wife of the Prophet, says that the Prophet used to say his *nafal* (voluntary) prayers sitting and he read the chapters distinctly pronouncing every letter in its proper place so that the individual chapter appeared even longer than a chapter that was actually longer. 'A'isha narrates that the Prophet offered most of his *nafal* (voluntary) prayers sitting during the last days of his life. Ibn 'Umar narrates that he offered two *rak'ahs* with the Prophet before Zuhr (noonday) prayer and also two *rak'ahs* after Zuhr and two *rak'ahs* after Maghrib (sunset) prayer in the house of the Prophet and two *rak'ahs* after 'Ishâ (night) prayer in the house of the Prophet. Hafsa narrates that the Prophet used to offer two *rak'ahs* when the morning dawned and the Mu'azzin called to prayers. Nâfi⁴ says he thought the two *rak'ahs* were short. Ibn 'Umar says that he committed to memory eight *rak'ahs*

(1) 'Abdullah bin Shaqîq died A.H. 108, A.D. 726. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 202.

(2) When the Prophet offered prayers standing he bent his body after standing and when he offered prayers sitting he bent his body after the sitting posture and did not stand beforehand.

(3) Hafsa bint 'Umar bin al-Khattâb died A.H. 45—A.D. 665. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 471.

(4) Nâfi' bin 'Abdullâh al-Madanî, a liberated slave of Ibn 'Umar, died A.H. 117 A.D. 735. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 372.

from the Prophet, i.e., two *rak'ahs* before Zuhr prayer, two *rak'ahs* after Zuhr, two *rak'ahs* after Maghrib prayer and two *rak'ahs* after 'Ishâ prayer. 'A'isha narrates that the Prophet used to offer two *rak'ahs* before Zuhr and two *rak'ahs* after Zuhr and two *rak'ahs* after Maghrib and two *rak'ahs* after 'Ishâ and two *rak'ahs* before dawn prayers. 'Asim bin Zamra¹ says that he asked 'Ali about the prayers of the Prophet during the day. 'Ali replied that they would not be able to do as the Prophet did. 'Asim said that whoever had the power would do it. Then 'Ali replied, pointing (to the East), that when the sun was at that place just in the shape it takes when in the West at the time of 'Asar (afternoon) prayers the Prophet used to offer two *rak'ahs* and when the sun was in that place (pointing to the place) just in the shape it takes at the time of noon prayers, the Prophet offered four *rak'ahs*. He said he used to offer four *rak'ahs* before Zuhr and two *rak'ahs* after Zuhr and four *rak'ahs* before 'Asar (afternoon) prayers. He separated each of the two *rak'ahs* by asking blessings upon the angels and upon the Prophets and upon all who were believers.

On the prayers of the Prophet between sunrise and noon

Mu'âza asked 'A'isha whether the Prophet offered prayers between sunrise and noon. She said, "Yes, four *rak'ahs* and sometimes he offered more." Anas bin Mâlik narrates that the Prophet offered six *rak'ahs* between sunrise and noon. 'Abdur Rahmân bin Abû Leyla says,² "None informed him except Umm Hânî regarding the prayers of the Prophet between sunrise and noon. The Prophet went to her (Umm Hânî's) house on the day of the Victory of Mecca. Then he bathed and offered eight *rak'ahs* of voluntary prayers and she said that she never saw the Prophet offering prayers so short as these, but the Prophet completed bending of the body (*rukû'*) and prostration (*sujûd*)."³ 'Abdullâh bin Shaqîq says that he asked 'A'isha whether the Prophet offered prayers when he returned from a journey."³ Abu Sa'îd al-Kudrî says, "The Prophet used to offer prayers between

(1) 'Asim bin Zamra died A.H. 74—A.D. 693. *Al-Munawi*, vol. II, p. 108.

(2) 'Abdur Rahmân al-Ansârî was a reliable traditionist and died A.H. 83, A.D. 702. *Al-Munawi*, vol., II, p. 108.

(3) The Tradition narrated before by 'A'isha also refers to the prayers which the Prophet used to offer after his return from a journey.

sunrise and noon for such a long time that we thought that the Prophet would never give them up, and again when he gave them up for such a long time that we thought he would never offer them again." Abû Ayyûb al-Ansârî narrates that the Prophet always offered four *rak'ahs* just after the sun passed the meridian. He asked the Prophet if he always offered those four *rak'ahs* at that time. The Prophet replied, "Verily the doors of Heaven are open when the sun passes the meridian and they are not shut till the Zuhr prayers are said, and I love to see my good work going up to Heaven at that time." Abû Ayyûb asked whether there was *Qar'at* (i.e., reading any verse after reading the first opening chapter of the Qur'ân) in all the *rak'ahs*, the Prophet answered, "Yes." Then Abû Ayyûb asked whether between those four *rak'ahs* there was any finishing *salâm*.¹ The Prophet answered, "No."

'Abdullâh bin Sâ'ib² narrates that the Prophet offered four *rak'ahs* after the sun passed the meridian before the four obligatory *rak'ahs* of Zuhr prayers. The Prophet said that it was the time when the doors of Heaven were opened, therefore he loved to see his good work going up to Heaven at that time. 'Asim bin Zamra narrates that 'Alî offered four *rak'ahs* when the sun passed the meridian and read long chapters of the Qur'ân for them.

On the offering of voluntary prayers by the Prophet

'Abdullâh bin Sa'd³ says that he asked the Prophet concerning the offering of (voluntary) prayers at home and at the mosque (i.e., he enquired whether the offering of the voluntary prayers was better at home or at the mosque). The Prophet replied, "Verily thou seest how my house is near the mosque; I should rather offer voluntary prayers at home than at the mosque except when I have to say the obligatory prayers."

(1) That is during the four *rak'ahs* one should not say the *salâm* between them but he should say it after finishing the four *rak'ahs*.

(2) 'Abdullâh bin Sâ'ib al-Makhzûmî was a companion of the Prophet. Died between A.H. 60 and 70—A.D. 679 and 689. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 200.

(3) 'Abdullah bin Sa'd al-Ansârî was a companion of the Prophet. He took part in the battle of Qâdisiyya in A.H. 14—A.D. 635. *Taqrib*, p. 200.

On the (voluntary) fasting of the Prophet

'Abdullâh bin Shaqîq says that he asked 'A'isha regarding the (voluntary) fasting of the Prophet. She replied, "He kept fast for such a long time that we thought he would continue (the whole month) and he broke the fast till we said that he would not keep the fast the whole month," and 'A'isha said further that the Prophet did not keep fasting the whole of any month except the month of Ramadân since he came to Al-Madînah. Anas bin Mâlik was asked regarding the fasting of the Prophet. He replied that the Prophet in certain months kept fasting so long that they thought he would not break the fast at all and in certain other months he broke the fast for such a long time that they thought he would not keep the fast any more. "If you wanted to see the Prophet offering prayers at night you would see him doing so and if you wanted to see him sleeping then you would find him doing that also (i.e., the Prophet offered prayers and slept also; all his works were moderate)." Abû Salima¹ narrates on the authority of Umm Salima that the Prophet did not keep fast for two successive months except during the months of Sha'bân and Ramadân.²

'A'isha says that she did not see the Prophet keeping fast for so long a time as he did in the month of Sha'bân. He kept fasting during Sha'bân but he broke it for a few days during that month and sometimes he fasted for the whole month.³

(1) Abû Salima bin 'Abdur Rahmân bin 'Auf al-Madanî died A.H. 94, A.D. 712. His name was 'Abdullâh and some said Ismâ'îl. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib*, p. 422.

(2) There is an apparent contradiction between this tradition and that narrated by 'A'isha. This is explained in this way: the Prophet kept fast for a long time in Sha'bân and broke it for a few days whereas Umm Salima did not count the few days and said that the Prophet kept fast for two successive months and 'A'isha did not count the whole month as the Prophet did not keep fast for the whole month. Also, sometimes the Prophet might have kept the fast for the month of Sha'bân; whereas 'A'isha was not aware of it and Umm Salima having seen it, narrated it. Or it may mean that the Prophet kept fast the whole month of Sha'bân when he was at Mecca and discontinued it from the time he went to Madînah because after his going to Madînah the fasting of Ramadân became obligatory and all voluntary fastings annulled, and from then one might keep the voluntary fasting if one liked it, and discontinue if one did not like it, and for this reason 'A'isha said clearly that from the time the Prophet went to Madînah he did not keep the fast for the whole of any month except Ramadân.

(3) That is, sometimes he kept fast for the whole month of Sha'bân and sometimes he did not keep fast for a few days during that month. This was the custom with the Prophet before he went to Madînah.

'Abdullâh bin Mas'ûd says that the Prophet used to fast for the first three days of every month and very seldom went without fasting on Fridays. Mu'âzah¹ says that he asked 'A'isha whether the Prophet kept fast for three days in every month. She replied, "Yes." Then Mu'âzah asked to know the days on which the Prophet kept fast. 'A'isha replied that there was no fixed day; he kept fast on any day he liked. 'A'isha says that the Prophet fasted on Mondays and Thursdays. 'A'isha says further that the Prophet observed fast for a larger number of days in Sha'bân than in any other month. Abû Hureyrah narrates that the Prophet said that actions (of men) were put before God on Mondays and Thursdays; so he liked that his actions might be presented at a time when he was fasting. 'A'isha says that the Prophet fasted in one month on Saturdays, Sundays and Mondays, and in the following month on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. 'A'isha says that *Qureysh* used to fast on the tenth day of Muharram in pre-Islamic days and the Prophet also fasted on that day. When he went to Madînah he fasted on that day and he also ordered (his companions) to fast on that day, but when the observance of fast became obligatory during the month of Ramadân, fasting during that month only became incumbent and the tenth day of Muharram was given up from that time. Any person could fast on that day if he liked and might give it up if he so desired. 'Alqamah² says that he asked 'A'isha whether the Prophet fixed any special day for pious work (fasting, etc.). She replied, "His actions were regular and who among you has such strength as the Prophet?" 'A'isha says further that the Prophet once came to her when there was a woman with her. The Prophet asked who she was. 'A'isha told him her name³ and said that she did not sleep the whole night (i.e., she always passed the night in prayers). Then the Prophet said that they should do only so much as they had strength to do, and that God is not exhausted with bestowing rewards, or they would become fatigued (and unable to perform their duties regularly). The Prophet liked only

(1) Mu'âzah bint 'Abdullâh was a reliable narrator. Died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib*, p. 475.

(2) 'Alqamah was a liberated slave of 'A'isha. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib* p. 268.

(3) The name of the woman was Al-Hawlâ' bint Tuweyt bin Habîb. She was a member of the tribe of Khadijah, the wife of the Prophet. *Al-Ḥ Al-Qari*, vol. II, p. 133.

those deeds which the performer observed constantly. Abû Sâlih¹ says that he asked 'A'isha and Umm Salimah what acts were liked very much by the Prophet. Both replied : Such acts as can always be performed regularly, whether great or small. 'Aûf bin Mâlik² says that he was with the Prophet one night and the Prophet brushed his teeth and made ablutions and then stood up and began to worship. So he stood up with the Prophet. Then the Prophet began to worship and read Sûrah Al-Baqarah (Chapter II of the Qur'ân). He did not pass the verses of mercy but stopped and prayed for mercy, and he did not pass the verses of wrath but stopped and prayed for shelter. Afterwards he bent his head and remained in that posture quite as long as he had stood up, and he said while bowing "Holy is the Lord of Power, of Sovereignty, of Greatness and of Majesty." Then he prostrated himself quite as long as he had bent his head and he said in his prostration : "Holy is the Lord of Power, of Sovereignty, of Greatness and of Majesty," and then he read Sûrah Al 'Imrân (Chapter III of the Qur'ân) and then he read a chapter (in each of his third and fourth *rak'ahs*). He used to do like this (until the prayer was over).

On the Prophet's way of reading (the Qur'an)

Ya'lâ³ bin Mamlak asked Umm Salimah concerning the Prophet's way of reading (the Qur'ân). She said that the reading (of the Qur'ân) by the Prophet was clear and every letter was pronounced distinctly. Qatâda says that he asked Anas bin Mâlik as to the Prophet's style of reading (the Qur'ân). He replied that the Prophet emphasised the long broad sound (where necessary). Umm Salimah says that the Prophet stopped in his recitation. He read "*Al-Hamdu lillâhi rabbi'l-'alamin*" (Praise be to Allâh, Lord of the Worlds), and stopped, then he read "*ar-Rahman ir-Rahim*" (The Beneficent, the Merciful), and stopped and then he read "*Malika Yaumî'd-Din*"⁴ (Owner of the Day of Judgment); that is, he stopped at

(1) Abû Sâlih was the liberated slave of Umm Salimah, the wife of the Prophet. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 624.

(2) 'Auf bin Mâlik, died A.H. 73—A.D. 692. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 292.

(3) Ya'lâ was a reliable Traditionist. Died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Al-Munawwi*, vol. II, p. 137, and *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 403.

(4) Sûrah I, of the Qur'ân. Pickthall's translation, p. 21.

every verse in the like manner). Abû Qeys¹ says that he asked 'A'isha about the manner of reading by the Prophet,—as to whether he read in a low or a loud voice. She replied that the Prophet read in both tones ; sometimes he read in a low voice and sometimes in a loud one. Abû Qeys remarked that all praise was due to God who gave felicity in religion. Umm Hânî says that she used to hear the Prophet read (the Qur'ân) at night when she used to be on the roof of her house. Mu'âwiya bin Qurra² says that he heard from 'Abdullâh bin Mughaffal who said that he saw the Prophet on his she-camel on " the Day of the Victory " of Mecca and the Prophet read "*Inna Fatahna laka Fathan Mubina.*"³ 'Abdullâh says that the Prophet read (the said verse) distinctly, raising and dropping the voice alternately where necessary. Mu'âwiya bin Qurra says that he too would have used the same voice were it not for the fear that the people would gather round him. Qatâda says that God did not send any Prophet but with a beautiful face and a sweet voice, and the Prophet had a beautiful face and a sweet voice. He did not read in a sing-song manner. Ibn 'Abbâs says that the reading of the Prophet was such that when he read in his room a man in the courtyard could hear him distinctly.⁴

On the weeping of the Prophet

Mutarriif⁵ narrates on the authority of his father⁶ that the latter had gone to the Prophet to offer prayers and in his (the Prophet's) breast there was a sound like that of a cauldron owing to weeping. 'Abdullâh bin Mas'ûd says that the Prophet asked him to read the Qur'ân before him, on which he said : " O Prophet ! Shall I read the Qur'ân before you, although it has been revealed to you ? " The Prophet replied, that he loved to hear the Qur'ân

(1) Abû Qeys was a liberated slave of 'Amr bin al-'As. His name was 'Abdur-Rahmân bin Thâbit. He died before A.H. 100—A.D. 718 *Tagrib*, p. 434.

(2) Mu'âwiya bin Qurra died A.H. 113—A.D. 731. *Tagrib*, p. 358.

(3) " Lo ! We have given thee (O Muhammad) signal victory." Chapter XLVIII, Pickthall's *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* p. 528.

(4) That is, he read in a moderate way. It was neither very low nor very loud.

(5) Mutarriif died A.H. 95—A.D. 718. *Tagrib at-Tahdhîb* p. 355.

(6) The name of the father is 'Abdullâh bin ash-Shikhkhîr. He was a companion of the Prophet and accepted Islâm in the year of the Victory of Mecca (i.e., A.H. 8—A.D. 629., *Tagrib at-Tahdhîb* p. 202.

recited by others. Then 'Abdullâh read the Sûrah *An-Nisa* (Chapter IV of the Qur'ân) till he reached the verse ("And We bring thee (O Muhammad) a witness against these"), then he saw the two eyes of the Prophet shedding tears. 'Abdullâh bin 'Amr says that there was an eclipse of the sun one day during the time of the Prophet. Then the Prophet stood up and began to offer prayers so much that it seemed he would never bend his body; then he bent his body and it seemed that he would never raise his head; then he raised his head and it seemed that he would never prostrate himself; then he prostrated and it seemed that he would never raise his head; then he raised his head and it seemed that he would never prostrate himself; then he prostrated himself and it seemed that he would never raise his head; then he began to sigh and to weep. Then he said, addressing God: "O my Lord! Didst Thou not promise me not to punish them while I am among them. O my Lord: Didst Thou not promise me not to punish them if they would ask forgiveness? And I crave forgiveness from Thee." Then, when he had offered two *rak'ahs*, lo! the sun became bright. Then the Prophet stood up, and praised God and glorified Him, saying: "The sun and the moon are two signs of God, amongst His other signs. They are not eclipsed on account of the death or birth of anyone.¹ When they are eclipsed they take shelter in the remembrance of God." Ibn 'Abbâs says that the Prophet took his (grand-daughter)² who was dying in his lap and he placed her before him. She died while she was before him and Umm Aiman³ wept loudly. Then the Prophet rebuked her (saying): "Do you weep loudly before me?" Then she replied, "Do I not see you weeping?" Then the Prophet said, "I do not weep (loudly) but silently when I feel moved." Verily the faithful is (always) in a blessed condition and though his soul is taken away, yet he praises God. 'A'isha narrates that the Prophet kissed (the forehead) of 'Uthmân bin

(1) It was an idea in pre-Islamic days that eclipse of the sun or moon takes place on the death or the birth of a great man. By chance on the day of the solar eclipse Ibrâhîm, the son of the Prophet, died. As people might think that owing to the death of the Prophet's son the solar eclipse took place, so the Prophet cleared this point.

(2) This grand-daughter was the issue of a marriage between Zeynab, the daughter of the Prophet and Abu'l 'As bin ar-Rabî'. See *al-Munawi*, vol. II, p. 151.

(3) Umm Aiman died during the caliphate of 'Uthmân, the third Caliph. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib*, p. 476.

Maz'ûn¹ when he was dead. The Prophet² wept or his two eyes shed tears. Anas bin Mâlik says that he attended the funeral of the daughter of the Prophet (her name was Umm Kulthûm, wife of 'Uthmân bin 'Affân). The Prophet was sitting near the grave. He said that the two eyes of the Prophet shed tears. Then the Prophet asked whether there was any person among them who had not cohabited with his wife in the night. Then Abû Talha³ replied, "It is I." Then the Prophet said, "Descend into the⁴ grave" and he descended into the grave (in order to make arrangements).

On the bedding of the Prophet

'A'isha says that the bedding on which the Prophet slept was of leather stuffed with date-palm fibres. Ja'far narrates on the authority of his father, Muhammad (Al-Bâqir), that 'A'isha was asked about the kind of bedding used by the Prophet in her house. She replied that it was of leather stuffed with date-palm fibre and Hafsa⁵ was (also) asked as to the kind of bedding used by the Prophet. She replied that his bedding was of sack-cloth. She used to turn it into two folds and the Prophet slept on it. Then one night she said (to herself) that if she would make it fourfold it would be very soft for the Prophet. Then she made it fourfold. When the Prophet arose in the morning, he asked, "What did you spread for me last night?" Hafsa replied that it was the very same bedding, only she had turned it fourfold on the impression that it would be comfortable for him. The Prophet said, "Make it as it was before, because its softness prevented me from offering prayers last night."

(1) 'Uthmân bin Maz'ûn was the foster-brother of the Prophet. He was the first Muslim who died at Madinah after the Battle of Badr, A.H. 2, A.D. 623, before the Battle of Uhud, A.H. 3—A.D. 624. *Ma'arif* p. 216.

(2) The narrator is doubtful about the actual words.

(3) Abû Talha's name is Zaid bin Sahl al-Ansâri. He died A.H. 34—A.D. 654. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 135.

(4) It is said that Umm Kulthûm was very ill and her husband passed the night with a slave-girl and did not attend to her. So this was an indirect remark on the conduct of her husband. *'Ali al-Qari*, vol. II., p. 154.

(5) Hafsa was the daughter of 'Umar bin al-Khattâb and wife of the Prophet. She died during the Caliphate of 'Uthmân bin 'Affân. *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 66.

On the humility of the Prophet

‘Umar bin al-Khattâb says that the Prophet said: “Do not exaggerate me (in praise) as the Christians have done in the case of Christ, the son of Mary. I am nothing but a slave of God. So call me a slave of God and His messenger.” Anas bin Mâlik narrates that a woman¹ came to the Prophet and said, “Verily I require you.” The Prophet replied, “You may sit on any of the roads of Madînah and I will sit down with you.” (i.e., there was no need to make any special arrangement for speaking with the Prophet. He would sit down anywhere she liked and would hear her story). Anas bin Mâlik narrates that the Prophet used to visit sick persons and attend funerals, ride on asses and accept even the invitations of slaves. On the day of the battle of Banî Qureydhah² the Prophet was on an ass. Its reins were made of date-palm fibre, and on it there was a pack-saddle made of fibre of the same tree. Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet was invited to partake of barley-bread and evil-smelling fat and he accepted the invitation. The coat-of-mail³ of the Prophet was mortgaged with a Jew⁴ and he did not get sufficient to redeem it till he died (Abû Bakr as-Siddiq redeemed it after the death of the Prophet). Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet made a pilgrimage (mounted) on the old saddle, and on the Prophet or on the saddle there was a scarf which was not worth four *dirhams* (a dirham is a silver coin worth about 19½ cents). The Prophet said: “O Lord! make this pilgrimage such that there may be no hypocrisy and dissimulation in it.” Anas says that there was no person more loved by them than the Prophet, and when they saw him they did not rise up as they knew that it was not liked by the Prophet. Hasan bin ‘Alî says that he asked his uncle Hind bin Abî Hâla as to who was the describer of the features of the Prophet, as he longed to know something of his features. Then Hind

(1) The name of this woman was Umm Zafar, the dresser of Khadijah, the wife of the Prophet. *Al-Munawi*, vol. II, p. 162.

(2) Banî Qureydhah were a tribe of Jews located near to Madînah. They planned treachery against the Prophet and the battle took place in A.H. 5—A.D. 626.

(3) The name of this coat-of-mail was “Dhât al-Fudûl” which Sa’d bin ‘Ubeyda presented to the Prophet. It was mortgaged for about 30 Sa’ (a dry measure about 7 lbs. in weight) of barley for the food of his family. *Al-Munawi*, vol. II, p. 165.

(4) The name of the Jew is Abû’sh-Shahm bin al-Irs. *Al-Munawi*, vol. II, p. 165.

They preferred needy persons (over others), and protected strangers.

Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet said that if the leg of a goat were sent to him as a present he would certainly accept it and if he were invited to partake of it he would surely do so. Jâbir says that the Prophet came to him and he was not riding on a mule or a horse (i.e., he came on foot). Yûsuf bin 'Abdullâh bin Salâm¹ says that the Prophet called him Yûsuf and seated him on his lap and gently stroked his head with his hands. Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet made a pilgrimage on an old saddle and a sheet of cloth was folded upon it. He thought its price to be five *dirhams*.² When his camel stopped with him, the Prophet said, "Labbeyk" (Here I am). There was no show nor hypocrisy in his pilgrimage. Anas bin Mâlik says that a tailor invited the Prophet and put *Sarid*, in which there was pumpkin, before him. The Prophet took the pumpkin and enjoyed it. Thâbit says he heard Anas saying that no food was cooked for him, in which he had any hand, but it was cooked with pumpkin. Amra³ says that 'A'isha was asked what the Prophet did at home. 'A'isha replied that he was a man quite like others. He picked the ticks from his own clothing, milked his own goat, and did his own work.

(1) He was a companion of the Prophet and an inhabitant of Madinah. See *Al-Munawwî*, vol. II., p. 184.

(2) The *dirham* was a silver coin, the shape of which resembled that of a date-stone. During the Caliphate of 'Umar, it was changed to a circular form. Hajjâj stamped upon it Chapter 112 of the Qur'ân called Ikhlas. Others assert, that 'Umar was the first who stamped an impression on dirhams. Again, it has been said that Mas'ab bin Zubair was the first who struck dirhams. It is said that in the time of 'Umar there were current several kinds of dirhams; first, some of eight *dangs*, the fourth part of a dram, which were called *baghli*, after *Ras Baghl* who was an Assay-Master, and who struck dirhams by the command of 'Umar; but others call them *baghalli*, from *Baghal*, which is the name of a village; secondly, some of four *dangs*, which were called *Tabri*; thirdly, some of three *dangs*, which were known as *Maghribi* and lastly, some of one *dang*, named *Yamani*, the half of which four kinds 'Umar is said to have taken as a uniform average weight.

(3) 'Amra bint 'Abdu'r-Rahmân was a reliable Traditionist. She died before A.H. 100—A.D. 718, and according to some after A.H. 100. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 474.

HIDAYET HOSAIN.

(To be continued.)

A NOTE ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE IN THE LIGHT OF A TRADITION OF THE PROPHET

I

IN what follows I propose to show, by an example, how very important and useful it may be to explore the recorded sayings of the Holy Founder of Islam for the purpose of illuminating certain problems which arise in the course of the scientific study of religion.

The scientific study of religion embraces many different problems. If we picked, out of these problems, those which are primarily psychological in character we should find ourselves dealing broadly with two, viz.,

- (1) How is religious experience to be *analysed* ?
- (2) What are the psychological *roots* which determine the emergence of a religious view of the world in the human mind ?

Modern psychology addresses itself to both these problems. I propose to describe the first of these problems along with a solution of it which has been proposed by a modern psychologist, and which apparently is the most satisfactory that modern psychology seems to have discovered. I then propose to criticise the solution, in order to show that if the modern psychology of religion had submitted itself to some of the available records of the Founder of Islam, it could quite possibly have hit upon a better solution than the one it has found.

II

The problem of the analysis of religious experience is the problem of picking out the most distinctive elements in the religious experience and behaviour of man. It is well-known that religious experience and religious behaviour express themselves in many different ways. But

the very fact that they can be classed together shows that they are a determinate set of reactions, with distinctive marks of their own, which it should be possible by systematic analysis to bring out and describe. The explanation of those reactions, that is, the process of setting forth their causal conditions would be a further step in the scientific study of religion. But this further step will be of no avail unless it is preceded by an adequate description of the essential positive characteristics of the reactions themselves. The problem of the *analysis* of religious experience, therefore, though it is a problem only of description, is really basic to all the other problems of religion, and has to be accorded its due share of importance in the scientific study of this very interesting class of human reactions.

III

The data which the modern psychology of religion, on the whole, employs are the recorded experiences of mystics, and the more or less systematic studies of certain types of culture. Time was when the psychologist was content with observations derived from a general study of religious and pseudo-religious literature. In modern times, largely under the influence of the Cambridge psychologists, W. H. R. Rivers and F. C. Bartlett,¹ it is being increasingly recognised that the systematic study of religion or, for that matter, the study of any social phenomenon must be based on a study of one special group or another. The modern psychologist, therefore, turns more and more to a study of special groups for his data. The best example to my mind, of this growing attitude in the psychology of religion is to be found in the study presented by Dr. J. Cyril Flower, Upton Lecturer in the Psychology of Religion, at Manchester College, Oxford, and Minister to the Unitarian Church, Cambridge. Dr. Flower has devoted himself to a systematic study of the content of religious reactions, and has offered a plausible analysis of this very interesting and very important class of human reactions.² He has pressed into the service of his analytic investigation, a careful study, on the one hand, of the religion of a primitive tribe called the Winnebago Indians, an authenticated account of which is to be found in a

(1) See, for instance, Bartlett's *Psychology and Primitive Culture*, (C.U.P.) Chapter IX.

(2) *An Approach to the Psychology of Religion*, (Kegan Paul).

detailed monograph prepared by the American anthropologist, Dr. Paul Radin,¹ and a study, on the other hand, of the Journal of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism. He may be said, therefore, to have followed faithfully the advice of Professor F. C. Bartlett in turning to a study of special groups for the purpose of understanding a socio-psychological phenomenon. He has in addition, drawn on answers to a questionnaire which he prepared specially for this purpose. The result of an enquiry as systematic as Dr. Flower's should be as satisfactory as modern psychology can possibly yield. It is interesting therefore to know what conclusion in the main Dr. Flower has ultimately derived from his study. What is the essential element in religious reactions, which according to Dr. Flower could be regarded as the differentia of religious experience and religious behaviour? Let me state the conclusion in his own words:—

“Response to a situation by means of imaginative interpretations which, however, does not reduce the situation to certainty and calculability, and allow the adequate discharge of affect, so that there is always an element of ‘beyondness’ and mystery, and an unanalysed remainder, an unsolved problem, is religion.”²

Stripped of its verbal drapery this description of religion amounts to saying that religious response is response to a ‘beyond,’ something that is left over, something that bids us to be uncertain and hesitant, in a situation that we do not and perhaps cannot completely comprehend.

As it is, this description of religious response is a plausible one. There are many who would readily subscribe to it. Perhaps most modern men—whose adherence to religion has become a social tradition, and who continue to hold to religion not so much as a positive reality, but rather as something that helps them to fill a gap in their mental horizon—would think that this is the fairest description of religion. But we must remember that just as any ostensibly religious response in any given individual may not be typical of his own truly religious responses, no more may religious responses manifested in any given age or group be typical of religious response as such. A description of the essential constituents of a class of response which are liable to vary from individual to individual, from group to group and from

(1) *The Winnebago Tribe*, (New York).

(2) *An Approach to the Psychology of Religion*, (pages 54-55).

age to age, can never be possible unless we look out for the most typical, that is to say, the least diluted examples of those responses. Everybody would recognise that religious responses express themselves, in their most typical and purest form, in the lives of certain persons who appear now and again in human history, and who lay in their respective times and spheres the foundations of religious traditions. The traditions once founded continue to evoke their typical responses in generations of followers, by the sheer force of their momentum. They are something born of the impulse which owes itself entirely to the original experiences of their founders. But as time separates more and more the followers from the founders, the responses become more and more faint, and tend steadily to lose their typical character, until they are resuscitated by the advent of a new founder, whose fresh and original experience gives a new lease of life to typical religious reactions in ordinary human beings. Religious experiences of any given individual, group or age—unless they are themselves original—are only faint reproductions of the religious experiences of religious founders. The experiences of the founders act as a type, a pattern, or a norm to which, in varying degrees, the experiences of the followers tend to conform. Anybody, therefore, who seeks an adequate description of the essential ingredients of religious response, should turn to the records of those religious personalities who may be regarded as the founders rather than the followers of religious traditions. Dr. Flower, whom I take to be a typical modern psychologist, has interpreted his task satisfactorily, in so far as he has turned to a study of two special types of culture, one primitive, the other modern, as the data of his investigation. But he might have done more. In selecting certain special cultures as his data he might have turned rather to those cultures in which we find a determinate religious tradition in the process of laying its first foundations; in which, that is to say, we may see religion not only in its simplest, but also in its most original, its most typical and richest form. He might have turned for instance to the recorded experiences and sayings of the Holy Founder of Islam in his analysis of religion as a human response. If he had done so, he would have carried only a step further his own plan of studying special cultures for the purpose of understanding a given social phenomenon; and more than this, he would have seized, as I think, the only material that is worth seizing in such an investigation.

IV

To say that Dr. Flower has argued from irrelevant data, however, is to make only a superficial criticism of his analysis. It is further necessary to say what, if anything, is really wrong with the description of religious response that he has offered.

Now we have seen that Dr. Flower describes religious response as response to a 'beyond.' The difficulty I have about it is that, if this description is true, we can hardly account for typical religious acts such as the act of worship. Nobody, I suggest, would hazard an act of worship on a mere 'beyond.' The reactions to a 'beyond' are best described as hesitancy and doubt, reactions which are typical of the scientist and the philosopher, not of the religious man engaged in a religious act. Dr. Flower, I suspect, has had far too much in mind the experiences of modern men and women whose religious responses are separated from their original patterns by great distances in time. These experiences have deteriorated both in intensity and quality, since the time their original patterns were first experienced by the founders and their companions. But to take stock of the experiences of modern adherents of religious traditions founded long ago would not be to take stock of the most typical forms of religious response. If Dr. Flower had turned to the records of so typical a religious personality, for instance, as the Founder of Islam he would have given a substantially different description of religious response.

The recorded traditions of the Holy Prophet contain innumerable descriptions of religious experience which the modern psychologist can explore to the immense advantage of his subject. An example of such a description, I would quote a portion of the *hadith* attributed to Abu Huraira. It is said that our Prophet was, on one occasion, asked among other things, what the essence of virtue consisted in. He is reported to have replied :

"To worship God as though you are seeing *Him*, or, at least, as though *He* is seeing you."*

**Bukhari*, vol. I. *Kitab-ul-Iman* (Cairo). The *hadith* as recorded by Bukhari is interesting in respect of its setting and its other details, but I have quoted only the strictly relevant portion of it.

I think, we are bound to regard this spontaneous description as the most important description of true religious experience. It is a description by one who not only expounded religion but lived it throughout his life, and to whom religion was the first and last thing worth living for. If we put this description alongside that given by Dr. Flower we find that the latter is much too sophisticated. It is, if I may say so, a reproduction of the modern man's—possibly Dr. Flower's own—attitude towards religion, not a description of the religious response as it takes place in a typical religious personality. It describes religious response as it takes place in persons who are not typically religious. Hence it confuses a truly religious response with what is only a quasi-religious response. A typical religious response as I have said, would be impossible in a situation which is a mere 'beyond' and which contains no positive reality or being to whom the religious response might be made. From this it seems to follow, as the Prophet suggested, that a religious response, instead of being a response to a beyond, is a response to a real presence, or at least to what is believed to be a real presence. The problem of the analytic description of religious experience, dark and dim otherwise, becomes illumined as soon as it is submitted to the attention and notice of an original religious personality like the Founder of Islam.

V

Besides the problem of the analysis of religious experience there is, as I have said, the problem of the origin of religion. In regard to this other problem, as in regard to the first, there is an enormous amount of confusion in the minds of modern psychologists who seem willing to turn to all kinds of materials but not the one which is really capable of leading them from darkness to light. What I suggest is that these problems have to be submitted for a possible solution to the available records of religious founders and, as no such records are so reliably reported as those of our Prophet, the value of ransacking the Islamic records for the purpose of illuminating the systematic problems of religion can hardly be exaggerated.

MUHAMMAD ASLAM.

A FEW HINDU MINIATURE-PAINTERS OF THE 18th AND 19th CENTURIES

MINIATURE-PAINTING, which here means illustration of manuscripts, especially in Persia and India, was first used by Muhammadans in their books. The Muhammadans were next to the Chinese in preparing paper and using it for preserving their writings. The Muslim artists who illustrated the manuscripts possessed many qualifications. They were calligraphists, gilders, painters, binders, etc., as their most early record, *Al-Fihrist* of Ibn Nadîm, shows. We must thank the European scholars also for a number of compilations in the current century throwing light upon this subject. They have done a great deal for the vindication of Islamic Art, which has impressed them from time to time.

As regards indigenous Indian Art and Literature we find their traces in the ancient fresco paintings and in the form of stone inscriptions or writings on palm-leaves. These have never been surpassed from the point of view of art; but we do not find any trace of miniature-painting in India before the advent of Islâm. At the beginning of the Mughal Empire in India, under Akbar, the Hindus had a hand in official affairs through his intercommunal policy, which afforded them ample opportunity for taking advantage of the Islamic culture which the Muslims had brought with them, especially in art and literature. Thus a Hindu coterie achieved prominence.

The gorgeously illuminated books of the Muhammadan libraries were a novelty in India. In respect to book illustration other than pictorial, the Indian had scarcely any precedent to go by, and he adopted the admirable Persian models. Moreover, although the Indian is an excellent decorator, this popular branch of art does not seem to have been particularly congenial to him. It is significant of its imported origin that it declined as early as the time of Shâh Jahân, though in the purely pictorial

style, many provinces of India continued to produce excellent work for two centuries more. In Persia, on the contrary, notwithstanding the decline of the Pictorial art that sets in from the period of Shâh 'Abbâs onwards, purely ornamental illuminations have continued to maintain a very high standard even to the present day. It is true that some good work of that kind is even still done in India, but the Indian examples always lack that supreme refinement which invariably marks Persian illustrated arabesques even when they are carried to the extreme limits of gorgeousness and elaboration. This branch of art has never become thoroughly acclimatised in India.¹

The Development of Indo-Persian Style

In the case of the art of painting we find many Hindu names among the artists employed in preparing the first huge Persian manuscript of the Romance of Amîr Hamzah under the guidance of Mîr Sayyid 'Alî of Tabrîz Judai and Khwâjah 'Abdu's-Samad of Shîrâz, who were the Persian artists commissioned for the special purpose at the court of Humâyûn. As the author of *Ma'athiru'l-Umara* says in his account of the famous story-teller Darbâr Khân—"to illustrate the Romance of Amîr Hamzah fifty artists of the Bihzâd school were employed under the guidance of Khwâjah 'Abdu's-Samad of Shîrâz and Mîr Sayyid 'Alî of Tabrîz Judai."² This pioneer work of art was begun in the reign of Humâyûn and completed in the reign of Akbar. Its full description is given in many contemporary records.³ A long list of the court artists of Akbar is provided in *Ain-i-Akbari*. It includes both Hindus and Muhammadans who are described as the followers of Bihzâd. I am sure, these must have shared in illustrating *Amîr Hamzah*. Daswanth Bhagwati, etc., were able pupils of Khwâjah 'Abdu's-Samad, who was also Akbar's own Ustâdh. In these illustrations of classic Persian style Indian figures are blended by Indian hands which leads us to name this the Indo-Persian school.

After Akbar, Jahângîr's achievements in the realm of Art, no doubt, give him an immortal name for being a

(1) *The Continuity of Pictorial Tradition in the Art of India* by E. Vrendenburg, *Rupam*, Nos. 1-2, Jan. and April 1920.

(2) *Ma'athiru'l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 3. Printed at Calcutta.

(3) *Oriental College Magazine*, Nov. 1925 and February 1926. Prof. M. Shali's article on "Amîr Hamzah."

great patron, critic, and connoisseur of Art. His period, as regards painting in India, is really the period of the Indo-Persian style. He paid great attention to it and tried to train his court-painters under the guidance of pure Persian masters. In order to achieve this aim, he sent Bishen Das to Persia (about whom he says, "unequalled in his age for taking a likeness") with Khân 'Alam to paint the portraits of Shâh 'Abbâs and his courtiers and further, by coming in contact with great masters of Persian Art, to acquire the Persian artistic understanding.¹ Others were put to prepare exact copies of their works, as Nanha was employed to copy the work of the master Bihzâd. When it was finished Jahângîr inscribed his autograph on it which reads as follows: "Allah is greater! This work of Master Bihzâd—two camels fighting—was seen and copied by Nanha the painter according to my orders. Written by Jahângîr son of Akbar, Padshah, Ghulâm, 1017 A.H."² Many other such instances are well known in his reign. Another artist Shiv Das Kirat of the later period used to copy the work of Bihzâd and other great masters with a view to acquire maturity in his workmanship; one specimen of his by chance is available bearing the same testimony. It is found in the large collection of Mr. P. C. Manak, Patna. Shiv Das Kirat signs thus نقل خاکه بهزاد عمل شب داس کرت.³ A batch of artists of the 18th and 19th centuries seems to have copied regularly the works of early Mughal masters of Persian descent, such as the portrait of Mullah Do Payaza, the portrait of Akbar with a bow and arrow, the portrait of Shâh Jahân, etc., etc. These all are copies of the Mughal paintings and, as it happens, can be seen in the Boston Museum, showing evident signs of being the work of the later artists.⁴

As time rolled on, the Indo-Persian school developed many different styles. One of them is specially worth mentioning; the Indian School dealing with purely Indian life, mythology and legend, which received a religious

(1) Dr. Yûsuf's article "*The Progress of Painting under the Mughals*"—*Mujallah Osmania University*, 1933, and *Tuzak-i-Jahangir*, edited by the late Sayyid Ahmad Khân. p. 285.

(2) *Persian Miniature Paintings*, Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1933 Pl. 87 and p. 130.

(3) P. C. Manak's Collection, Album. p. 43. fol. 10.

(4) *Catalogue of Boston Museum*, vol. V. *Rajput Painting*, CCCXCII-IV and CCCCLXXXIX.

touch in the latter period. Critics of the modern age have divided this Indian painting into many petty heads on flimsy grounds. Their futile activities have wrought much havoc and confusion and obscured the real charm of Indian Art, which has been utterly ignored. Instead of directing attention to the essential beauty and charm of our art they have turned men's minds towards the study of a historical background of the subject on prejudicial lines. Art must be free from such narrow-mindedness. These orthodox writers on Art are doing their best to link up the old fresco-paintings in Indian caves with the present newly-founded Rajput School, through Jain miniature-paintings found in Gujrati MSS. of the 15th and 16th centuries, which seem rather ridiculous. Had the attempt been based on some sound and definite evidence I should have admitted its usefulness. It has no connection either with the tradition, technique or spirit of the Art of Ajanta.

The great authorities on Eastern Art, such as Dr. F. R. Martin, Blochet, Migeon, Sakesian Bey, Sir J. Sarkar, Stchoukine, etc., have disapproved of it. I quote here the opinions of Martin, Sarkar, and Sakesian Bey, which, I think, quite sufficient to convince. Martin says:—“The Rajput attribution has been explored during the last few years and particularly by amateurs who have never seen a miniature of the great Indian period. Some writers on Indian Art declare them to belong to the Rajput school and that they represent the genuine Indian Art descended directly from the art of the masters of Ajanta. It is a coincidence that these miniatures were first painted just at the period when European travellers went to India. It is specially in these decadent pictures that one recognises the different manners in which landscapes were represented by Persian and Indian artists.”¹

Sarkar says:—“What Dr. Coomaraswamy calls the Rajput School of Painting is not an indigenous Hindu product, nor has it any national connection with Rajputâna.”²

Sakesian Bey says:—“It is not to be forgotten that the art of Painting on paper has been introduced into India by Persian artists in the service of Timurid conquerors, that the first productions in the Mughal school

(1) *The Miniature-Painting of Persia, India and Turkey.* p. 88.

(2) *Studies in Mughal India*, by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 292.

were Persian works transposed in a new form, that the art of miniature of the Rajput does not seem to have existed in India before the Grand Mughals."....." It is indeed strange that one should not recognise in this national school that which one would ascribe to the Frescoes of Ajanta or any work anterior to the 16th and perhaps even to the 17th century. The types and costumes, and religious manners should have inevitable affinities but nothing appears to be less certain than the derivation of the Rajput miniatures from the Frescoes of Ajanta, which are remote from each other by a thousand years."¹

Deccani Style

Even before the establishment of the Bahmani monarchy (748 A.H.—1347 A.D.) in the Deccan, relations with Central Asia were many through invaders and travellers. Also the well-known correspondence between Khwâjah Mahmûd Gâvân, the minister of the Bahmani Government and Maulâna 'Abdu'r-Rahmân Jâmi shows that cultural intercourse with Central Asia and Persia existed. It surely gave a great stimulus to the Deccan to have an inspiration of Turanian culture. Thus the names of the writers and artists of Central Asia are attached to many compilations and monuments prepared here, and their masterpieces are still *in situ*. In the latter period the same developed a special Muhammadan Deccani style in every branch of Art and Literature. Therefore, if the people of Hyderabad, Deccan, would pay a little heed to it, I think, they could easily create a new Golconda or Deccani school in Painting on a sounder basis than any other. The Deccani school would lead all existing Indian schools of Painting both in age and quality as the Hyderabad Dominions lead in the case of the Fresco-paintings at Ajanta, of which they should be proud. An authentic illustrated manuscript of Najmu'l-'Ulûm dated 978 A.H., (= 1520 A.D.), found in the Beatty Collection, London, came from the court of the 'Adil Shâhi kings of Bijâpur. It has Persian paintings blended with Indian figures to some extent, on which Dr. Laurence Binyon of the British Museum has written a note.² The same tradition in painting was upheld even on stronger lines by the master-painter Mullah Farûkh Huseyn of Shirâz at the court of Ibrâhîm II (988-1035 A.H.), better known, for his versatility in every branch of Art and Literature, as (جگت گرو)

(1) *La Miniature Persane*, Introduction, p. X.

(2) *Rupam*, January 1927.

Jagat Guru—world's leader. Zahuri the court poet has noted it in his famous work *Seh Nasar*. Another book of similar merits in the *Leylah Majnun* in Urdu verse by a Deccani poet, Ahmad, of the days of Muhammad Qûli Qutb Shâh (989-1020 A.H.), which is also illustrated, and about which Prof. Shâairni, Punjab University, has written an authoritative note to the effect that this work surpasses even the Indo-Persian illustrated MSS. of those days in many respects.¹ And in the latter period there was a Hindu artist Ustâdh Prem Singh Pir whose work is in one of Germany's collections.²

The collection of Prof. Agha Haider Hasan of the Nizâm College, Hyderabad, Deccan, consists of a good many rare and fine specimens of a great variety of painting especially of the later Deccani pictures, which are worth seeing, some of them being signed by artists, such as :—Shaymdas, Chandar Chalatar, Shisham Chalya, and Shankria. Shankria especially paints a scene of Nizâm 'Alî Khân's Darbar. Venkatachalam makes a clever study of the portrait of Nawâb Muhkam Jung Bahadûr, and its reverse side bears a quatrain in Persian. Tara paints a prince with a falcon in his hand, and there is one picture by Dharam Das.

Jain Style

I go a little further and draw attention to the reference to the Jain Gujarâti miniature-painting made above. If we look back to the beginning of the Muhammadan historical record of Gujarât which we usually get in Arabic books such as "*Zafaru'l-Wali*" by Mohammed bin 'Umar bin Asfi. The Muslims established their permanent Government in Gujarât in 793 A.H. (=1390 A.D.) under Muzaffar Shâh. Moreover, early in the 13th century we see there Muslim architectural remnants such as a mosque with a lofty minaret founded at Cambay during 1224 A.D.³ This all shows that Islamic culture had begun to dominate in Gujarât about four centuries before the Mughals. Therefore there is every probability that the Jain MSS. of Gujarât referred to must have been influenced by Islamic miniature-painting which was the speciality of the Muslims,

(1) *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, November 1925. This MS. is from Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Qâdir's Library.

(2) *Eastern Art Annual*. 1931.

(3) MS. of *Jawami'u'l-Hakayat* by Aufr from M. 'Abdul Haq's private library, showing one episode about the construction of a mosque and a minaret when Aufr was the Chief Justice at Cambay.

or altogether the work of some Muhammadan artist as here suggested. The Lahore Central Museum, I think, is one of the best museums of the world in respect of its collections of local old paintings—for example, it has the oldest specimens of characteristic miniature-painting of various periods of the Indian and Persian schools. By chance we find there some Jain paintings catalogued (v. No. K7-K30) which, I am sure, being the part of some MS., must be regarded as the oldest of their type ever noticed by the critics. By permission of the Museum authorities I am reproducing one of them here. Neither of them bears any sign of affinity to those of Ajanta nor any spirit of Jainism. There is no doubt but that the subject of all these paintings is Hindu: they perhaps illustrate some romance; but the technique of the workmanship and environments are altogether Islamic:—

(a) The fashion of the costume, especially the upper and lower garments of the males and the turbans with a high-topped cap emerging from them are Islamic. (b) The faces of the males have trimmed moustaches, which is indispensable for orthodox Muhammadans, as well as beards. (c) The pointed multifoil arched architecture, among other details is a speciality of the Muslims. (d) No house in those days had tapped water-bowls such as are seen here except the houses of Muhammadans. (e) Almost all the paintings contain a holy-book-rest *Rahl* which is absolutely Muhammadan and never seen in any other religion but Islam. (f) Moreover, simply to symbolise the holy book on the book-rest, the artist has been at pains to note the typical Islamic words—*Allah* for God, *Bismillah* for the beginning of the holy book and *Muhammad* in distinct Arabic character. I could find out other points like these but I content myself with these Islamic signs as proof sufficient that the miniature-painting produced in India was thoroughly influenced by the Muhammadans.

Mr. N. C. Mehta has referred to a unique Gujarâti MS. of Vasanta Visala—a scroll on cloth dated 1451 A.D.* which has 79 paintings—a form of mural painting. It was prepared during the reign of Ahmad Shâh Qutbu'd-Dîn of Gujarât 855-863 A.H. (=1451-1458 A.D.) as the words show. Mr. Mehta is himself mistaken here in pointing out the oversight of the scribe of the said MS.

**Studies of Indian Painting* by N. C. Mehta, Chapter X.

who is perfectly right as regards the dates of the reign of Qutbu'd-Dîn. Mr. Mehta has shown in it some of the prominent and dominant points of Islamic culture which I have noted above in the Jain paintings of the Lahore Central Museum. Though this MS. was prepared after a century and a half of Muslim rule in Gujarât, yet we find that the Muslims had influenced deeply the life of people of Gujarât as evidenced in their works of Art. But Mr. Mehta says that at that time Bihzâd the renowned artist of Persia, was not present—i.e., Persian painting was not in existence. How funny that is! I attribute it to the weakness of Mr. Mehta's knowledge of Islamic Art. He should be aware of the fact that we have still in existence Persian and Arabic illustrated MSS. even of the eleventh century—rather earlier than that. I think the study of the above-noted authors' works will reveal the truth to him.*

The illustrations of the Vasanta Visala above referred to cannot possibly be held representative of the best of Jain miniature-paintings because they are quite crude of their type and contain no iota of the spiritual air of the art of painting which one can enjoy from the æsthetic viewpoint. The best extant specimen of the old Jain miniature-painting is an illustrated MS. of Salibhadra, which can be called really a piece of art of the ancients. I first observed it in Calcutta at the Tagore's Septenary Anniversary Exhibition 1931, from the famous collection of Bahadur Singh Singhi. It is dated 1681 S.V.=1624 A.D. (i.e., the reign of Jahângîr), written in Rajasthâni Hindi by Pandit Lavayana-Kîrti Gani and illustrated with thirty-nine large coloured miniatures by an artist named Salivahana. Being of the large size ($17 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches), at first glance one is reminded of one's previous observations of such MSS. of the Hindu epics—Ramayana and Mahabharata—in various collections prepared by the court-painters of Akbar. Of Ustâdh Salivahana, who seems to have a thorough mastery of the technique of Mughal Art and to have been greatly influenced by the art motifs of the Mughals, nothing is recorded in this MS. beyond the fact that he was the artist of a Jain pictorial roll illustrated by him which is reproduced in *Studies of Indian Painting*. Here it is recorded that Ustâdh Salivahana, the court-painter, has painted scenes as he saw them and ends his greetings to Acharya Vijayasena Suri. This

**Persian Miniature-Painting*, Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1933.

shows that, besides being a great artist, a painter attached to the court of Jahangir, he was also a pious man.¹

It may be of interest also to the reader to know that my friend Mr. Ajit Ghose of Calcutta, a great collector of the day, very kindly showed me his unique MS. of Behâri Lal's Satsaiya illustrated by a Muslim artist, Sheikh Sana'ullah, written for Jagat Singh and completed on Friday the 5th day of the dark fortnight in Bisakh 1741 S. V.=1680 A.D. Many Hindu poets of Hindi language were honoured by the Mughals for eminence in their poetry. Sundar Das of Gwalior is one of them, who received the title of Kavi Ray and afterwards Mahakavi Ray from Shâh Jahân. His work Nayika is illustrated with about twenty illustrations. This MS. belongs to the middle of the seventeenth century and the illustrations can be called good specimens of Hindu style.²

The Muhammadans must be regarded as the pioneers of miniature-painting in India, and they were the artists who taught it to their neighbours.

Ragmalas—Symbols of Music

In the domain of Music and Poetry the only extant record of the Music and Poetry of the ancients is the huge work *Kitabu'l Aghani* by Abu'l-Faraj Isfahâni (d. 356 A.H.=1063 A.D.)³ in twenty volumes of which illustrated manuscripts are available in various libraries in the Islamic world. The same traditions in these branches of art and literature flourished in Persia and India along with the conquests of the Muslims. Especially as regards music in India, since the latter period, it took up its name on classical lines "Rag Mala or Ragani." The illustrated MSS. prepared here jointly by both Hindu and Muslim masters, having symbolical conceptions of different forms of music, depicted in human figures where necessary, have pure Indian atmosphere. During the reigns of Shâh Jahân and Aurangzêb many such books were written on Hindi music.⁴ Sher Muhammad Nawab Qawwal and Mirza

(1) *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, June, 1938. *An Illustrated Salbhadra MS.* by P. S. Nahar.

(2) Loan Exhibition from Ghose Collection 1925. Items No. 65-82.

(3) *Kitabu'l-Aghani—Encyclopedia of Islam*.

(4) I refer here only to the items No. 2018, 2031, 1841-45, & 1853. of Persian MSS. on Music in the Bodleian Library Oxford, out of numerous others and *Catalogue of Boston Museum*, Vol. V. *Rajput Painting*, LXVI, LXXVIII-IX.

Mukarram Khan Safvi were the best masters of music at their courts.¹ Lal Khan and Jagan Nath, contemporaries of Aurangzêb, are said to be the descendants of Ustâdh Tansen. Muhammad Nâdir of Samarqand paints a portrait of Sher Muhammad Qawwal while at his best in music.² It is regarded as a masterpiece of painting. Nadhamal, who usually paints musical subjects, lived during the 17th and 18th centuries. His work, with his signature in Persian character, is found in many collections, especially in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. But his best specimen of work, reproduced in *Indian Music*, is the singer Bhawani Das, who used to play at Pakhawuj.³ Apart from the many sets of Ragani pictures, illustrated MSS. on music were going to be prepared by experts with the help of painters during the latter period which I have seen in several collections.⁴

Later Mughal-Hindu Artists

I have had the opportunity to explore numerous collections both in India and Europe in connection with my researches for the "Dictionary of Musulman Miniature-Painters" and thus have seen many important and useful specimens of work, but in this article I am noting below the names of Hindu artists especially of the eighteenth century from the famous Johnson Collection at the India Office, London, which is not properly catalogued as yet, and from other sources of equal importance. These artists used to work under Mughal chiefs and nobles:—

Book II.—Folio. A portrait of Farrukhsiyar signed by Khemanand.

Book V.—This book contains a good many pictures of the later period and they all are of Hindu religious subjects. They generally bear writings in both Persian and Hindi characters, and all are perhaps by one artist named Sitaldas, which name appears on Folio 22. Also this artist's name occurs in many other books of the same collection as well as in one of the MSS. of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.⁵ One Ragani picture of the Handela

(1-2). *Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri* of Mohd. Sâqi, p. 384. (Urdu Trans. Deccan) and *Indian Painting under the Mughal* by P. Brown, PL. XVI, p. 81.

(3) *Indian Music* by Atiya Begum.

(4) The best specimens (two sets) of Ragani pictures are found in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay from Sir Akbar Hydari's Collection.

(5) Bodleian Library, Oxford. Douce Or. 62. Fol. 44.

Rag by Bahâdur Singh : and the same Bahadur Singh portrays an aged emperor perhaps Shah 'Alam seated on a balcony overlooking a lake, which portrait is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, and folio 54. Bhairon Rag by Sitaldas.

Book II.—Folio 17. A picture by one Gowardhan. That it is the work of a later-age artist is obvious from the technique and design.

Book XVIII.—A Prince on horseback with a falcon in his hand signed by Rai Bhoj Raj, who used to work under the Peshwas. (1740—1761 A.D.)

Book XXI.—Folio 3. A picture by Nanha Rai showing a young man. It is not of a good quality and this Nanha Rai is not the Nanha of the days of Jahângîr, as is evident from his work and the suffix to his name, Rai.

Book XXII.—Folio 17. The portrait of Mirza Hidâyatu'llâh of the days of 'Azam Shâh by Thakur Rao Ganj Singh. Folio 27. A picture of polo-playing in outline and roughly coloured by an artist Ram Suhæ. It is just possible that he may have been one of the relatives of Gouhar Suhæ who is cited here from the collection of Chughtai, the well-known artist of Lahore.

Book XXIII.—Folio 1. The portrait of Nawâb Sâhib Qiblah 'Azîz Khan Bahadur by Chhaj Mal.

Book XXIV.—Folio 1. The portrait of Bahâdur Shâh. This piece of work bears signature in the form عمل ہونا حال (The work of Hûnhâr Hâl). It shows that he is another Hûnhâr, quite different from the artist of that name of the days of Jahângîr because he adds a suffix to his name حال, which means of the present age, simply to make a distinction from another artist of that name. On the other side of this folio there is a portrait of a prince Mu'izzu'd-Dîn by an artist Jawâhar Mal. Folio 10 bears a portrait of Raja Bishen Singh by Ustâd Gulab Rai.

Book XXXIV.—This whole volume is devoted to the Ragani pictures and they are by two artists, Ustâd Ordat Singh and Mohan Singh whose signatures are found on them.

* Bankipur Catalogue, vol. 9. p. 113. Sayyid 'Abdullâh's article on "Anand Ram Mukhîs—" *Oriental College Magazine*, February 1929 and Punjab University Library MSS, P. I, 84. p. 158.

Book XXXVIII.—*Karnamah-i-'Ishq*. (The Romance of Love), by Anand Ram Mukhlis (d. 1164 A.H.=1750 A.D.). He composed the story *Husn wa 'Ishq* (Beauty and Love) of Prince Gouhar and Queen Mamlukat. Its beginning shows that it was completed in 1144 A.H. Fortunately the India Office has the author's autographed illustrated copy and it bears 37 folios of paintings by an artist Marak, brother of Gowardhan, who took five years to finish this work of Anand Ram Mukhlis dated 1151 A.H. It was written by a scribe Hargolal during the 17th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah. Anand Ram Mukhlis has mentioned two great painters of his days, Charandas and Gowardhan, in his great work *مرآة الاصطلاح*. This all establishes that there really was an artist of the name of Gowardhan quite different from the great artist of that name in the days of Akbar and Jahângîr.

Book XLII.—A collection of Ragani pictures by Gobind Singh and other artists who have already been mentioned.

Book XLV.—One study by an artist named Mûl Chand.

Book L.—Folio 1. One study showing the worship of Lingayam by an artist named Rai Fateh Chand.

Book LVIII.—The portrait of a painter Dal Chand by another artist named Mohan Singh.

Book LX.—Folio 6. A portrait of Nawâb Dâud Khân and another portrait on folio 22 of Nawâb Qudsiya Bêgam mother of Muhammad Shâh Ghâzi by Mûl Chand whose work is noted above in book 45.

Book LXVII.—One study by Shyam Das about whom much has been said here in connection with Molâ Ram.

The British Museum, London, is really very rich in such collections which are kept under the able supervision of Dr. Laurence Binyon, and I note here only the work of three artists of the same category : Makar, who flourished in the days of Aurangzêb, paints a scene from Mahabharata—Udishtira wrestling with Karma. Bandi, son of Karam Chand, depicts another scene from Mahabharata—Arjuna and Bhima. Meo Das, whose work is much influenced by European style and technique, draws a farm with two travellers.*

*Guide to an Exhibition, 1922.

There are numerous pictures in the Baroda Museum which are signed by such artists of the times of Akbar, Jahângîr, and Shâhjahân as Jagan Nath, Sanwla, Bishen Das, Hunhar, and Nanha. But the work is quite modern and not of the quality to be expected had they really been drawn by those artists. It is possible that artists of a later age might have adopted the names of those artists for their high rank in the history of Indian Painting.

Among the less noteworthy artists of this late period Mehr Chand deserves to be mentioned—an eclectic artist, who more or less freely copies the Persian style of Humâ-yûn's time, the historical Mughal paintings of the 17th and the English representations of the 18th century. Simultaneously with this he sometimes attempts the Krishna themes and subjects of the Linga cult, while sometimes he depicts the life of Muslim saints. He also paints landscapes and frontispieces. Dr. Kuhnelt has discovered from the Museum Fur Volkarkund at Berlin a series of miniatures and specimens of calligraphy almost all signed by this artist named Mir Chand or Mehr Chand son of Gangaram. Some of his works are portraits such as that of Shah 'Alam (1759-1806 A.D.) and two of Nawab Shaja'u'd Doula of Oudh (1756-1775 A.D.) with his children. The latter seems to be either a copy or the original of another artist's work named Nevâzilâl.¹

At that time also there were some Hindu poets who were great scholars of Arabic and Persian, such as Lachmi Ram Pandit and Lala Lachmi Narain Munshi. Both were great masters of the art of calligraphy through which they had acquired a good knowledge of the art of painting too, simply to embellish their specimens of calligraphy, although their specimens of work have never come to light. The former died in 1813 and of the latter no date is mentioned.²

Sometimes artists and poets are inspired by extraordinary occurrences around them and thus leave a landmark after them in their personal expressions either in painting or words. Similarly Bhupal Singh paints a

(1) E. Kuhnelt's article on Mehr Chand "An Unknown Mughal Painter." Berlin Museum Vol. XLIII. 11-12, 1922. *Miniaturemalerei im Islamischen Orient*, p. 48. And *Miniature Indienne du Musée de Louvre* par Ivan Stchoukine, p. 74. Musée No. 85, 571.

(2) *Tazkira Khushnivisan*. Calcutta, p. 119 and One MSS, of Bankipur.

scene of the last Mughal king playing Holi in the Divan Khas,¹ and on the other hand Bhikam depicts a scene of Nâdir Shâh receiving the jewels after the sack of Delhi. This piece of work also bears a seal of the emperor on its back.

Artists of the Neo-school of Hindu Painting

These Hindu artists follow religious themes generally on the following topics :—Krishna Lila—Ramayana—Mahabharata—Vedic Ballads—Sarangaras—Nayka—Parbati—Ragmalas, etc.

The artists of these religious motives, who have up to this day produced innumerable fine works of art, are completely in obscurity as regards their real names and careers, which is not the case with both Hindu and Muslim artists of the early Mughal period even up to the days of Aurangzêb. It is also a fact that Hindu artists from the very beginning were less literate than the Muslim artists, which may be one of the main causes why these artists did not sign their pictures. The question arises : How these artists could attempt such high and perfect mythological subjects ? Either they were guided by someone and they did not like naturally to place their names on them, or perhaps under the sentiments of religion no necessity of getting recognition was ever felt by them ; or it may be just, according to Dr. Martin's interpretation, that these paintings were executed for sale to foreigners, in which case no question of attribution to the workman is concerned. I find that no-one has ever devoted attention to this important point, so I have sought information about it, and have been able to collect the following facts about Hindu artists of the later period :—

By the end of the 17th century we find that in India the arts were spread beyond the bounds of the Mughal court. The artists of the Mughal Imperial court had to scatter and look for other patrons ; thus a good many Hindu artists who had learnt the art of miniature-painting from the Muhammadans had settled in Hill States, where they would have had to adapt their acquired Mughal style to their environment, as was the case of Shyamdas and Kehrdas who were ancestors of Mola Ram, the hero of the

(1) Ivan Stehoukine's "*Indienne Peintures*" PL. LXIV.

(2) Calcutta Exhibition, December 1923. Item No. 585, from A. Ghose's Collection.

so-called Rajput School of painting. They were in the service of Suleymân Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh. At that time the struggle for the throne between the sons of Shâhjahân had driven the members of the royal house to different parts of India. Suleymân Shikoh had taken temporary refuge with Raja Fateh Singh, then the ruling chief of Garhwal. Shyamdas and Kehrdas had accompanied Prince Suleymân Shikoh during his flight to Garhwal.

Mola Ram in his youth was the disciple of a Muhammadan learned in the mystical Sûfi philosophy and, being a poet in both Persian and Hindi, described the wars of Aurangzêb and something of his own history :—

“ Having surrendered the Prince, the Raja of Garhwal confiscated or, to be more exact, misappropriated the wealth and property of Prince Suleymân which he had brought with him from Delhi and had left behind, including his followers, courtiers, and stewards at Sirinagar.”

Mola Ram's ancestors Shyam Das and Hardas also formed part of the booty, as the poet (Mola Ram) tells us :—

“ Shyamdas and Hardas, son and father, he (Pirithi Shah) detained with him, knowing that they belonged to the clan of Tanwars (Rajput) and were the Prince's ministers, he paid them due respect in his court. Since then we have remained in Garhwal and it is thus that our ancestors came to Garhwal. In their family I am born and Mola Ram is my name.”¹

Mola Ram's descendants are still called Musawwar (painters) in their native town Sirinagar (Garhwal) and Jagirdars—free land-holders. Mola Ram was the artist *par excellence* and the author of most of the paintings. The drapery and dresses of the paintings either of Mola Ram or of pictures in his school are the same as work by men of Mughal times; they lived at Delhi or in the courts of the Raja of Garhwal or Kangra.² Fortunately Shyamdas's two studies are found, one at the India Office in Johnson's famous collection and the other in Prof. Agha Haider Hasan's collections, Hyderabad, Deccan.

(1) *Rupam* No. 8. “ Some Notes on Mola Ram ” October 1921
The writer has noted the geneological order of Mola Ram in this way :—
Shaym Das—Hardas—Hiralal—Mangatram—Molaram—Jawala-
ram—Tejaram—Balakram.

(2) *Rupam* No. 8, 26, 37 and 40 up to October 1929.

Mola Ram's father Mangat Ram's two wood-cut flower designs are reproduced by Mr. French in his *Himalayan Art*.¹ One Balak Ram of the same brilliant family of artists still works even to this day. Mr. French has also mentioned the work of other artists of the same class such as Hazuri who paints a picture of Alexander the Great, and Kushan Lal, the favourite painter of Raja Sansar Chand, although his work has not come to light. The best work which Mr. French saw was by an old artist, Nandu, in the temple of Lachman Narayan in Kangra town. Though many artists were killed by the earthquake of 1903, yet Nandu, Hazuri, Gulab Ram, and Lachman Das were still working. They are of Gujra caste. Nandu's ancestors had come to Kangra in 1563 A.D. Another great artist Fattu is also described. It is probably not known that the fugitive Prince Jahândâr Shâh had also painters in his tutelage at Benares. One of their descendants, Ram Parshad, is still working for Bharat Kala Parshad. The Benares school of painting, which lingered on to about 1780 A.D., is probably a direct offshoot of the later and decadent art of the Mughals.²

Mr. Ajit Ghose says :—"A painter, who in the land of his labours enjoys to this day an even greater reputation than Mola Ram, was Raja Haricharan Das. An exquisite series of illustrations of Gita Govinda is attributed to him, from which I have selected one example of Ras Lila. The nineteenth century could boast of two such great painters as Mola Ram and Haricharan, but the race of indigenous painters is now extinct.....witness the *Hamir Hath* illustrations reproduced by Hirananda Sastri in the Journal of Indian Art and Industry. This series was painted in the first decade of the 19th century by a painter named Sanju."³

Without any hesitation I declare here that the above-noted account of Mola Ram's career still requires to be based on some more reliable and contemporary authority. He is really a genius. I suggest that a careful study of his career as a painter is needed.

Gouhar Suhae, whose three best specimens of work are found in the unique collection of Khân Bahâdur Chughtai,

(1) *Himalayan Painting* by J. C. French P. 20-45 56-60, 101-106. and plates 19-20.

(2) Mehta's *Studies of Indian Painting*, p. 4.

(3) *Roope Lekha*—"The School of Rajput Painting." April 1929.

the artist. These are the finest specimens of Indian painting of the period. The chief characteristic of this artist is that he generally paints large female faces with minute detail and meticulous perfection. He signs in Persian character in shakasta style ساخت گوهر سہاے Sakht Gouhar Suhae on the back of the pictures. I am trying to compile a separate monograph on the characteristic of the style of this artist.

Manku and Chaitu of the hill school were employed in pictorial translation of the great Hindu classics and stirring episodes of the epics of the Puranas. One study of Manku's is available with signature which reads :—"Manak ki Lekhi" مانک کی لیکھی (The work of Manak). I think, perhaps Manak and Chaitu were father and son because in the Lahore Central Museum there is one portrait of Manak and the Hindi inscription on it reads, although it is to some extent blurred, Manak پسر Pisar (son of) Chaitu Musawwar. Sahib Ram, a portrait-painter of Jaipore, whose name is found in an inscription on a magnificent portrait of Raja Partab Singh. Also the portrait of another artist Pandit Nainsukh is reproduced in *Rupam* from Tagore's collection. It is in profile in an oval shape. The young artist is shown actually sketching on his board or sketch-book with a fine brush in his hand. The inscription on it in Hindi reads "the portrait of Nainsukh." It is interesting to note here that this Nainsukh had also two sons Gouhu and Kâmâ who were well known artists and whose portraits are found in the Central Museum, Lahore ; the Hindi inscriptions on them show clearly that they were the sons of Nainsukh. Another artist of the same category, named Kani Ram, is mentioned from Mr. Treasurywala's collection, whose name is inscribed on an unfinished drawing. It reads—Shabih Chatera Kâni Râm شبیه چترا کانی رام (the portrait of artist Kâni Râm). A keen observation of it will reveal that pots of paints, drawing-board, brushes, etc., represent an artist. The portraits of the artists Mangat Ram, Sahib Ram and Pandit Nainsukh, referred to here, have been reproduced in different numbers of *Rupam* from various collections. But the portraits of other such artists—Pandit Sev, Khush Hâlâ, Nikkâ and Râm Lâl, in addition to the above-noted ones from the Lahore Museum, are also found in the same museum. The portraits of all these artists, whether in the Lahore Museum or in any

other collection show that they all belong to one and the same, school, court and place where they have been prepared.¹

The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay also contains a fine collection of both European and Indian paintings hardly seen in any other Indian Museum. The visitor from overseas, just after landing at the Indian port, can enjoy to some extent the same atmosphere as he feels on his visit to some museum in Europe. But here the majority of the collections are either bequests or loans from great collectors such as from Sir Rattan Tatta, Sir Akbar Hydari, etc. By chance Sir Akbar's collection is rich in Oriental MSS. and paintings. It has one illustrated and illuminated MS., of *Divan Hafiz* dated 1282 A.H.=1865 (perhaps the work of Shaym Narain as his name appears there) in which the Persian verse is illustrated in a purely Indian style (No. 9). And one painting depicting a scene from Radha and Krishna, in which they are shown sitting on a throne, bears the name of the artist ; Lâl Chand.

Among the other love romances of India there is also the very popular love romance of Bâz Bahâdur and Rûp Matî of Malva. It has been illustrated by innumerable artists, both on horseback galloping towards the hills. The pioneer work in this respect, as regards age and quality, is that of a Muslim artist Fâ'izu'llâh, found in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.² The later artists also took the same subject, imitating them ; as is found in many collections. I came across one such picture signed by a Hindu artist, Bhima,³ of the 19th century.

During the Sikh régime, especially in the Punjab, many artists were attempting Sikh religious subjects, showing the life of pious men and others. One artist Chhajju's work shows a group of Sikh pious men, which is explained thus in a Hindi poem :—"An excellent chair was made of gold. The king Visawa Singh liked it very much and sat on it. The bird *Tuti* (parrot) is greatly amusing the party by repeating the same words as Deva Singh utters with a laugh. Sâbha Singh is wearing such a look as one cannot help laughing to see. He is expert in the game of *chupat*

(1) *Rupam*, as quoted above, and Lahore Museum D 115-D 122.

(2) *Les Peintures des MSS. Persans de La Collection B. N.*, Paris Plates LXXX.

(3) *Exhibition of Indian Paintings. Chiefly of the Jaipore school*, 1980. No. 185.

and has won a treasure. Behind him is standing Gulab Daya Singh with a handkerchief in his hand. Such a picture has Chhajju accomplished."¹ Another artist is Kapur Singh of Amritsar who generally used to paint bazar scenes with popular subjects such as *Kanphata* (split-ear) or a *Jogi*, harp in hand, in fancy dress.²

Especially as regards illustrations of the love romances already current here, apart from the well known Hindu epics, it is evident that the artists of the Neo-Hindu school also tried their hands at other themes. *Hamir Hath*, in which Sultan 'Alâû'd-Dîn is shown shooting a rat, the queen despatching a letter to her lover, the Sultân seated on the throne,—Leylah and Majnûn conversing in the desert, a camel kneeling to the right,—*Sohni Mahinwal*, Sohni crossing the river to visit Mahinwal,—*Sassi Punnun* Punnun on a camel addressing Sassi who stands before him holding the bridle, etc., etc. In this respect the *Paduamat* of Malik Mohammad Jaisi and Behâri's *Satsayya* have been the great source of inspiration for the writers and artists of these romances.³

In conclusion I think it necessary to add that everyone will be compelled to agree with my view that these Hindu miniature-painters, who are held responsible for bringing about the Neo-school of Hindu painting of the later Mughal days, were not only influenced by the Mughals, but that they had learnt everything at the Mughal courts ; after which their followers, according to their circumstances, constituted a Neo-religious Hindu school of painting. Moreover, the style and technique of their work is not very old in the opinion of most experts.

Illustrations

1. A hitherto unpublished and signed work of Mîr Sayyid 'Alî of Tabriz Judai is reproduced here illustrating a scene from Razamnâmah (Mahabharata). It is from a MS. in three volumes of 18×10 inches including 84 full-size miniatures by the court artists of Akbar. Its scribe

(1) *Some Court Portraits of the Pahari School in Dutch Collections*, by H. Goets—*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta December 1933.

(2) *History of Fine Arts of India and Ceylon*, 1st Ed. p. 326-7.

(3) *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Rajput Paintings, Vol. V. XCI-IV, CXLIX-CL and CLI.

is Pîr Muhammad bin Muhammad Hâfiz, and it is dated 1014 A.H., the year of the death of Akbar, *Oriental College Magazine* 1925, November.

2. Reproduced here by the courtesy of the Central Museum, Lahore. No. K. 21. which is fully discussed here, being a part of the Jain MS. showing signs of Islamic culture.

3. Reproduced here by the courtesy of the collector, Bahâdur Singh Singhi, Calcutta, and the Journal of the Oriental Society, Calcutta. The figures are dressed in the fashionable style of the Mughal court and wearing two-coloured shawls (dorukha), one red and violet and the yellow and violet colours.

4. It is a gift of Sir Michael Sadler, Master of University College, Oxford, to the writer, which is reproduced here with hearty thanks. This outline depicts a scene from Mahabharata by some artist of the later period and it shows how he has assimilated the style of the work of the artist of Akbar's days, such as that reproduced here by Mîr Sayyid 'Alî of Tâbriz, having almost the same atmosphere. It bears inscribed in Hindi the names of the heroes of Mahabharata—Almbusha Gatotkach, Bhimsen, Sehdev, Nakul, and Panduva. It also shows how those artists used to begin their works. It is an excellent specimen of the time and shows freehand drawing brush-outline.

M. ABDULLA CHUGHTAI.





Illustration No. 2.

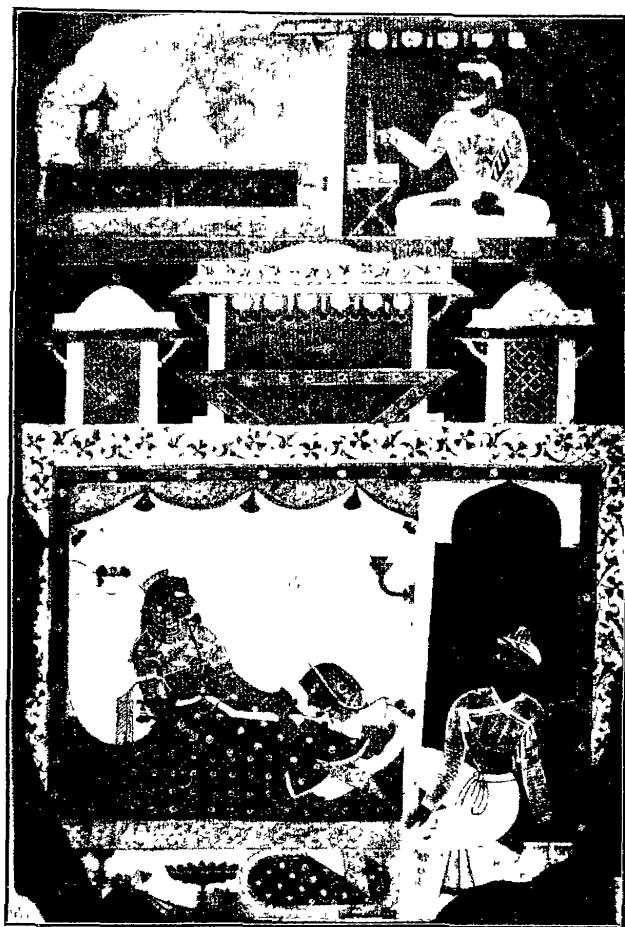
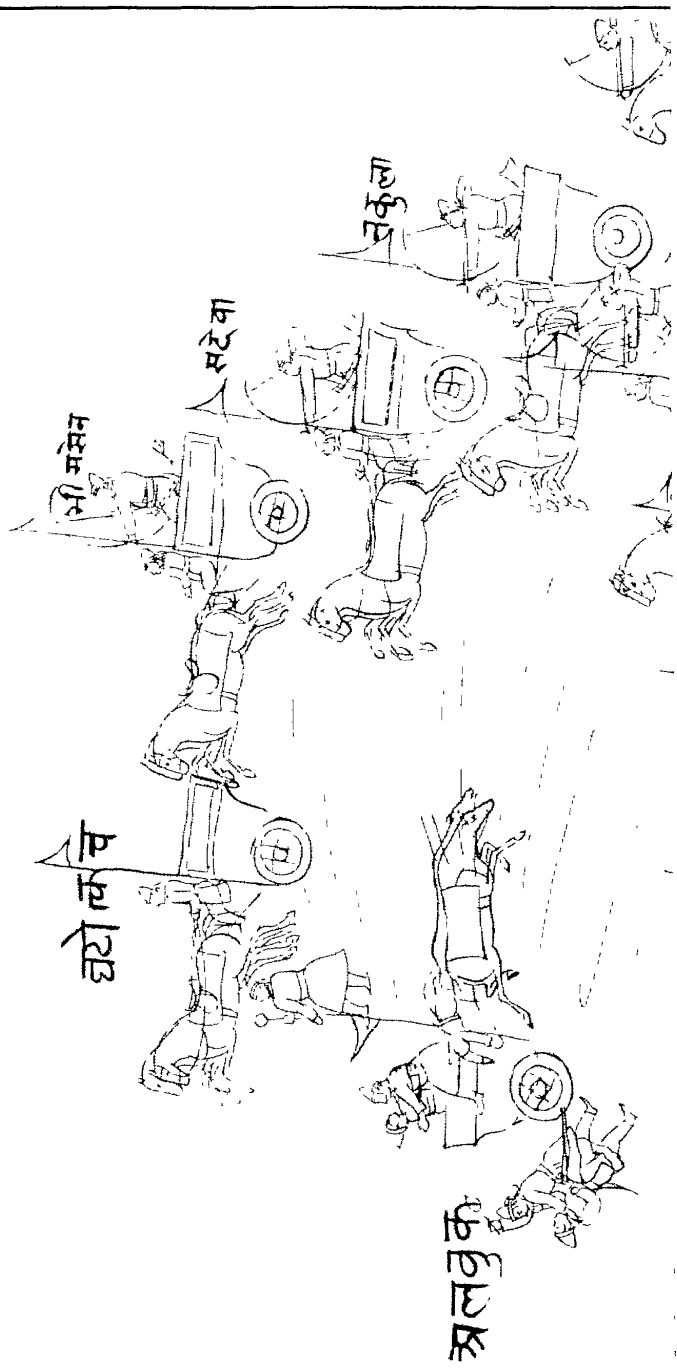


Illustration No 3



THE TUGHLUQ-NAMAH

II

THE assassinated Emperor Qutbu'd-dîn had five brothers. Farîd Khân, Abu Bakr Khân, 'Alî Khân, Bahâ Khân and 'Usmân. The first two were 15 and 14 years of age while the youngest, 'Usmân, was only 5 years old. Farîd had already finished the holy Qur'ân and was being trained in the military arts. Abu Bakr was studying the holy book and had a leaning towards literary pursuits and calligraphy. 'Alî and Bahâ had just begun to learn the Qur'ân. (to v. 437).^{*} They were brought up in every circumstance of ease and glory—but the heartless traitor, Khusrau Khân, now decided to sacrifice them. He accordingly gave orders and his wild ruffians at once rushed into the royal Harem—which, says the poet, even angels and fairies could not enter without fear. The princes were hunted out and forcibly separated from their clinging, crying mothers. The elder two were immediately slaughtered and the rest were most cruelly blinded.

These scenes are depicted in the Tughluq-Nâmah under two headings, and with such vivid details that the horrified reader feels as if the heart-rending tragedy was being enacted before his own eyes. The author was able to gather all this information on the authority of an eye-witness, as he himself explains :—

کے کین فتنہ دیداز دیدہ خویش چنین بیرون ترا دید از دل ریش

(v. 619).

This is why this particular piece of the poem always appeared to me worthy of holding an unique place amongst the historical tragedies of the World Classics.

^{*} Barani, it is to be noted, mentions only two princes by name, while other details of their age and instruction are found nowhere, so far as I know.

(4)

In the next chapter, the poet condemns the cowardly attitude of the nobility who witnessed all the cruel barbarities perpetrated by the wicked regicide without any effective remonstrance. According to the Tughluq-Nâmah, Malik Tughluq was the only prominent noble of the realm who heard the tale of the bloody revolution at the metropolis with revengeful, almost maddened, rage. But his own son, Fakhru'd-dîn Juna, who was to succeed his father as the notorious Emperor Muhammad Tughluq (II) a few years afterwards, was evidently kept as a hostage at Delhi and the infuriated father had to wait for some time till he received a secret message from Juna asking his father for instructions.* He was as secretly directed to get out of the clutches of the usurper as quickly as possible. Juna succeeded in making good his escape in company with a friend, who was the son of another provincial Governor, namely Malik Bahram of Uchchha, and escorted by the fastest horse of his cavalry.

Amîr Khusrau is explicit in informing us that no-one among the numerous army of the usurper had the courage to pursue the deserters. Ibn Batûtah's story that Juna pretended to give his horses a round and slipped out of reach of Khusrau Khân, seems indirectly to support Amîr Khusrau's version; but Barani says there was a futile attempt to overtake Juna. I am inclined to think this is another error of that confused historian.

Anyway, the party safely arrived at the headquarters of Malik Tughluq who was overjoyed to receive his daring son. Their interview is described by the poet in an exquisite style (v. 813-843) and may perhaps compare favourably with any passage of a similar character in Persian literature.

The flight of Fakhru'd-dîn Juna caused a sensation in Delhi. The usurper consulted his ruffians and it was decided to assassinate the remaining princes of royal blood and lavishly spend money to ensure the loyalty of the army. The news of this fresh atrocity still more exasperated Malik Tughluq who now publicly declared his determination to take full revenge for his 'tiger-like Khalji patrons from those filthy dogs of Delhi.' Indeed

* The name of this secret emissary is given as 'Alî Yaghdi in the poem (v. 768). One 'Alî Aghdi is mentioned by Barani in his list of the prominent nobles of Muhammad Tughluq's court, and Amîr Khusrau also incidentally cites the name in his prose work called the *اعجاز خسروی*.

he was getting so furious that, in delivering his verbal reply to a messenger from one¹ of Hasan Khusrau Khân's few Muslim companions, he flared up suddenly and struck off the head of the unfortunate courier with his own hand :

همان قاصد فرستادن همی خواست و لے چون خشمش افزون شد نرد کاست
نیارست از غضب در خود فرو خورد به تیغ از تن سر قاصد جدا کرد

(v. 988, 989).

(5)

30 lines in praise of pen and penmanship to introduce the correspondence of Malik Tughluq with other provincial Governors inviting them to join him in the righteous war against the regicide-usurper. The fact is mentioned by Barani and other historians but the particulars given in the Tughluq-Nâmah are altogether lacking and appear valuable enough to bear a brief recapitulation here :—

1. Tughluq was most anxious to have Malik Bahram Abye, the veteran Governor of Uchchha (Sindh), on his side in this difficult and hazardous undertaking. Bahram was his personal friend, and the African traveller, Ibn Batûtah, also stresses his great share in the successful rebellion. It is certain that he immediately brought his contingent and was the right hand man of Tughluq throughout.²

2. Another letter was despatched to Maghalti, Amîr of Multân, who apparently regarded himself as Viceroy of all the northern provinces as constituted in those days, and thought it was impertinent on the part of a subordinate Governor to move him in such high matters of State. But Tughluq was able to raise a strong opposition at the very headquarters of Maghalti, who lost his life in an attempt to fly from his own mutinous officers.

3. Malik Yak Lakhi, the Governor of Samana, was a close neighbour of Malik Tughluq but turned hostile to his suggestion of revolt against Delhi. Not content with professing his loyalty to the new Emperor (Khusrau Khân), Yak Lakhi had the temerity to raid Dipalpur but was easily

(1) This was Yûsuf Sûfi whom Barani also makes a target of violent vituperation for his siding with the "ungrateful infidels."

(2) Ibn Batûtah says that, after the fall of Delhi, Tughluq offered the throne to Bahram, who refused it (vol. II, chapter 12). There is no doubt he was the first noble of the realm during the reign of Tughluq I, but later, joined the general insurrection against Mohammad Tughluq II and was killed fighting.

repulsed and met an inglorious end at the hands of a furious mob at the seat of his own Government.

4 & 5. Two very remote Governors to receive Tughluq's invitation were Mohammad Shah Sur of Siwas-tan and Malik Hoshang of Jalor (W. Rajputana). Both of them heartily approved the project but were unable to give any effective assistance.

6. The last, but not the least important, man addressed was 'Aînu'l-Mulk Multânî, whom Khusrau Khân retained as Chief Minister of the Empire and who had the province of Malva as his appanage. 'Aînu'l-Mulk at first took care to apprise Khusrau Khân of the secret message received from Tughluq, but, when again pressed by a second emissary, sent an encouraging reply to the organisor of the insurrection.

(6)

The rebel Governor was already dreaming of victory and its glorious reward. The poet fully narrates Malik Tughluq's three successive visions that he saw during these days of preparation for the coming struggle; but perhaps a more auspicious stimulus was his successful raid upon a large convoy bringing Sindh treasures, horses, etc., to the Imperial Court at Delhi. This enormous booty was judiciously distributed among the soldiers, causing much rejoicing in the town of Dipalpur, which, in addition to its military activities, now became a brisk centre of trade (v. 1317 to 1505). This act of open hostility forced Khusrau Khân—whom the author of the Tughluq-Nâmah represents to have been in a state of terrified anxiety—to send out a punitive force against the rebellious Tughluq. It was commanded by Khusrau Khân's younger brother who had recently been given the pompous title of 'Khân Khânân' generally reserved for victorious commanders of the highest rank.

The Imperialists advanced up to the fort of 'Sartabah' (Sirsah?) or, according to the version of the historian Badaoni, Sarsuti, which was the first military post of Tughluq's province on the Delhi frontier. They ravaged the country round but failed to overawe Mahmûd, the Commander of the little fort, who held out to threaten their line of communication, thus possibly checking their further advance. This situation gave something of an advantage to the rebel army and Tughluq at once decided

to take the field. Numerically weaker than his opponents, his was an extremely efficient force, consisting of men of such martial races as the 'Ghazz, Dar, Russi and Tajik.' In a public address Ghâzi Malik Tughluq told them he was determined to fight to the bitter end and in this crisis of his life only those need follow his fortunes who were likewise ready to stake their all on the hazardous issue. The soldiers expressed their willingness with acclamation and having renewed the oath of loyalty were led out amid scenes of extraordinary enthusiasm. The Ghâzi, putting his trust in God, began the fateful march towards Hindustan :—

سوے ہندوستان کردہ رخ خویش	برون آمد ز شہر فرخ خویش
نہ نیروے کہ گنج در تصور	سپاہ اندک ولے نیروے دل پر
ملائک ز آسمان ش دیدن آمد	ز جامے خود چو در جنیدن آمد

(to v. 1692).

(7)

It is difficult to locate the exact place of the battle but it may not be very far from the modern town of Hisar. The Tughluq-Nâmah states that the Dīpalpur army passed the village of Alapur and encamped on the banks of the "Hauz-i-Bahat," leaving between them and their adversaries a waterless desert about ten 'kos' (or 20 miles) in length. This served as a natural defence, and the Imperialists had to traverse the whole distance in one night in their attempt to surprise Tughluq's camp next morning. They had a distinct advantage in their superior number and better equipment. The long and hot journey overnight had tired the men but they had to engage the enemy who promptly came out in battle array, leaving them little time to rest. Thus the march was turned into a regular assault under cover of a strong column of war-elephants who seem to have continued to advance, exposing the following Centre to the counter-charges of the hostile cavalry. The marked contrast between the military ability and personal valour of the two commanders soon told. Tughluq skilfully developed his general attack into an encircling movement, while the nervous Khân Khânân under his magnificent red canopy, "shrunk like wet grass beneath the shade of a mushroom," could no longer manage to stand the shocks. Few other leaders of the Imperialists seem to have fought in earnest, the majority following the example of their panicky Commander-in-Chief, who showed

his pluck only in leaving the battle-field in time to effect a safe but shameless flight. It is possible the victors did not pursue him out of sheer contempt, but busied themselves in taking stock of the enormous booty left behind, including the red canopy of the *Khân Khânân*. A large number of the routed army, evidently too fatigued by their overnight march and the day-time defeat to think of running away, were taken prisoner. The Muslim captives had to hear a lot of harsh, taunting words from their victorious co-religionists, but otherwise they were treated well. The *Ghâzi* (*Malik Tughluq*) personally looked after them; sincerely expressed regret for the killed and gave instructions for the proper treatment of the wounded. *Amîr Khusrau* particularly mentions the case of *Malik Timûr*, an eminent officer of the Delhi army, who lay wounded on the battle-field and had to appeal to the enemy soldiers to carry him to *Malik Tughluq* who not only released him but himself stitched up his wounds and nursed him with the greatest care and kindness (to v. 1955).

(8)

Ghiyâsu'd-dîn Tughluq was now in a position to take the offensive and march against the capital itself. The rout of the Delhi army and the *Khân Khânân*'s precipitate flight had thrown the whole countryside into anarchy. No life or property was safe from *Hansi* to the very walls of the metropolis. *Tughluq* promptly assumed the rôle of an administrator and proved himself as capable in putting the machinery of peace in order as he had been efficient in organising the military revolt. His own men captured a caravan of *Banjaras*, seizing a large amount of cash in silver. But *Tughluq* refused to allow them the prize-money, expressing doubts as to the legality of the procedure :

ملک گفتا کہ گرشش صد اک است این
نه گیرم چون حرام و در شک است این

(v. 1992).

Evidently the rebel's mind was already working in a more exalted direction.

Meanwhile the news of the crushing defeat caused consternation in the capital. *Khân Khânân*'s forces had been mainly recruited from Delhi, and the relatives of the many soldiers who did not return home were now making unseemly demonstrations of their natural grief. The

usurper, Khusrau Khân, was himself frightfully shaken. An interview with the defeated leaders only aggravated his fears. For days he sat sore and morose, refusing to speak to any one. Later, a private meeting of selected councillors was summoned and Khusrau Khân, no more concealing his gloomy forebodings, clearly indicated his willingness to come to terms with the irresistible insurgents. This suggestion found no favour in the meeting, one of the councillors bluntly telling Khusrau Khân there was no time to propose terms of peace to a person approaching with a drawn dagger. An ignominious surrender was the only alternative to a manly fight to a finish. "You have already thrown the final dice by stepping to the imperial throne," he concluded, "and now you must take the turn of fortune patiently, like an honest gambler." Certainly, there was little hope of an honourable peace. Khusrau Khân was prevailed upon to put the decision to another bloody trial and concentrate all his resources in fitting out a stronger army. "It was not you who amassed all this wealth," he was advised, "so spend it without remorse. You will recover it in no time if you win, otherwise it will be the loss of your victorious enemy to acquire an empty treasury."

According to these decisions a huge army was gathered and encamped on the banks of the dammed lake, called '*Hauz-i-Khas*,' of old Delhi; and an irregular ditch was dug out to form its outer defence against any surprise attack. Money was lavishly spent to recruit and equip fresh levies and ensure the loyalty of the half-hearted soldiers. As the author of the *Tughluq-Nâmah* comments under a separate heading, even generous rewards distributed in times of fear to ward off the immediate danger, would fail to impart a sense of obligation to the hard-pressed donor. Moreover, the usurper's extravagance enriched people (particularly his Hindu supporters), but was hardly calculated to abate their terror of the coolly advancing Tughluq who, passing through Rohtak and Medina, was already traversing the Kasambore hills which, turning to the south, encircled the plain of old Delhi on the west. Shortly afterwards his standards appeared in the desert of Lahrawat which spread down to the river Jumna to the east.*

* Baranî says, Tughluq encamped near Inderpat, that is, the old fortress of Delhi. Thus it would appear possible that the campaign took place in the same area where the latest New Delhi has been founded.

(9)

The belligerent armies were now lying at a distance of less than one day's march from each other. It was the last evening of the month of Rajab, 720 A.H., when Khusrau Khân decided to fight the enemy next morning. The whole night was spent in feverish activity and before dawn the great concourse was on the move. The Minister, 'Aînu'l-Mulk Multânî, deserted Khusrau Khân the same night and marched off to his principality of Malva. There was little manœuvring; but the lesson of the last defeat was, it seems, not altogether forgotten by the Imperialists who effectively protected the flanks of their war-elephants with a picked cavalry of 10,000 Bradus. This was obviously the most dependable force, consisting of Khusrau Khân's former tribesmen, represented by the author of the Tughluq-Nâmah to be the best fighters among the Hindus. They were distinguished by silk kerchiefs round their necks; were generally of pitch-black colour; named like 'Ahar Dev, Amar Dev, Narsia, Barsia, Harmar, Parmar,' and many having tusks of wild boar hanging from their standards as symbols of valour and tenacity. Khusrau Khân's right wing was entirely composed of his Muslim followers, some of whose prominent leaders are mentioned by name in the Tughluq-Nâmah (v. 2250-2290).

Malik Tughluq did not anticipate an engagement so soon and was somewhat upset to learn of the rapid advance of the Delhi host that morning. He hurriedly summoned a council of war and was reassured by his brave comrades who again took oaths to stand by him to the death. Bahram Abyeḥ and Bahâu'd-Dowlah, a nephew of Tughluq, took over the command of the Right and were supported by a strong detachment under 'Alî Haidar. The Left was led by Fakhru'd-dîn Junâ and five other officers of note, while Tughluq himself stood in the Centre conducting the whole operations as vigilantly as ever. Apparently the insurgents could bring no war-elephants, which were employed in mediæval India in place of the mobile artillery of modern times, and this gave a distinct advantage to their adversaries, whose first onslaught with a strong column of these formidable beasts nothing could stop. Tughluq's centre that bore the brunt of this terrible assault was completely scattered; the tents of his camp were already in sight of the triumphantly advancing Bradus. But here the momentum of their irresistible

onrush was lost. The enemy rallied. Division after division wheeled round to smite the rear lines of the Delhi army where Khusrau Khân himself rode an elephant under a canopy of gold which has ever been the insignia of royalty in the East. It is clear he was unable to control the far-flung lines of his unwieldy host ; was himself isolated and desperately charged by a picked body of horse under Tughluq, who made a target of the canopy of gold. As soon as this symbol of royalty fell, Khusrau Khân lost hope as well as his senses and frantically fled, followed by a number of other leaders.

The left wing of the Delhi host had not been able to keep pace with the rash rush of the Bradus and was presumably unaware of the fate that overtook them in a distant part of the vast battle-field. This army, mainly composed of the Hindu levies of Khusrau Khân, now appeared in full strength from an unexpected, because depressed, side of the desert, almost surprising their adversaries who were already busy plundering the fleeing troops of Delhi in scattered detachments. Again it was Tughluq who suffered their furious charge which threatened to overwhelm him and the thinned ranks under his personal command. Again it was his wonderful control of himself and a really dangerous situation that saved the day. Every historian has enlarged upon this critical phase of the battle in colourful language, the Tughluq-Nâmah providing some thrilling details. But the Dipalpur divisions soon rallied round their fearless commander and made short work of the new assailants.

The battle was fought and won by Ghiyâsu'd-din Tughluq on the last day of Rajab 720 A.H., tallying with the 5th September 1320 A.D.

There was every prospect of the victory degenerating into a massacre but for the great exertions of the gallant commander, who spared no pains to bring the unruly elements of his army under control. Still there were cases of pillage and plunder, though the author of the Tughluq-Nâmah assures us that only those Hindus who had newly amassed wealth during the last days of the usurper's reckless extravagance were deprived of their ill-gotten riches ; adding philosophically that such had been the time-honoured way of the world :

جہان را دیر شد کائین چنین است کہ ہر چہ اورا جگر ابن را نگین است
 کہے کو پشت داد و پس نہ بیند نہ عارت روے اورا کس نہ بیند
 عرے باز مثل شد در شبانی کہ در عارت نہ باشد مہرانی

(to v. 2539).

(10)

Next morning, which was the 1st of Sha'bân, the victorious Tughluq entered the metropolis, the same elephants who had caused havoc in his ranks yesterday now obediently leading the magnificent procession. Before the doors of the royal palace he got down and prostrated himself in a thanksgiving 'sajdah'; proclaimed a general amnesty and summoned the notables of Delhi to a friendly council. In a neat speech he extolled the virtues of his Khaljî patrons to whose generous favours, he confessed, he owed his rise from a commoner to the rank of a Governor. The audience, in their turn, obligingly traced his career, recapitulating his many great victories over powerful Rajas as well as the Chengizite Moghul invaders who were almost a perennial menace to the peace of Northern India in those days. Finally he was requested to occupy the vacant throne to which he alone had so convincingly proved his fitness. "My kingdom," the Ghâzi reiterated "is my bow." He explained, he was under the highest obligation to the Emperor 'Alâu'd-dîn, to whom he owed everything in the world. As was natural he received the reports of the destruction of the family of that monarch with the deepest mortification, and solemnly swore to wreak vengeance on the low-bred wretch who had committed that devilish crime. "I have," he concluded, "by the grace of God, completely succeeded in my righteous aim and can hardly afford to spoil the merit of the act by letting it wear a complexion of selfish interest."

They implored him again to accept their sincere, unanimous offer, illustrating the danger of crowning any one else by citing the historical case of Abu Muslim who was ultimately assassinated by the order of his own nominee, Ja'far, the first of the 'Abbâsid Dynasty. This, according to the Tughluq-Nâmah, made the self-denying conqueror pause; the significant visions he had seen at the beginning of the campaign, and which seemed clearly to predict the

establishment of the Tughluq Dynasty at Delhi, now re-crossed his mind : and at length, entrusting the reins to the hands of Providence, he yielded :—

عنان کار در دست قضا داد

ضرورت در چین کاری رضا داد

(v. 2770).

(11)

The two concluding chapters of the Tughluq-Nâmah deal with the arrest and execution of Khusrau Khân and his brother, the so-called Khân-Khânân. The latter, separated from his brother, hid himself in some isolated huts of an old woman, but was dragged out and produced the next morning before Fakhru'd-dîn Junâ who promised to obtain pardon for him. But the new Emperor refused to show clemency to a criminal who was notoriously responsible for most of the inhuman barbarities, particularly to the noble ladies of the royal Harem. Consequently the handcuffed ruffian was carried through all the principal streets of the city, exposed to the cursing crowds, and finally beheaded.

The traitor Khusrau Khân had fled from the battlefield with a company of Bradus, but was soon left alone to seek refuge in a garden on the outskirts of old Delhi. Baranî says it was the mausoleum of his former master, Malik Shâdi. Ibn Batûtah adds that he was in hiding for three days when starvation forced him to persuade a gardener to pawn his precious ring, which eventually led to his arrest. Reproached by Tughluq for the treacherous murder of his patron and sovereign, he said he was dishonoured by the Emperor Qutbu'd-dîn and could see no other way to remove the stigma. He also tried to explain away the cruel atrocities of his short-lived supremacy as owing to the evil influence of his advisers, and entreated to be allowed to live, though deprived of his eyesight as a punishment for his crimes. But the Emperor, with all his moderation, was unable to accept an appeal so obviously inconsistent with the dictates of justice as well with his (Tughluq's) own solemn pledge. So the regicide was executed on the same upper storey of the royal castle where

اگر ناردنی بر من نرفته زمین نا آمدے ویں من نرفته * (v. 2882).

Barani also repeatedly alludes to this misdeed of the licentious Qutbu'd-dîn but rather with a view to brand Khusrau Khân as a degraded slave.

Qutbu'd-dîn had been assassinated, and the severed head (of Khusrau Khân) was allowed for long to be trampled in the open courtyard.

* * * *

The existing copy of the Tughluq-Nâmah ends here, at verse number 2920 ; but the catchword at the foot of the leaf shows that the poem was continued further ; while on the margin of a page, a few leaves above the last one, appears the following versified heading of an evidently missing chapter :—

حدیث چتر و کشور دادن شهزادگان وانگه
به شغل آراستن کار ملوک و بنده و چاکر

This must have contained an account of the new honours, titles, posts, etc., bestowed by the Emperor Ghiyâsu'd-dîn Tughluq upon his loyal companions ; but, as explained in our introduction to the summary, this lost portion of the book could not have been long or of very great importance.

SYED HASHIMI,
(*Faridabadi*).

ANNALS OF THE DELHI BADSHAHATE

DESULTORY HISTORY OF ANCIENT ASSAM

132. *Legendary Kings of Kamarupa*

SALUTATION to Sṛī Krishna. Kāmāpristha extends from the Dui-muni-sila to the Mānas river including the river Sonkosh in Kāmāpristha. The territory lying between the Bar-Sonkosh to the two extremities of Morung is known as Ratnapristha, while Bhadrāpristha extends from the Kalong river to the Kailas river flowing in Kariabāri. The region between the Dekkaravāhini and the Dui-muni-sila is known as Saumāpristha. Mairānga Dānava, son of Brahmā, was the first ruler of these four pristhas. Mairānga Dānava's son was Hatakāsur, Hatakas' son Sambarāsur Sambarā's son Raktāsur. Then ruled Narakāsur of a different dynasty ; he was succeeded by his son Bhagadatta whose son was Dharmapāl, his son Karmapāl, his son Prithvipāl, his son Suvāhu. The last ruled in an impolitic and unjust way at which Kāmākhyā became angry and drove him to Kailas.

133. *Raja Dharmapal*

One Dharmapāl, a Khetri, came from Gauda and became King of Kāmārupa. He erected his palace on the Godānda-parvat, and imported Brāhmans, Kāyasthās and Kalitās from the following six places, Gauda, Kanauj, Mandartalā, Jabai-sāhān, Tihut and Bārakā. With the above people he established a council of Pandits and continued to govern the country.

134. *Kendu-kalai Bapu*

One Kendu-kalāi Bāpu used to offer worship to Kāmākhyā by singing devotional songs, at which the goddess became pleased and danced in utter nudity. Hearing this, the Rāja begged the Brahman to show him the dance of

Kâmâkhyâ. The Brâhman promised to show him the dance and directed him to peep through a chink-hole. Kendu-kalâi with other devotees clapped their hands and sang songs, and the goddess danced as usual. But, having caught a glimpse of the Râja through the hole, she was seized with shame, and fell flat on the ground, with her face downwards, bereft of her habiliments. She became wroth and cursed the King, saying that any member of his family having a sight of her would perish instantaneously ; she also cursed Kendu-kalâi, saying his line would be extinct.

135. *Pratap Singha and Chandraprabha*

Dharmapâl's son was Raktapâl. his son Somapâl, his son Pratâp Singha, who erected his capital at Kanyakâ-grâm. He subjugated the Bhuyâns of Upper Assam, and became a great king by bringing them under his suzerainty. His son was Arimatta. One day Pratâp Singh bathed in the Brahmaputra with his wife. At night Brahmaputra caused him to see a dream to the effect that the King should deliver his consort Chandraprabhâ to the river, threatening to destroy his kingdom by bringing in a deluge over his villages and towns in the event of non-compliance. The nobles and ministers advised the King to renounce his affection for his consort, as it was for a wife of his that the country was on the verge of destruction. The King delivered the queen to the Brahmaputra, having put on her her complete set of ornaments. After some time the Brahmaputra threw her on the bank at Amarâjuri near Nilâchal. A Brâhman took the queen to his house and maintained her as his own daughter.

136. *Arimatta commits patricide*

Some time after, the queen gave birth to a son. A serpent covered the new-born baby with its hood like an umbrella. The Brâhman who had given shelter to the queen saw a dream prophesying that her son would become King of Kâmarupa. The prince's face and head looked like those of an *ari* fish, for which he was named Arimatta.

After becoming King, Arimatta subdued the people around him and fought against his father Pratâp Singha who was then reigning in Upper Assam, without knowing that his antagonist was his own father. Pratâp Singha fell in the battle. On his return Arimatta communicated

the intelligence of Pratâp Singha's death to his mother, who, having received the news, began to wail and narrated to her son the old story of the Brahmaputra. The son replied, "It was unjust on his part to deliver you to the Brahmaputra, and for this sin he has died unknown at my hands." Chandraprabhâ followed her husband on the funeral pyre, and Arimatta performed the expiation ceremony for killing his father unawares, as well as the funeral obsequies of Pratâp Singha. He then became King of Kâmarupa.

137. *Construction of the rampart Vaidyar-garh*

The he began to construct a rampart, having employed each of his subjects for one prahar by rotation. During the construction of the fort, poisonous insects and snakes used to kill the workers. A *vaidya* or physician exercised his virtues and said, "The snakes and insects will cease to kill men if they utter the name *vaidya*." At this the body of workers shouted *Vaidya*, *Vaidya*, and thus escaped from death. So the rampart became known as Vaidyar-garh. Six scores of tanks were excavated within the walls of the fort.

138. *Phingua's conquest of Kamarupa*

One Phingua Râja, of the family of the Kings of Kamatâ, having subdued the territories commencing from Bihâr. threw up stockades at several places in Dakhinkul. He erected a fort in the village Sonkurihâ within the jurisdiction of Barbhâg, and waged a severe battle with Arimatta Râja at Vaidyar-garh. Being unable to defeat Arimatta, Phingua negotiated with Arimatta's wife Raktamalâ who said, "He should fight when I send information after having rubbed my husband's bow-strings with *Khar*, (an alkaline substance). Victory will then be achieved."

This was done, and then ensued the battle. The arrow would not shoot itself from the bow-strings on account of the latters' oily character. Phingua won the day. Arimatta dived into the river and disappeared. Phingua then fetched Arimatta's wife Raktamalâ and killed her, saying : "She has betrayed her own husband and how can we expect her to be faithful to us?" Arimatta's son, Raktasingha, ascended the throne after having killed Phingua. The new king carried on a liaison with a Brâhman woman, and consequently lost his kingdom on the curse of the Brâhman who was thus wronged.

139. *Revival of the Bara-Bhuyans' supremacy*

The Bâra-Bhuyâns then asserted their supremacy. They subdued the house of the Swarga-Mahârâjâ and the Sandikâis, and erected a fortress at Hâthisâl in Karaibâri. They also subjugated Ghila-Bijaypur and constructed roads and tanks in the vicinity of the Karatoyâ-Gagna. After this, one Masalanda Gâzi of Bengal ruled here for some years. Then came Husain Shâh Padshah's son Sultan Gayâsuddîn who died at Gadurachal. The Bhuyâns attained suzerain power once again.

RIVAL COOCH PRINCES AT THE MOGUL COURT

140. *Raghudev establishes his headquarters at Ghila*

Prince Cilârâi or Sukladwaja, brother of Mahârâjâ Nara-nârâyan of Cooch Bihâr, died leaving a son named Raghudev-nârâyan. Naranârâyan shifted his capital, as the Râja of Morung threatened an invasion of Bihâr. Raghudev was with his uncle. Cilârâi had the following Barâs and Baruks or officers—Kabindra Pâtra, Yudhis-thir Bhandâr Kâyastha, Sri-râi Laskar, Kaipur Giri, Sonâbar, Rupâbar, Sardâr Kabirâj, Gopâl Châulia, Gadâi Barkâyastha, Gadâdhar Châulia, Purandar Laskar as well as others. They now said to Raghudev Pâtkowar or the heir-apparent: "If you remain like this, you will always be subservient to the King. Mahârâja Biswa Singha at the time of his death had bestowed Bihâr up to the Bar-Sonkos river upon Naranârâyan, and the eastern portion of his kingdom upon Cilârâi Diwân. We now propose to make you a Râja at Ghilâ so that you may become an independent monarch. Get possession, by some means, of your father's elephants, horses and other provisions, and then come out on the pretext of a travelling excursion."

Raghudev accordingly said to the Râja: "If Your Majesty permits I intend to go out on a travelling expedition."

The King replied,—“I love you more than a son, so I have appointed you my heir-apparent. Do as you like.”

Raghudev said: “I want to take with me the officers, elephants, horses and provisions belonging to my father.”

The King replied: “All that is mine is also yours. Take with you whatever you choose.”

The Prince took with him his father's accoutrements and property, and after travelling for some time crossed the Sonkos river, and, seeing that snakes were being eaten up by frogs he established his headquarters at Ghilâ. Naranârâyan continued to remain at Bihâr. In the meantime a son was born to Râja Naranârâyan, and he was named Lakshminârâyan.

Raghudev then deputed two Barâs to Naranârâyan with the following message : " The Mahârâja has now been blessed with a son. Nothing untoward will happen during the life-time of the Mahârâja ; but after his demise things may not go so smoothly with his son. Two tigers cannot live in the same den. If the King approves of my leaving Bihâr for good, he should appoint me king over the territory belonging to my father, according to the partition of the kingdom made by my grandfather. Then we shall all remain in peace and happiness." The King became pleased with this proposal, and said : " My nephew has thought well. It is an excellent proposal." The King offered the royal sceptre, umbrella and throne to Raghudev and made him Râja with his headquarters at Ghilâ. There was no man so handsome and virtuous as Mahârâja Raghudevnârâyan and he ruled for thirty-two years.

141. *Hostility between Raghudev and Lakshminarayan*

As Mahârâja Naranârâyan demanded tribute from Raghudev, there was a war between the two, but it occurred only once. After the death of Naranârâyan, Raghudev fought with his son Lakshminârâyan. Râja Raghudev was defeated, and he returned to his territory, leaving behind his royal umbrella at Bihâr. Lakshminârâyan detained this insignia of royalty as a souvenir of his victory over Raghudev. The defeated prince now conferred with his men, Sil Khân, Fâteh Khân, the King's son-in-law Purandar Laskar, Nitâi Chandra Nâzir, Thakur Panchâ-nanda, Kabindra Pâtra, Gadâhdar Baruâ and other Barâs and Buruks, as a result of which he made preparations for invading Bihâr. Hearing this, Lakshminârâyan marched towards Ghilâ. Raghudev came out victorious ; and Lakshminârâyan took to his heels after being repulsed. Raghudev Râja did not lose any of his Barâs and Buruks.

Raghudevsnârâyan had the following sons.—Parikshit, Indranârâyan, Jadurâi, Bhawa Singha, Mukundadev, Balinârâyan, Mân Singha, Mahindra Singha, Gohâin-Magal, Gohâin-Râichanda, Sundarnârâyan, Gohâin-Maidân, Gohâin Mehnârâyan, Madhunârâyan, Brishaketu, Anantanârâyan, Pratâpnârâyan and Bijoy Singha.

Mahârâja Raghudevsnârâyan breathed his last on a full moon day in the month of Agrahâyan.

142. *Balinârayan's death*

At the instigation of Parikshit, a Mech murdered Indranârâyan by twisting his neck. Parikshit then ascended the throne. Hearing of this disturbance, Lakshminârâyan entered Ghilâ by the gate of Kâmâkhyâ-guri. There followed a terrible battle, wherein Balinârâyan, brother of Lakshminârâyan, was transfixed by a spear at dusk by Parikshitnârâyan's *dhalî* or shieldsman Rupâbar through ignorance, being taken for some unknown sardâr. When Rupâbar came to know that it was no other than Balinârâyan he unsheathed his sword and laid it before the prince, saying: "You are the brother of the King, and I, a *paik* or subject of yours, have wounded you. So you should cut me down with your own hand, by which my sin will be expiated." To this Balinârâyan replied: "What shall I gain by killing you? Besides, it will not be easy to save my life. You are permitted to commit even an act of unrighteousness if commanded to do so by the person whose salt you eat. More especially, you have slain me through ignorance, and so you are exempted from all guilt." Saying this, Balinârâyan breathed his last. Parikshit then removed the body of Balinârâyan and cremated it with *agar chandan* according to the custom of the country. His bones were sent to Bihâr. Twelve Kârzis* including Pâra Kârzi were captured in that battle.

143. *Parikshit and the Karzis of Cooch Bihar*

Parikshit's elephant named Mahindra-singha demolished the camp of Lakshminârâyan. Parikshit also captured two elephants belonging to Lakshminârâyan, who fled

* Viswa Singha, the founder of the Cooch Bihâr dynasty, on ascending the throne in 1527 A.D. appointed his twelve principal followers as Kârzis,—Bhakhurâ Kârzi, Paro K., Nichilâ K., Churchâl K., Satânanda K., Meghâ K., Purandra K., Bhotâ K., Biru K., Sharânâma K., Harish chandra K., and Ripunjoy Kârzi. Their descendants also enjoyed the karziship.

with his *mahadoi* or queen-consort. A Pathan of the camp of Parikshit intended to capture Lakshminârâyan, but he was dissuaded by his master from doing so, who said : " My aunt is with the fugitive. I shall be reprimanded by people if I capture him at this stage." Lakshminârâyan, being thus defeated, returned to Bihâr.

The captive Kârzis bowed down to Parikshit. But Pâra Kârzi refused to do so. Parikshit said to Pâra Kârzi : " All other Kârzis have paid their obeisance to me. But you have not done so. What is the reason ?" To this Pâra Kârzi replied,—“With this head I have bowed down to Mahârâja Lakshminârâyan, and I cannot bow down to you.” The Râja became indignant, and ten stripes were inflicted on the Kârzi daily. Still he did not pay his obeisance.

Lakshminârâyan then sent his *Katakis* or messengers to Parikshit, asking for the release of the Kârzis. Parikshit demanded in turn his father's umbrella left behind at Bihâr. Lakshminârâyan returned the umbrella, and Parikshit made presents to the Kârzis and gave them leave to depart. Pâra Kârzi now bowed down to Parikshit, who said : " You did not bow down before. Why have you done so now ?" The Kârzi replied : " To me you are the same as Mahârâja Lakshminârâyan. If I had bowed to you before, you would have attributed it to my fear for my life." The Kârzis then departed for their country.

144. *Mukarram Khan's expedition against Parikshit*

Parikshit used to conduct a pillaging expedition to Bihâr every year. Being unable to tolerate these oppressions, Lakshminârâyan presented his daughter,¹ and offered his allegiance to the Padshah, with the complaint that he could not peacefully govern his kingdom on account of Parikshit. The Padshah despatched Nawâb Mukarram Khân and twenty-two Omrâos with Lakshminârâyan, charging them to bring Parikshit as prisoner without taking his life. During Mukarram Khân's march, the Râja of Susanga, Raghunâth Rai, also complained² to him regarding Parikshit's frequent depredations. Mukarram Khân gave assurance to the Râja, who placed a contingent of his

(1) In *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochman, Lakshminârâyan gave his daughter to Mân Singha, vol. I. 840 ; also *J.A.S.B.* 1872, p. 58.

(2) For Parikshit's imprisonment of the family of Raghunath and the latter's complaint, see *Padishah-nama*, quoted in *J.A.S.B.* 1872, p. 58.

army under the command of the Nawâb. Lakshminârâyan also handed over his army and officers to Mukarram Khân and proceeded in advance to Bihâr, fearing that the city would be pillaged during his absence, as it was then empty.

145. *War between Parikshit and Mukarram Khan*

Mukarram Khân encamped at Dhubri. Parikshit despatched Fâteh Khân of Phulaguri at the head of his troops and officers. There ensued a terrible battle with Mukarram Khân, in which the Phulaguriâ Fâteh Khân was captured. One Paramananda Doloi, who was on a war-elephant, died in the engagement. The elephant demolished a large number of camps, but it was subsequently captured. Fighting on land remaining indecisive, there ensued a naval engagement. Purandar Laskar had a hard fight with Kuber Khân of the Bangâls. Kuber Khân perished in the fight, and Purandar destroyed a large number of the hostile camps. Then followed a battle with the son of Kuber Khân. Purandar fell in the battle. After the death of Purandar, the Râja spent some time in negotiating through wakîls, after which he retreated from the fight, crossed the Manâh, and halted at a stockade erected at Solâ. The Bangâls also pursued the fugitive, and halted on the other side of the river.

146. *Parikshit and Lakshminarayan before the Padshah*

The nobles and ministers of Parikshit held a conference among themselves, at which they came to the following decision ;—" If the Râja surrenders to the Bangâls, he will be carried off as a prisoner. There will be no more a king in this land : we shall then establish cordial terms with the Bangâls, and govern the country as independent chiefs." With this intent they said to the Râja : " Save your Râj by offering submission, as we fear we shall not be able to oppose the Bangâls in strength."

Wakîls were despatched to Mukarram Khân with the message : " I promise to deliver to the Padshah an annual tribute consisting of 2 maunds of âgar or lignum aloes, 100 elephants, 200 tângon ghorâs or ponies, 500 *thungas* and *kamalis* or blankets, musks, and 400 yak-tails.* I will give half of the above presents to Mukarram Khân. I hope he will retire from the place."

* According to the *Padishah-namah*, the articles offered by Parikshit to Mukarram Khan were 100 elephants, 100 tanghans (ponies) and 20 mans of lignum aloes, *J.A.S.B.* 1872, page 54.

To this Mukarram Khân replied : “ It is not proper that I should do *haram* or injustice to the salt of the Padshah, and so I will not retire from here. All right, let the Râja himself come. There will be peace and concord if the Râja bows down to the Padshah. I also promise solemnly that, if anything untoward is likely to happen to the King, I will put forward my life first, irrespective of what may befall the Râja afterwards. The Padshah simply wants to see the Râja, having heard his name for a long time.”

Then Parikshit, accompanied by his nobles and ministers, offered his submission to Mukarram Khân, who received the Râja with great honour, presented to him clothes and ornaments, and took him to the Padshah. On this side, Nawâb Sayid Bâbâkar or Abu Bakar, remained at Hajo. Mukarram Khân took with him Lakshminârâyan also, who offered his allegiance to the Emperor.

The Padshah said to Lakshminârâyan and Parikshit : “ You should both carry on your kingship being friends with one another. And Parikshit, Lakshminârâyan is your *chacha* or uncle ; bow down to him by touching his feet.” To this Parikshit replied : “ What you have said is just and proper. An infuriated lion kills elephants as he chooses and eats them. Sometimes he desists from slaughter at the intercession of the female ones. The great ocean attains increase or decrease at the stipulated period. But men and animals are not subjected to increase or decrease through us. You are in that position too. There exists a feeling of animosity between himself and me. I will never lower my head to him, not even at the cost of my life.” The Padshah being indignant seized Parikshit and detained him.

147. *The Cooch Bihar Princes leave the Mogul Court*

The Padshah gave leave to Lakshminârâyan and said : “ You should ask me for things which are not available in your kingdom.” The Râja replied : “ I have all things in my country, except *purud*, *kali* and *tarawal* or sword, and Irâki ponies.” He was given leave to depart after being presented with horses and swords.

Mukarram Khân, interceding on behalf of Parikshit, procured his leave as well. The Padshah requested the Râja to ask for articles not found in his territory.

Parikshit said : " Everything is found in my kingdom. I would request the Padshah to give me a picture of His Majesty, so that I may always salute it." The Padshah replied : " We do not give our pictures to anybody and everybody. I give one to you on the understanding that you will refrain from any hostility to our family. If, on the contrary, you become unfriendly to us, you will be destroyed." The Râja took leave and departed with due humility.

148. *Parikshit sent again to Delhi*

Having heard of Parikshit's departure from the presence of the Padshah, the Barâs and Baruks of Kâmarupa wrote to Islâm Khân, Nawâb of Dacca, that they would flee from the kingdom if Parikshit returned. The Nawâb also received intimation to that effect from the imperial court. When Parikshit reached Dacca, the Nawâb said : " I hear Parikshit has brought a picture of the Padshah. When he comes to see me he should leave behind the picture as in the event of the picture being brought to the court, I shall have to leave my seat and bow down to it." Parikshit did not pay heed to this advice, and he went to the presence of the Nawâb with the picture, seeing which the Nawâb advanced from his seat and saluted it. The Nawâb flew into a rage, and wrote to the Padshah, and sent also the letter of the Barâs and Baruks of Kâmarupa in which Parikshit was described as a *haramzada*. The Nawâb also reported about Parikshit's harassing of the Râjas and Zemindars living in the neighbourhood of his territories, adding, " These are the misdeeds of Parikshit. The Padshah has released a tiger of the woods after having captured him once. When he returns to the forest, the country is not to subsist." The Padshah wrote to the Nawâb asking him to send Parikshit again to His Majesty's presence. The Nawâb accordingly sent Parikshit to Delhi.

149. *Parikshit dies at Tribeni*

The Râja reached the pilgrimage of Tribeni, where he asked the Brâhmanas as to the resultant merits of a visit to that sacred place. The Brâhmanas replied, " Whatever desire a man cherishes here before death is attained. No sin accrues from suicide if committed in this place by him." Having heard this the Râja said : " No one gets an opportunity of visiting the pilgrimage, and how long does one's life exist ?" With this vow he distributed charities and renounced his body.

Kabi-sekhar, son of Kabindra Pâtra, Srirâm Laskar and other companions of the Râja then went to the presence of the Padshah. The office of *Kanungui* of the vilâyat Cooch Hajo was conferred on Kabi-sekhar. The Nawâb gave leave to the other companions of the Râja some of whom were appointed as Chaudhuris, some as Pâtwaris, and others as Laskars.

COOCH HAJO UNDER THE MOGULS

150. *Cooch Raja Dharmanarayan*

Sayyid Bâbâkar pursued (the Assamese) from Hajo to Châmdharâ. The soldiers of the Swarga-Mahârâja captured him at the latter place. Mirza Bâqi then came to Hâjo and stayed there for some time. He was turned out from the place, and Bahram Beg remained at Hajo. The latter was also removed, and Nawâb 'Abdullah Islâm remained at Hâjo. Then Momâi Tâmulî, an officer of the Swarga-Mahârâja proceeded with Râja Dharmanârâyan, and captured 'Abdullah Islâm, who was sent to Garagrâm. The Dhekeri territory or Western Assam was given to Râja Dharmanârâyan.

151. *Ibrahim Karori organises the pergunas*

The Baruâs and Baruks headed by Kabi-sekhar had taken leave of the Padshah and returned to their own country. They were accompanied by Sheikh Ibrâhîm Karori who came to re-organise the administration of the country. During the Râja's reign, there were only *gaons* or villages, and no *perganas*, Sheikh Ibrâhîm introduced the *perganâ* system. The whole area was designated Ullayat Cooch Hajo,* which was divided into four sarkars,—Sarkar

* "Koch Hajo almost coincides with the modern district of Gwalpara, Lower Assam, extending from above Hatisalah in the Karibari Hills and Pergana, on the left side of the Brahmaputra, along the bend of the river to Gwalpara. On the right side, it commenced north of the Pargana of Bhitband and contained the district along the angle of the river as far as Parganah Khoontaghas inclusively, with the towns of Dhubri and Rangamati. On the east Koch Hajo bordered on Kamrup, or that part of Assam which lies between Gwalpara and Gauhati on both sides of the Brahmaputra." *J.A.S.B.* 1872, p. 50. But from the text it appears that from the time of Ibrâhîm Karori, Koch Hajo included Kamrup which formed a separate sarkar. Sarkar Dakhinkul also included several *perganâs* of Kamrup. Koch Hajo was bereft of Kamrup when the latter was governed by Raja Dharmanârâyan or when it was conquered by the Ahoms, and thus it fell outside the hegemony of Mogul dominion.

Kamrup, Sarkar Dhekeri, Sarkar Dakhinkul and Sarkar Bangalbhum.

152. *Perganas of Sarkar Kamrup*

The following perganas were under Sarkar Kamrup :— Pergana Kowarbhâg, Pergana Pâtidarang, Pergana Benbhâg, Pergana Basâ amalgamated with Banbhâg, Pergana Bardarang, Pergana Bâhbâri, Pergana Sâtrajîâ, Pergana Chaurâhi-khâtâ, Pergana Kâsimpur, Pergana Barbhâg, Pergana Dehor, Pergana Khetribhâg, Pergana Bajâli, Pergana Bahukhâtâ amalgamated with Bajâli, Pergana Bâusi, Pergana Barnâgar, Pergana Petkatâ amalgamated with Barnâgar, Pergana Barpetâ, Pergana Bejini, Pergana Phulaguri amalgamated with Bejini, Pergana Bâskâ, Pergana Digjal; Kasbe Hajo, Kasbe Gauhâti, Rikâb Mahal, Peshkosh Pândâri or Barâg-mahal, Pumbâ-mahal, Gudara-umananda, Hema-mahal, Maki-mahal, Chetal-bâzi Phara where elephants are captured by Khedda operations, Agâdhubis, Nikâthi-mahal, Paikan-mahal, Chutiâ-mahal Kârkhânâ. There are altogether 41 mahals.

153. *Perganas of Sarkar Dhekeri*

The following perganas were in the jurisdiction of Sarkar Dhekeri :— Pergana Khutâghât, Pergana Gumâ, Pergana Parbatjowâr, Pergana Kasbe Dhubri, Pergana Jamirâ, Pergana Târiâ, Pergana Ghurlâ, Pergana Jalkar-mahal, Pergana Kasbe Ghilâ, Pergana Châpgar, Pergana Resham-tâti, Pergana Koknar, Pergana Khumâr, Pergana Kâth-mahal, Pergana Kotwâli, Pergana Dimyâli-mahal, Pergana Dhâmâdi-mahal, Pergana Chulhât, Pergana Destak-mahal. Altogether 19 mahals.

154. *Perganas of Sarkar Dakhinkul*

The following perganas were under Sarkar Dahinkul :— Pergana Sambhor, which had 5 *tapas*,—Tapé Bagaribâri, Tapé Sâmariâ, Tapé Bekeli, Tapé Haljal Oza-kheli and Tapé Tisimpur; Pergana Pându had 7 *tapâs*, Tapé Bangeswar, Tapé Majhiali, Tapé Chayânia, Tapé Beltolâ, Tapé Bharuâkâtâ, Pergana Dumuriâ, Pergana Bâranti, Pergana Mechpârâ, Pergana Kalmaluapârâ, Pergana Karaibâri, Pergana Pumbâ, Pergana Gâro-mahal and Pergana Gorkâti.

155. *Perganas of Sarkar Bangalbhum*

The following perganas were under Sarkar Bangalbhum :— Pergana Baherbandh, Pergana Bhitbandh, Pergana Gaybari, Pergana Choki-Barêtalâ Chândiâni.

There are 75 mahals in the four sarkars mentioned above.

156. *A Glossary of the names of Perganas*

Sheik Ibrâhîm, coming from the imperial presence, re-organised the country by dividing it into pergasnas.

Bahbari.—There was in this pergana a clump of red bamboos with five or six joints at intervals of one cubit, watched by the Râja's officers, hence the pergana is called *Bahbari* or orchard of bamboos.

Darang.—The expenses incurred in connection with the amusements of the country (were met from here). hence it is called *Dar-rang* literally, price of amusements.

Kowarbhag.—This place was governed by princes hence it is called *Kowar-bhag* or princes' portion.

The Darang Pergana was made by combining a couple of villages from other pergasnas, and a few from Darrang.

Kachari-mahal.—It was so called because it was inhabited by the Kachâris.

Chutiya-mahal.—It was so called because it was inhabited by the Chutiâs.

Banbhag.—This was governed by princes who were labourers, hence it is called *Ban-bhâg*, or the portion of labour.

Chaurahikhata.—Pergana was so called because the Râja had his *khats* or personal estates here.

Barbhag.—It was enjoyed by the Baruâs, hence it is called *Bar-bhag*.

Dehor is so called because there were many devâlayas or temples here.

Khetri-bhag is so called because it was inhabited by the Khetri-sepoys serving under the Râja.

Bajali is so called because it was enjoyed by one Bajalia (?) prince.

Baher-khata was the pergana where the *khats* or estates of princes and princesses were situated.

Phulaguri literally flower-land, is so called because there was a *Kanakchampa* plant here. An officer in charge of the royal revenue was stationed here.

Bausi was enjoyed by a queen-mother, hence (?) it is so called.

Bijini, literally a barber-woman, is so called as it was inhabited by the queen's barber-woman who used to trim her finger-nails.

157. *Mirza Jahina at Gauhati*

After this Râja Dharmanârâyan governed the country. Mirza Jâhinâ, Subha of Bengal, fought at Bare-pointa. The Bangâls and the Dhekeris lost a large number of their soldiers, and Mirza Jâhinâ pursued his foes as far as Châmdharâ, but he had to come back to Gauhati, being unable to stand against the forces of the Swarga-Mahârâja. He sailed down to Bengal, having appointed Allah Yar Khan as Nawâb.

S. K. BHUYAN.

(Concluded.)

ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN BENGAL

THE history of Islamic Education in Bengal, since the inauguration of the British rule in India, is closely associated with the history of the Calcutta Madrasah. It is the mainspring from and round which a system of Madrasah education gradually grew up. Under the Treaty of 1765, when Shah Alam made over to the East India Company the formal grant of the Diwani, Persian was to continue as the official language and "fiscal and judicial policy was to be carried on in accordance with Muslim Law." With the object of turning out recruits for public service and for the legal profession, the Calcutta Madrasah was established by Warren Hastings in 1781. Muslim Law and Persian naturally formed the main course of study in it. The Madrasah splendidly fulfilled the object for which it was established and its *alumni* monopolised posts of trust and responsibility under the Government. The Musalmans thus continued to retain their due share in the administration of the country and its public life.

Bereft of their sovereign powers, Muslims, who but yesterday wielded paramount and supreme authority in the land, were doomed to lose this privilege too, which they were still enjoying. The days of the Calcutta Madrasah, as originally conceived, were numbered. There soon arose the educational controversy between the Orientalists and the Anglicists. The latter headed by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Lord Macaulay won the day. The Directors favoured the English system of education and by Act XXIX of 1837, Persian was abolished as the official language to make room for English and the provincial language, thus "forcing them not only to learn the language of their foreign rulers but also the language of the subject race, which they, as a community, had always eschewed."

The verdict of history is that Muslims in all ages and lands had held their religion above everything else. The Bengal Muslims thus did not take kindly to English

education, altogether divorced from religious instruction—a thing unknown in Islam. We in this age often blame the Musalmans of that remote period for their want of prudence and foresight in not moving with the times. But, as a self-respecting nation, with a living memory of their past superiority and, above all, with their strong religious susceptibilities, they could not probably have chosen to act otherwise.

The Calcutta Madrasah, thus, continued as the only centre of Muslim education and culture and the hopes of the Musalmans of Bengal naturally clung to it. Attempts were made, more than once, by the authorities to open English classes in the Madrasah and in 1833 they even tried to make attendance in the English classes compulsory but with no success. Then they tried to attract students with increased stipends for the English classes. Even with this allurements English classes continued to remain practically unsuccessful. One more attempt was made in 1847 by opening an Anglo-Arabic class for the students of the Arabic department. But this also failed. Consequently in 1853 all English classes were finally abolished and henceforth all attempts to introduce English in the Madrasah were given up. But an ordinary High English school under the attractive name of Anglo-Persian Department was established in 1853 and placed within the Calcutta Madrasah compound. It was a separate institution and, having no Islamic basis, it, too, failed to attract the Muslims.

The reason for the failure of the attempts of the authorities to introduce English in the Madrasah is not far to seek. They always tried to introduce English as an additional subject outside the Madrasah course. It was an additional burden upon the students. It was never incorporated into the Madrasah course which required overhauling for this and for other reasons as well.

The Madrasah course itself was highly defective. It no longer served the purpose for which it was instituted. Persian still continued to be the main subject of study, though it was no longer the official language. Hadith and Tafsir, the fountain-head of Islamic learning and culture, had no place in the Madrasah course, although these subjects formed the pivot of the whole course in all seats of Islamic learning elsewhere, both in India and abroad. Even Islamic theology did not figure prominently; its

study was confined to one book only. Arabic was relegated to a subordinate position. Prominence was given to Logic and Philosophy of the old Peripatetic school imbued with Hellenistic ideas. On the secular side the course was altogether unsatisfactory. The vernacular of the province had no place in it. History and geography were omitted. Rudiments of Arithmetic and only one book on Euclid were taught. The result was that its *alumni* could neither hold their position in the public life nor could they minister properly to the spiritual and social needs of the community. They were mostly useless members of society.

Now, at this juncture, came the famous Despatch of 1854, which opened a new era in the history of Indian Education. As a result of this Despatch the University of Calcutta was established in 1857, which developed and organised the English system of education already introduced under the Despatch of 1837. Although this Despatch suggested "the Mahomedan Madrasahs" as "worthy of being affiliated to the Universities," the Calcutta Madrasah was left out of the pale of Calcutta University. Owing to their general apathy for English education, the Musalmans kept aloof from the Calcutta University which thus, by default, passed on to the Hindus who developed it into a veritable Hindu University. With its network of secondary and primary schools spread throughout the Province, it began to exert an adverse influence upon the Muslim community through its ideas and ideals, teachers and text-books, history and other writings mainly based on Hindu culture and religion. As already mentioned, with the introduction of English education which superseded the Madrasah system as a passport to Government services and other avenues in public life, the Musalmans began to lose their ground in every walk of life, especially political and social.

That the English system of education failed to attract the Musalmans was first pointed out, in 1871, by Sir William Hunter in his book "The Indian Mussalmans," in which he said, "A system of purely secular education is adapted to very few nations.....and it is certainly altogether unsuited to the illiterate....peasantry of Mahomedan Bengal." And in 1873 the Government of Bengal (in their Resolution of the 29th July) discovered that "though in Primary Schools there was a fair sprink-

ling of Mussalman boys, in middle schools their number was very small, while in High Schools and Colleges scarcely any Mussalman appeared." So the Government proceeded to establish Madrasahs in the headquarters of the three remaining divisions of the Presidency, *viz.*, Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi. These were followed by a number of private Madrasahs in the different parts of these divisions.

This policy of encouraging Madrasah education was criticised by the Rt. Hon'ble Ameer Ali in his evidence before the Education Committee of 1882 in these words : "A dead weight however seems still to press down the Mahommedan Community. I think it has been satisfactorily proved that the scheme designed by Sir George Campbell in 1872 to promote a purely Oriental education has proved a practical failure." The Committee made several recommendations to make English education attractive to the Musalmans, but left the Madrasah system untouched.

In spite of these attractive measures, the net result after a third of a century is summed up in the Quinquennial Review of 1912-1917 by the then Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Hornell, as follows : "This review records a certain amount of progress, but the figures are not reassuring. The ideals of this community differ from those of the other inhabitants of the Presidency." And the Calcutta University Commission which sat in the year 1917 also remarked : "In spite of this a considerable portion of the Mussalmans is still pupils in Maktabas and Madrasahs; whenever a private Muslim educational enterprise is concerned it tends to develop a purely Islamic institution. This means that the community is anxious for a system of education which will enable it to preserve its social and religious personality and its communal tradition."

It was in the days of Bengal Partition that the attention of the leaders of the Muslim Community was drawn to the necessity of reforming the Madrasah system and its possibilities in the solution of the problem of the educational and general backwardness of the community. Then, in the year 1906, the Provincial Educational Conference held at Dacca passed a resolution urging a general reform of the Madrasah education. The All-India Educational Conference which met at Dacca in the following

year, unanimously reiterated the same resolution. The then Lieutenant-Governor of East Bengal and Assam encouraged this idea and Shams ul-Ulama Abu Nasr Wahîd, the Principal of Dacca Madrasah, was deputed to visit the centres of Islamic learning in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Turkey and the Oriental Institutes in Budapest, Vienna, Berlin and Paris. On his return, he drew up a scheme as a basis of discussion. It was a comprehensive scheme, leading to a high standard in Islamic learning and culture, and embracing a secular side as an integral part.

Alarmed by these far-reaching changes in the Madrasah education, the orthodox section of West Bengal induced their Government to hold a conference to consider (1) the institution of a Title Course and (2) the revision of the existing course so as to include English as one of the compulsory subjects. The first of these two questions was recommended by the Conference and the second was negatived. As a mark of disapproval of the resolution of this Conference, the Provincial Educational Conference of Eastern Bengal and Assam, held at Mymensingh in 1908, urged upon their Government to appoint a 'strong' Committee for the reform and re-organisation of the Madrasah system. The Government, therefore, appointed a representative Committee under Sir Henry Sharp, which held its deliberations in 1909-10. The recommendations made by this Committee were regarded by Sir Henry as revolutionising the whole system of education in India and the Government was unwilling to take any action on them unless and until the opinions of the leading Ulama of Upper India and of the various Provincial Anjamins were consulted. They were consulted and unanimous support was obtained in writing. When Lord Hardinge visited Dacca in the year 1912, before the annulment of the Bengal Partition, a deputation of the leading members of the community waited upon him, praying for the introduction of the Reformed Scheme, as worked out by the successive committees appointed for the purpose and also for its incorporation with the University system. Finally the Government of India, in their communique of April, 1912, announced their decision to establish a University at Dacca with "a Faculty of Islamic Studies." Subsequently the Dacca University Committee, appointed in May, 1912, with Sir Robert Nathan as President, thrashed out the whole question of the Reformed Scheme and

recommended the establishment of an Islamic Department as an integral part of the new University.

The Government sanctioned the Reformed Scheme in July, 1914, as "calculated to serve the highest interest of that (Mohammedan) community." The scheme was introduced in 1915 from Class III and was adopted by all the existing Madrasahs, except the Calcutta Madrasah. Within this short period of 17 years there have sprung up throughout the length and breadth of the Province, hundreds of High and Junior Madrasahs, Government as well as private, three Islamic Intermediate Colleges in the three divisions of East Bengal, forming a connecting link between the Madrasah system and the Islamic Department of the Dacca University.

The Reformed Scheme was inaugurated to bring the Madrasah system, revised on a truly Islamic basis, into living touch with the needs of modern life and to incorporate it with the University education. The Maktab have been secularised and brought into line with the ordinary Primary Schools. Similarly the Junior and High Madrasah courses have been brought into a line with the Middle English School and High English School courses respectively and made a part of the general scheme of Secondary education. Likewise the Islamic Intermediate Colleges have been brought within the pale of general Intermediate education.

The Course at each stage, with its special Islamic aspect, has been sufficiently secularised with the result that, after passing from the Maktab or Junior Madrasah, students can join any of the Middle English or High English schools, if they like. Similarly after passing the High Madrasah Examination, they can join a general Intermediate College under any Board or University and can take up an Arts or a Science course, as they like. A High Madrasah passed student is, like an ordinary Matriculate, also eligible for any vocational institutions, such as Medical and Engineering. Islamic students are availing themselves of these facilities in increasing number and with success.

The Department of Islamic Studies of the Dacca University corresponds to its other departments. It has been brought into the purview of the Faculty of Arts and admitted to the same degrees of the University. The under-graduate students of this Department have to

appear in the same University test in English and take the same subsidiary subjects and also the same compulsory vernacular, the only difference being that while a student of the general line takes, for instance, Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit as one of the subjects for the Ordinary B.A. degree, an Islamic student takes Islamic Studies. An Islamic under-graduate can now take up Honours not only in Islamic Studies, but also in any of the general subjects, such as English, History, Economics, Mathematics, Philosophy, etc. After graduation the course offers the same facilities. An Islamic graduate can take his Master's degree in Islamic Studies or in any of the general subjects or can go in for the degrees in Law and Education; and after taking his M.A. degree he can proceed with research work for the Doctorate of Philosophy under the same conditions as laid down for other students.

The Reformed System was introduced, as stated in the Government resolution sanctioning the scheme, "to produce cultured Mahomedans fit to enter one or other of the careers open to the educated men and to play their part in the various activities that go to make up the public life of modern India." Though still in infancy the Reformed Scheme promises to fulfil the high expectations built upon it. During the short period of its existence of a little more than a decade and a half, it has turned out a large number of graduates, including 40 M.A.'s; some obtained the B.L. and B.T. degrees. Two secured Honours in English, and one stood first in History Honours from the Calcutta University. Two stood first in the M.A. examination in English—one from the Muslim University of Aligarh and one from the Dacca University. Two sat for the I.C.S. examination, two went in for the I.P.S. and one headed the list of Muslim candidates from Bengal in the Imperial Audit Service examination. Several have competed at the B.C.S. examinations. Eight have been appointed as Lecturers—three in the Islamic Colleges, three in the General colleges and two in the University. One has been appointed Protector of Pilgrims. Two have returned from England with Diplomas in Engineering. The students of this Department have made their mark in other spheres also. Besides securing high scholarships, they have won great distinctions in the Hall and the University Unions and also in sports. They have been proving themselves in no way

behind the students of the general line and have been associating themselves more and more closely with the activities of their Hall and the corporate life of the University.

The most remarkable feature of the Reformed System is its contribution towards the spread of education among the masses who form the bulk of the population of the province. It has made a powerful appeal to the "instincts of the Mussalman heart," which the purely secular education failed to do. It has specially attracted the orthodox section of Muslims who would not have, otherwise, received any modern education, and the illiterate class who but for this popular system would not have seen the light of knowledge. An idea of its popularity may be obtained from the rapid growth of its institutions. During the short period of a decade and a half as against a century of purely secular education, there has sprung up throughout the province a network of *Maktabas*, about 3,000 in number, and Junior and Senior *Madrasahs*, about 700. Its contribution to the education of Muslim girls is also remarkable. The number of *Maktabas* for girls has risen to about 10,000 and the number of girls attending them are about 250,000. Several Junior *Madrasahs* for girls have also been established and some of the girls of these *Madrasahs* have already occupied the highest places in the Bengal Junior *Madrasah* examinations. The system is thus building up a sure step towards higher Female Education amongst the Musalmans of Bengal.

In conclusion I may say that our system is proving a happy union of Muslim culture with the modern education of the West and promising fairly to open up a new line of advance towards the educational and general progress of the Musalmans of Bengal. As an essential part of a living organ of a modern University, it is being gradually adjusted to the growing needs and requirements of the society. The Advisory Committee, which was lately appointed by the Government of Bengal to investigate into the whole problem of Muslim education of the province, have reviewed fully this system of Islamic education. The findings and recommendations of that committee are not yet before us.* But from the records

* Answers to the Questionnaire issued by this Committee have been published in six volumes, which the present writer had the advantage of consulting.

that we have, we can very well venture to say that they must have been satisfied with its work and hope that they will make certain strong recommendations for better financial aid and for a more adequate and efficient staff for teaching as well as inspection, which an infant and, at the same time, a very important system like this may legitimately claim. This system, as incorporated with the University, is expected to make a turning-point in the history of Muslim education ; for, according to the Calcutta University Commission, had it been so included following the suggestion of the Despatch of 1854 “ the whole subsequent history of the education of the Mussal-
mans of Bengal might have been very different. ”

S. M. HUSSAIN.

AL-MANFALUTI—AN EGYPTIAN ESSAYIST

THE HAPPY CITY

MESEEMED in sleep that I paced across an unharvested desert whose sands were curled above its surface as the waves are curled upon the Atlantic main. The red sun lowered at his departure ; across the expanse I saw no shadow save my own, traced by the sun's finger and distorted, as though he supposed me to be the father of mankind, Adam, and had enlarged my stature accordingly and made my height a mile.

Pathless and objectless, I continued to walk, as must be, where desert ways are undiscernible and undistinguishable, and where infinity is set between far and near. Until, as the sun sank to his abiding-place and the bird of night flew from her hiding-place, and obscurity spread black wings across the sky, I found myself more bewildered than a tear in a lover's eye, which passion compels and shame drives back. Sometimes I thought myself a lurking secret in the night's belly or a startled whale in the sea's depths ; and sometimes, a collier lost in the galleries of a mine, who must go groping with his hand to avoid the wall. Till I noticed that the dye of darkness was dimming and its particles dispersing hither and thither. And, lo, I stood before a high mountain rising like a wall that holds the sky from falling on to the earth, or like a tyrannous king that wears the sun's red disk as diadem and his yellow rays as robes.

O, ask me not to tell my heart's pain and my mind's delirium when I saw that to climb that mountain was more hopeless than to scale the firmament, and I stood there, going neither forward nor back, face to face with death's inevitability.

At last my searching eye perceived a white rock smooth to touch amongst the scattered boulders at the mountain's base. Upon this I climbed and laid me down to rest, repeating to myself the lines of Abu 'Alâ :

“The reclining of death is rest which refreshes the body, and life is like sleeplessness.”

Scarcely had I closed my eyes when the rock began to quiver, then rise in the air like a bird, and fly. And I would certainly have supposed that death, having descended to earth, was returning with my soul to the high places, if my opening lids had not seen that what I had taken to be a boulder was a bird shaped like an eagle, as large in circumference and as solid as a dome. After it had soared with me through the vault of heaven and poised awhile with flapping wings, it came to rest upon the mountain top. As I hastened to descend, a spring of cool waters of hope from the fountains of Paradise entered my heart and stayed its burning thirst and quenched its fire. For I looked towards the further slope and saw before my eyes the blessedness of hope and the radiance of the inhabited world. Far below I saw green-banked water-courses and clustering cottages beside great castles, like flocks of ashy wrens around white doves.

As though the joy in my heart made me forget the fatigue of my body I began to climb down. When I reached the plain, behold, I was in sown land, in its midst a homestead at whose door sat an aged man, like the inhabitant of Mars of some astrological fantasy. When he saw me, he started, as man starts at the sight of spectre and as I had started at sight of him had I not grown used to portents and strange spectacles.

Approaching and finding myself master of his speech, I greeted him and he replied, saying, “I never knew the sun rose on any other than this city or that the world contained another race of men than this.” But I continued to speak to him and plead with him until he bade me to his house, with friendliness, and took me to himself and to his folk and set agreeable food before me and made ready for me a soft bed. So when night came for the second time since my departure, I slept a tranquil sleep from which no thoughts of death disturbed me nor premonitions of destruction.

I awoke with the sun to hear the voices of that kind honest family, raised in prayer to almighty God; a prayer that befitted their humble, self-denying hearts, as they stood there in one rank and asked God to smoothen their difficulties and make easy their path and grant them His help and aid in their affairs. Moved by the sight, I joined

the rank, praying with their prayers and weeping with their tears. And since it astonished me to find such sincere faith established in the hearts of the people of a city to whom no Prophet had been sent nor Book revealed ; when prayer was over I turned and addressed the head of the household, saying to him, " It is evident that you worship ; but whom ? "

" We worship God," he replied, " creator of this universe and its sustainer."

" Have you seen him," I asked, " so that you recognise Him ? "

" Yes," he said, " we see Him in his handiwork. We see Him in the heavens and in the waters, in the celestial spheres that turn, in the movements of the stars, in the embryos of life and in the seeds of plants. We see Him first of all in our own existence and our power of understanding."

" And why do you worship Him ? " I asked.

" To thank Him for creating and sustaining us," he replied. " Why, when we thank the friend who offers us a cup of water to drink or a morsel of food to eat, how could we but desire to thank the greatest of givers, the mainstay of all honest men ? "

Here I said to myself that that old man was a true monotheist, worshipping God sincerely, neither hoping for reward nor fearing punishment. And aloud I added, " What happens after death ? "

" Man goes to enduring felicity " he replied, " or to the punishment which tortures."

" You mean heaven and hell, no doubt ? "

" Heaven and hell ? " he said. " Those are words which I do not understand ; but I know that God in his wisdom will not leave the good unrewarded. He is just, and His justice does not suffer good and bad to be treated alike."

" How do you distinguish good men from bad ? " I asked.

" Goodness " he said, " consists in doing good actions and badness in doing bad actions ; for this reason you will not see any among us meditating evil to his brother, or not anxious to help him."

At this I began to think of those learned theologians of ours who spend their lives over the niceties of ritual purity, who discuss the degrees of pollution involved by women's periods and irregularities and by men's clear and turbid secretions, and distinguish between a greater pollution and a lesser ; and I thought of the philosophers who make their eyes bloodshot sitting up all night over the question of the essentiality or non-essentiality of qualities, and over atoms and accidents, over originated things and pre-existent, and over the closed circle of circumstance and the endless chain of cause and effect ; and I thought of the self-appointed mystics who set their private fantasy above God and controvert His laws, forbidding what He allows and allowing what He forbids ; and I said to myself, " Would God those erudite doctors understood the meaning and purpose of religion as well as these simple people whose tongue boggles at the commonplaces of theology and who, if you spoke to them of dogma, would suppose you meant some kind of a dog."

When our conversation had ended, I asked the good old man to show me the city. As we walked down together, I saw that its broad streets were nicely planned, the houses spaced without jostling, and that every dwelling had its own gay garden. I noticed that the inhabitants went vigorously about their work, and that young and old, men and women were equally active ; I saw no beggars, nor anybody idly stretching or yawning for want of work. But what struck me most was the absence of that contrast between different classes of the population which is so evident in our civilisation, in the type of dwelling, in the quality of food and drink, in clothes and in means of transport. Here all the inhabitants seemed to belong to the same station of life and to be equally endowed with worldly goods. So I asked my guide if there was no division amongst them into rich and poor, employer and employed.

" No, sir," he said, " our people are satisfied if they have a house to sleep in, enough land to support themselves and an animal to carry their heavy loads. Since they are not covetous for more, we are not divided into rich and poor, or employer and employed."

" But you must have a certain number of cripples," I said, " who can't work, and a certain number of idlers who won't."

"Idlers we have not got," he replied. "We should not tolerate people who displayed their folly by leaving their hands and brains unemployed. As for cripples, we provide for them as a matter of course ; for we consider that to employ some of our strength on behalf of the helpless is one of the most practical ways of worshipping God."

During the conversation I saw a house which was distinguished from the rest by its proportions and charming decoration, and enquired if it belonged to the king.

"That house " said my guide, "is the work of an evil ambitious person who defied God's intentions and wisdom by getting hold of the property and land of others of God's creatures in order to aggrandise himself and appropriate their share of well-being to his own. For that reason he incurred the anger of God so that his comfort was changed to discomfort and his luxury to misery. For he no sooner began to experience a life of ease than he gave way to its temptations and charged his constitution with more than nature can bear ; with the result that he is now so afflicted with various complaints that he would find death a pleasanter companion than life. Neither his position nor his wealth help him. He serves as a warning to those who will be warned and as an object-lesson to the self-willed."

At these words I conceived a great respect for the old man and for the noble character which I discerned in him and in his people. And it occurred to me that our schools, in spite of their inculcation of sound principles, in spite of the progress of pedagogic science and their efforts at character-training, do not succeed in turning out for us men who can in any way approach the evident merit of this people. So I began to speak of education, hoping to learn something about their method of instruction, and I asked the old man to show me a school. To my amazement, he started at the word and enquired what a school was.

"A school," I said, "is a determined place where young people are assembled to be taught and grown-ups to teach them."

"And what, pray," he asked "do the young people learn from the grown-ups?"

"All sorts of useful things," I said : "whatever can be useful to them in this world and the next."

"And what need have we," he said "of this sort of crowded assembly in a determined place? Why, sir, we are far too kind to our children to entrust a thing of such importance to them to an outsider. We see to their needs ourselves. The only schools here are the workshops where we teach them to make and use tools, and the fields where we teach them how to sow seed and how to help it grow. On the spot we show them how to build and to weave, and to attend to their other necessities. We have no science apart from practical activity. And we have no activities but such as correspond to the necessities of our life; it is thus that we seek to perfect our worship of God."

"Have you a ruler?" I asked "to settle your disputes?"

"An arbitrator," he replied, "not a ruler. We choose a man in whose straightforwardness and understanding we trust, and we get him to settle any disagreements that arise."

"Well," I said, "I suppose he has police and a staff to assist him to carry out his decisions."

"Yes," he replied, "we are all of us his police and his staff in so far as he has need of us to enforce his decisions. That is all the organisation that is necessary; because we have confidence in his justice."

"Haven't you a prison," I asked, "to shut criminals up in?"

"No, the criminal is sufficiently punished by public opinion and the blame of the rest. A man here would rather be ravished by an eagle or struck by a meteorite than belittled in the estimation of his fellows and passed in the streets without greeting and despised."

As the conversation reached this point we had completed the visit of the city and arrived again at the house from which we started. Its inmates welcomed us and kissed their master. In all the houses and cities of the world I never saw a more contented household or a more blessed life and serene calm.

Such is the Happy City, whose people are contented because their thoughts are tranquil; are free from jealousy because they are equal, and are confident because they have no cause for fear.

Such was the Happy City which I knew and loved and in which I would have spent my life, did God permit exceptions to the laws which rule His creation. For

when Night came, I took my place in my bed in the dwelling of the aged man ; but when I awoke, I awoke in my own bed in my own house. And there was no plain and no mountain, no sown land, no city and no happiness.

“ When we climbed down to our pretty house and our garden gay with dew-besprinkled flowers, the quiet of the place and its beauty brought hope to life again ; and we hoped, and Thou wast our Hope.”

A WHITE HAIR

As I stood before the mirror this morning, I noticed on my head a white hair. It shone in the midst of the black locks like a flash of lightning in a dark night.

The sight of that white hair in my parting frightened me. To my mind's eye it was a sword drawn upon my head by fate ; or a white standard borne by a messenger from the unknown world, to remind me that my end was near. Or a mortal despair come between me and hope ; or a burning brand set in the border of my life as in a heap of tinder, whose progress, though it be mercifully slow at first, is certain to reach its destination in the end ; or the first thread of the winding-sheet which time is weaving, making ready a shroud for the corpse which the layer-out has stripped.

O white hair, I never saw whiteness more like blackness than yours ; nor light more like darkness than yours. Because of you, I hate all whiteness, even the whiteness of the moon ; and all light, even the light of the eyes. Because of you, I have fallen in love with all blackness, even the blackness of the raven, and all darkness, even the darkness of grief.

O white hair, I wish I knew by what postern gate you found your way to my head ; and by which of time's by-ways you reached my temples. How can your sojourn on this lonely earth be tolerable to you, companionless as you are, both day and night ? Didn't your heart shrink from this black night, and didn't your sight fail you in this total obscurity ?

O white hair, my heart is troubled on account of you and my body is burdened with carrying you ; yet I see no device to get rid of you. It would do no good to uproot you from your place ; in a little while you would return. It would not help to dye you black ; you would soon resume your natural colour and I should only have added the sin of false pretences to the misfortune of old age.

O white hair, as I look at you, you seem a very devil for crafty tricks and stratagems and badness. There you are, whispering into the ears of your black sisters beside you, corrupting them with the desire to resemble you and wear a white dress like yours. You seem to be an agitator, kindling, in this peaceful tranquil country, a savage civil war, a blind sedition, wherein are marshalled spearmen and archers, hoplites and skirmishers, and where perish combatant and civilian, oppressor and oppressed.

If such is your behaviour, it resembles that of the white explorer who descended to the land of the blacks as a traveller, and stayed as a colonist; who entered in peace and left in war. I pray God to deliver my head from you as I pray Him to deliver the land of the blacks from your colleague—stars of ill-omen, both of you, birds of mischance in your settling as in your moving on.

O white hair, what do you want? Why this deputation? Whom do you represent? In what capacity have you come? If you claim to be a guest, you ought to have sought permission, asked nicely, greeted me with respect and affection. If you come to give me warning of death, I thank you; but I am sufficiently informed already.

There really seems no alternative but to consider you a hateful, hideous, pushing creature; I can think of no comparison for you but a snake who wriggles his way into the home of some small reptile and forces him out and settles in his place.

How does it come about that you, who are proverbial for your fineness and delicacy, you whom they have such difficulty in getting hold of with scissors and forceps when they want to pull you out, can yet frighten a heart which faced drawn sword and well-aimed arrow without flinching?

O white hair, can you pardon the evil I have spoken of you in this lengthy diatribe? At last, I have recovered my senses and have realised that your merits deserve my respect.

Welcome to my head, summer or spring! You are welcome to make my temples your playground or your pasturage. Are you not the messenger of Death? And have I not loved Death since first I heard his name? Have I not sought in vain the way to him and a messenger that could bring me word of him?

Was not that outburst of spite absurd in a man who was unhappy in his youth and therefore did not grieve at

its departure ? who never tasted the sweetness of life and therefore does not fear the bitterness of death ; whose green leaf was never breathed on by the breezes of happiness and therefore has no hope in the dry wood.

How ridiculous of me to complain when I know that you are a messenger of good news, bringing tidings of near deliverance from a life that knows not happiness or peace except for fleeting moments, too soon clouded by the sorrow and pre-occupations ever at hand, as the mirror's face is clouded by the breath of a deep sigh.

I had no complaint against you except that you were death's vanguard. Yet death it is who can free me from attendance in this evil, sinful, woeful world ; where opening eyes see friend cheat friend and brother brother ; where companion's teeth are sharpened against companion and rich man's crumbs are grudged the poor ; where the wretch importunes death without success ; where kings drive men like cattle and slaves treat kings as gods ; where hearts are full of senseless malice ; where living souls toil desperately to catch an unsubstantial colour or a lessening shadow ; where human intelligence runs to reach the fire that will consume it and the fangs that tear it ; where bewildered eyes stare without seeing from empty heads—welcome, messenger, to your importunity.

O white hair, welcome to you today, and welcome tomorrow to your sisters ! Welcome to the destiny that hides behind you or is lurking in your robes. Welcome to the upper room where I shall be alone with my Lord and keep my own soul company ; where sound of bursting shell does not penetrate, nor the dust of battle.

“ Welcome to time's solitary delegate
Although he come in hateful form.”

NOTE.—Typical as the above essay is of Manfaluti and of his environment, it is simply a variant on an old Arab theme. The following lines are from a pre-Islamic Arab poet who lived in the seventh century of the Christian era !

“ The whiteness of old age has mounted upon my head : though my locks are dyed with henna, yet the young hairs beneath them are as free of dye as pale young shoots of the Thaghama plant. I have no welcome for the envoy of old age ; I have no welcome for a visitor against whose coming the approaches cannot be barred.”
(Yazid, brother of Shamâkh, of the tribe of Dhubyân).

NEVILL BARBOUR.

(*To be continued.*)

MUGHAL RELATIONS WITH PERSIA

FROM BABUR TO AURANGZEB

FROM time immemorial the immense riches of India or "invitation," as Abbe Guyon calls it, had dangled before the nations of the world. It lured men of almost every nation¹ but before the fifteenth century only the nations of Central Asia and the Arabs could avail themselves of it. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, India, unlike her less fortunate neighbours, escaped the horrors of the Mongol deluge on any perceptible scale; fortunately for India it flowed westward, where for a time it completely submerged the political and cultural power of Islam.²

The Mongol invasion of Muslim countries had unexpected repercussions in India, for it stemmed the tide of invasion from the North-West for over 150 years, besides the great cultural benefits that indirectly accrued to India from it.³

Though the Mongol invasion had far-reaching effects on the homeland of Arab civilization yet it had no direct

Note. In this article no particulars except the number are given of the British Museum manuscripts; in all other cases full particulars are usually given.

(1) This desire of going to India is beautifully described by Sa'ib :

همچو عزم سفر هند که در هر دل است
قص سوداے تودر هیچ سرے نیست که نیست

(2) *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* tells us of many small invasions in the time of Iltamish. Barni also mentions many such invasions in the time of 'Alau'ddîn Khalji, but they were ineffective and were often successfully repelled. Ibn Batûtâh says, that he saw the following inscription on Tughlak's Mosque in Multan.—"Twenty-nine times I have fought the Tartars and defeated them and hence am I called Al-Malik-al-Ghâzi." (Defremery III. 202).

(3) Though the hosts of Chîngîz Khân in their terrific inroad, destroyed the most important places of learning and massacred all learned men they could lay their hands on, yet many found refuge in India where they brought about a renaissance, by giving great impetus to the study of art, medicine, law, literature and especially mysticism.

effect on the sea-power of the Arab merchants and communities around the Indian Ocean. They flourished undisturbed till the end of the fifteenth century, when a new competitor appeared on the scene and swept them away. It must not be assumed that Persia and other Muslim countries under Tartar and Mongol dominion had not much diplomatic intercourse with India.¹

The discovery of America, followed by that of the sea-route to India, entirely upset the old balance of power, and the age-long struggle between the Cross and the Crescent assumed a totally new phase distinctly to the advantage of the former. Within a few decades after the appearance of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean the maritime power of the Muslims received a blow from which it could never recover and the Arab ships almost disappeared from the Eastern seas.²

By a strange coincidence this period almost corresponded with the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India and the revival of Persian nationalism in the form of Shî'a doctrines under the aggressive leadership of the Safavîs, which was a sort of thin wedge driven into the Muslim body-politic and did so much "to undermine the unity and weaken the power of Islâm."³ The appearance of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, the advent of Bâbur in India and the rise of the Safavîs were all events of the greatest historical importance, not only to Islâm but to Europe as well.⁴

(1) Browne's remarks in this connection are very interesting and I may be pardoned for quoting them at some length :—

"It is necessary to remind the reader, who may be apt to think of far-reaching international relations as in large measure a product of modern times and an outcome of facilities of communication, how considerable was the intercourse at the time we are considering between Asiatic (not merely Muslim) States far removed from each other." *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 37.

(2) See in this connection Whiteway's *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 3.

(3) *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 69.

(4) The rise of the Persian power under the Safavîs was very opportune for Europe and reacted very favourably on her struggle with the Turks. Busbecq, Ferdinand's ambassador at Constantinople, wrote :— " 'Tis only the Persian stands between us and ruin. The Turk would fain be upon us but he keeps him back."

See Creasy, *History of Ottoman Turks* (1877) p. 171, also Daniel). *Life and Letters of Busbecq*, vol. I. p. 221. The following remarks of Browne about the Safavî power are interesting :—"It marks not only the recreation of the Persian nationality after an eclipse of more than eight centuries and a half, but the entrance of Persia into the comity of nations and the genesis of political relations which still to a considerable extent hold good."

As we are reviewing these events from an Indian stand-point it will be true to say that from this time onward the history of India was no longer in a water-tight compartment and India began to be increasingly connected with outside events. For the first time in her chequered history, India beheld something like a stable Empire with a strong Central Government, whose position in international affairs began to be felt. One great handicap which prevented the Mughal Empire from being as effective a factor in international affairs as its great extent and the vastness of its resources warranted, was the total absence of an effective navy. So ridiculous was its position in this respect that, even for suppressing pirates and protecting its shores, it had to seek the help of various European navies which, at different times, commanded the coast of India.* Unfortunately the great importance of a strong navy to an empire with a vulnerable sea frontier of nearly a thousand miles was never realised.

Bâbur brought to India the unfulfilled ambition of conquering his ancestral lands; and this ambition fired the imagination of all his descendants and loomed large in the course of their foreign policy. This desire to possess *Mâwarâ-un-Nahr* also brought them in line with the course of Persian diplomacy and frustrated the attempts of the Ottoman Sultâns to draw them into a religious alliance of Sunni Powers against Persia. It also estranged them from the *khâns* of *Mâwarâ-un-Nahr*, who, afraid of an invasion from India, usually exploited the religious tolerance of the Mughal emperors and their "deviation from the path of orthodoxy" by extensive propaganda among the tribes of the North-West frontier of India, and thus tried to maintain a semi-independent and discontented zone between them and India. The additional fear of Indo-Persian co-operation in case of an attack drew them into closer alliance with the Ottoman Sultâns.

The Ottoman Sultâns on their side tried often in vain to break the Indo-Persian friendship and to form a triple

* *Shihâbu'd-dîn Talish* (Bodleian MS. 589) gives a graphic description of their helplessness against the pirates of Chatagaon and the Kingdom of Arracon, who devastated every year the whole of South-eastern Bengal, carrying away thousands of men and women into slavery, and immense booty. Many unsuccessful attempts were made by the Mughal governors till *Shâ'ista Khân* succeeded in winning over the Feringi pirates by bribes and promises of reward and succeeded with their co-operation in destroying this hornet's nest.

alliance against the Qizilbâshes. Though for a time the Mughal Emperors played with this idea, in the end the desire to possess the ancestral lands proved stronger. A notable example of this temporary attitude is furnished in Akbar's treaty with 'Abdullâh Khân Uzbeg about the division of Persia, very much on the lines of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. This treaty also for the first time established a definite boundary-line between India and Tûrân. Before this treaty the Mughal emperors had considerable influence north of the Hindu-Koh; but after 'Abdullâh's conquest of Badakhshân their influence was restricted only to the south of that mountain of which most of the passes were controlled by the Uzbegs. This made an effective government in Afghânistân almost impossible and that country could not enjoy the same measure of peace, security and progress as the rest of India under the Mughals.

The relations of the Mughal Empire with Persia were usually very friendly,¹ and were more or less on a permanent basis. It is true that there was often misunderstanding and friction about Qandahâr,² and the attitude of the Mughal emperors towards the Shî'a States of the Deccan was not acceptable to their Persian allies; but, on the whole, it can be safely said, the relations of the two Empires were quite cordial. This friendship was also due to the memory of Bâbur's alliance with Ismâ'il and Tahmâsp's help to Humâyûn. Besides most of the Tîmûrids, though apparently Sunnis, had a soft corner in their heart for the Shî'a doctrines³ and consequently they had no religious objection to be closely allied to Persia, unlike other Sunni powers.

The Persian influence at the court of Delhi was also very considerable, for the Mughals were famous for their patronage of art, literature and learning, and attracted

(1) 'Abbâs the Great gave expression to this feeling of friendship in the following couplet:—

"Between us and you there cannot be trouble. There can be naught but love and trust."

(2) About Qandahâr Mr. Longworth Dames says:— "..... Kandahar sometime belonged to the one and sometime to the other " and again "..... In Kandahar province the frequent changes of government between India and Persia fomented dissension and intrigue..... " p. 168. *Ency. of Islam*.

(3) Many Timurids openly professed Shî'a doctrines. A notable example is that of Sultân Husain of Herât who "endeavoured to replace the Sunni by the Shî'a doctrines." (*Persian Lit. in Modern Times*.)

many artists, poets and scholars driven from Persia by a lack of patronage and the narrow fanaticism of the Safavîs which discouraged "everything connected with the Accomplishments (as opposed to the Legalities)."¹

The Mughal Emperors were also bound to the Safavîs by ties of marriage.²

It must not be assumed that there was no friction; on the contrary their mutual jealousies caused considerable bad blood and even at times open hostility; but, generally speaking, the relations continued to be friendly till 'Abbâs II and Aurangzêb severed them.

Only with Persia and Turkey the Mughal Emperors maintained relations on a footing of equality.³ Their attitude to the rulers of Tûrân was not the same.

(1) *Persian Lit. in Modern Times*, p. 26. In this connection the following couplet of 'Alî Qulî Salim, a poet of the Safavî period, is interesting:

بیست در ایران زمین سامان محصل کمال
تا نیا مد سوئے هندستان حارنگین نه شد

Persia also supplied many brilliant statesmen and administrators to the Mughal court. Hakim Abu'l Fath, the talented foreign minister of Akbar, Asaf Khân, the prime minister of Jahângir and Shâhjahân, 'Alî Mardân and Amîr Khân the two famous wardens of the Marches, Rûhullûh Khân, the able finance minister of Aurangzêb, and many other notables of Mughal India came from Persia. It is probable that some of these were driven by the religious persecution of the Safavîs.

(2) Many Safavî princesses were married to Mughal princes. Jauhar speaks of Humâyûn's betrothal to a daughter of Ma'sûm Bêg. (See Stewart. 75).

There are two very interesting letters in *Jam'a-i-Insha* (Add 7688):—(i) "Letter of Bilqis Makâni Miriam Begum to her mother in Persia." ff 127. (ii) "To her sister Zeynab Begum" ff 127b. *Akbar-nama*, III, 1251, (Trans.) says that Mîr Ma'sûm Bukhârî returned from Persia with a letter from the Shâh's aunt to Miriam Makâni. I had no time to investigate this matter fully, but Browne mentions one Zeynab among the daughters of Shâh Ismâ'il I. (*Pers. Lit. in Modern Times*. p. 81., footnote 2.)

The daughter of Muzaffar Hussain Mîrzâ was married to Shâhjahân. Two daughters of his brother Rustam Safavî were married to Parwîz and Shujâ' (See *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, III, p. 296, 434); the daughter of Shâhnawaz Khân Safavî was married to Aurangzêb. (*Ibid.* vol. II. 670.)

(3) It is true that the Mughal Emperors considered themselves as the greatest sovereigns in the world, but the rulers of Turkey and Persia were addressed as equals. Sir Thomas Roe's remark that "..... Neyther will this overgrown elephant descend to article or bynde himself recciprocally to any Prince on terms of equality," though true in a way, was probably the result of Roe's disappointed frame of mind.

They had also sporadic relations with the smaller States of Central Asia¹ and Arabia² and sometimes received envoys from Abyssinia,³ Tibet,⁴ Barbary, the Sharîf of Mecca and some European Powers.⁵

The Mughal Emperors of India had an exaggerated idea of their importance as the direct descendants of Tîmûr. They had a way of referring to his short-lived Empire, or even his less permanent conquests, as their legal patrimony. By this they justified their costly expeditions to Central Asia, and Bâbur's conquest of India. Even Persia and Turkey were considered by them to be under moral obligation to them for the "generosity" of Tîmûr to Sultân Khwâja 'Alî Siâhposh⁶ and Mûsâ.⁷ On the other hand, the sovereigns of the Safavî dynasty always thought they had a lien on the whole of India by reason of the help rendered by Tahmâsp to Humâyûn. These two mental attitudes are found throughout their diplomatic relations and were often the cause of considerable unpleasantness between the otherwise friendly houses.

The diplomatic relations were first established by Ismâ'il I who, after the conquest of Merv and the death of

(1) In Mughal histories smaller States like Kashghar, Urganj, and Shahrân are mentioned by their name while Trans-Oxiana and Bukhara are spoken of sometimes as Tûrân, sometimes as Mâwarâ-un-Nahr.

(2) Yaman, see Bernier 133, *Alamgirnama* 886, Nai'ma; Hadramut, *Alamgirnama* 883, 886, *Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri* 350.

(3) Bernier 134-144, Manucci considers the ambassadors as impostors, *Storia*, ii. p. 110-114, *Ma'athir*, 108 (Second Embassy).

(4) Bernier.

(5) The English, Dutch, Portuguesc and some other European powers sent them envoys. Charles II, when in exile, sent Viscount Bellomont to ask for their aid against Cromwell. See *Storia* I. p. 59

(6) A reference to Sultân Khwâja 'Alî's interview with Tîmûr has been made by many historians. Strangely enough, Sir Percy Sykes says that the interview took place between Tîmûr and Sadru'd-dîn. Muhammad 'Alî bin Nurâ in his *History of Ismâ'il* (Or 3245) described the interview on ff. 13, and release of Turkish prisoners on ff. 16. See also *Mirat-us-Safa* (Add. 6539) ff. 144. It is more surprising that Browne's remarks (*Pers. Lit. in Modern Times*, p 46.) should have escaped Sykes (page 158, vol. II., 1930) who followed Malcolm.

(7) Their attitude towards Turkey will be described in some detail later on. See also Tîmûr's correspondence with Bâyezîd, *Munsha'at-i-Salatin*, vol. I., p. 118-104; Muhammad I and Shahrukh (*ibid.* 141-152).

Shaibânî Khân,¹ treated Bâbur's sister Khânzâda Bêgum²—one of the captives—with great respect and sent her along with his ambassador to her brother. Bâbur received the embassy at Qûndûz, where he had come at the invitation of Khân Mirzâ, and he in return sent an embassy to thank the Shâh.³ This led to further relations, and we learn from *Rauzatü's-Safaviya* that on one occasion Najam Sâni was sent to negotiate an alliance against the Uzbegs. The terms of this alliance are nowhere given, but, if the apparently biased account of Mirzâ Iskandar Munshî is to be accepted, Bâbur had the Khutbah read in the Shâh's name, and his soldiers wore the red caps.⁴ With Ismâ'il's help Bâbur succeeded for a short time in re-occupying his ancestral lands.

I have referred to the unpopularity of this alliance elsewhere: but it may be here pointed out that it was Ismâ'il's desire to have a friendly power in Trans-Oxiana strong enough to keep the lawless Uzbegs in control, while accepting with complacency the loss of Khurâsân. Ismâ'il also wanted Bâbur to devote all his energies to the North, for he had his own designs on Southern Afghânistân and possibly India.

After the battle of Ghazhdewân⁵ the Persian influence in Central Asia received a definite check, and Bâbur had to give up all hopes of conquest in the North and turn his

(1) The war with Shaibânî was due in a way to a diplomatic incident. He was very insulting to Ismâ'il's ambassadors, Shaikh Mohiyü'd-dîn and Qâzi Ziâü'd-dîn, and sent an insulting letter threatening invasion of Persia. Ismâ'il was addressed as اسمعیل داروے f. 177a and 178, Or 3248.

(2) See Bâbur's *Memoirs*, pp. 14, 15. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (p. 175, 186) tells us that she was married to Shaibânî, according to a clause in his treaty with Bâbur. Some authorities also tell us that she was subsequently divorced by him for her partiality towards her brother and later married one Sayyid Hâdî; if so, I believe he is 'Abdul Hâdî whose death is mentioned in *Br. Mus. MS. Or 3248*, during Ismâ'il's attack on Merv. The '*Abdullahnama* says that she was "bestowed on a noble Sayyid after being divorced by the Khân." ff. 33.

(3) Khân Mirzâ was sent, says *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* "with protestation of submission." p. 239 (Trans.) See also Erskine, p. 307 and 308, vol. I.

(4) According to Abul Fazl, Firishtâ, Khâfi Khân and other Indian historians, both the Khutbah and coins were in Bâbur's name.

'*Abdullahnama* supports Iskandar and attributes the hostility of the people of Trans-Oxiana to Bâbur's regime to the introduction of Shi'a dress and manners, f. 33b.

(5) *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Trans.) p. 281; '*Abdullahnama* f. 34b. '*Abdullahnama* describes the battle as between the forces of "Kufr and Islâm."

attention once more to Qandahâr¹ and the kingdoms of the Arghuns. This did not meet with Ismâ'il's approval, and diplomatic relations were not maintained for a long time.²

Ismâ'il, like all his descendants, considered the Indus as the natural boundary between India and Persia in the East, and the Euphrates between Persia and Turkey in the West; Persia to them, meant the whole of the vast empire of Darius; but Darius had no-one half so grim as Selîm to reckon with. Bâbur thus obtained a free hand to consolidate his position in Southern Afghânistân,³ and eventually to conquer India. Bâbur's attitude towards the Persians is very clearly stated in his letter⁴ to Mirzâ Kâmrân, in which he makes no secret of his dislike of the Persians, their religion and manners. Tahmâsp, however, sent an embassy to congratulate Bâbur on the conquest of India, and we learn that Yunus 'Alî was appointed to entertain the ambassador.⁵

After Bâbur's death⁶ Tahmâsp made several attempts on Qandahâr; that made in 941 A.H. by Sâm Mirzâ is well known.⁷ These repeated⁸ attempts caused ill-feeling on both sides and there was no diplomatic intercourse till after Humâyûn's visit to Persia.⁹ It is well known that the Shâh's help was bought with the promise to surrender Qandahâr after its conquest. So great was the importance of this fortress in the eyes of the Shâh that he appointed his infant son as the head of the army of occupation.

(1) For Qandahâr and Bâbur see page 355, *Erskine* and f. 109. *Tarikh-i-Sindh* and D'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongoles*.

(2) Ismâ'il even attempted to occupy Qandahâr; many attempts were made, the most famous being the one made by his General, Shâh Rukh Bêg Afshâr, f. 94 (Or. 3248).

(3) See Rush. Williams, pp. 117-119.

(4) *J.A.S.B.*, 1920, p. 329; letter discovered by Prof. Julius von Klaproth.

(5) The ambassadors, it is stated, brought many presents which included two fine Circassian slaves for Bâbur's harem. See *Baburnama*, (Rev.) p. 631, also Bâbur's *Memoirs*, p. 346, *Erskine*, 1. p. 457.

(6) For the effect of Bâbur's death on the Persian policy, see ff. 146b *Rauzat-us-Safaviya*.

(7) Budâûnî, however, gives 942 "زده پادشاه کامران سام را" both *Afzalu't-tawarikh* and *Ahsanu't-tawarikh* give 941 A.H. as the date of attack.

(8) After Sâm Mirzâ's attempt in 941, Murâd Sultân Afshâr made another attempt, *Afzalu't-tawarikh* ff. 84; another attempt was made a few years later, *ibid*, ff. 95. Yet another attempt is described in *Rauzat-us-Safaviya* ff 173b.

(9) For Humâyûn's visit, see *ibid*, ff. 183b (arrival) 185b (reception) 190 (departure).

Humâyûn made it over to Budâgh Khân,¹ although the Shâh's son had died during the operations, but treacherously re-occupied it at the instigation of Bairam Khân and other nobles, who argued that it was impossible to carry on operations against Kâmrân without a proper base.² Abu'l-Fazl and Budâûnî both give some lame excuses for this 'breach of promise' and 'ingratitude,' but Humâyûn, like Metternich, must have thought that "there is no greater mistake than gratitude in politics." *Ahsan'u't-Tawarikh*, however, describes it as a breach of the law of nations, and this is one of the few references to the law of nations I have come across in Persian manuscripts.

The slaughter of the Qizilbâshes by the local Sûnni population further estranged the feelings between the two sovereigns; consequently Khwâjah Ghâzi was sent to apologise and explain the real situation,³ but it seems his mission was only partly successful, as is proved by the account of the following embassy, although Abu'l-Fazl says that Mirzâ was promoted on his return from Persia for good services.⁴

Another embassy⁵ which is not mentioned by any Indian historian, though references to it are found in the two manuscript histories of the reign of Tahmâsp, is that of Qâzi Zainuddîn Shaikhah. This mission must have been sent to carry on further negotiations and to induce the Shâh to wait till Humâyûn had sufficiently consolidated his position to fulfil his promise, for he could hardly afford at this time an attack from that quarter. This embassy is interesting from the point of view of the diplomacy of the period, for it proves the practice of sovereigns sending

(1) For Humâyûn's occupation see *Afzalu't-tawarikh* ff. 125; Edwardes wrongly states that the Shah's son died after the occupation of Qandahâr by the Persians.

(2) It is alleged that Humâyûn held a Council of Nobles when this decision was arrived at. (ibid ff 126.) Humâyûn wrote to the Shâh "As Budâgh Khân Kâjâr has acted contrary to the royal order, I have taken over the fort from him and given it to Bairam Khân, who is one of your subjects, consequently consider it under your control." *Akbarnama* I. p. 288 (Nawal-kishore).

(3) For the account and object of his mission see *Afzalu't-tawarikh* ff: 161b.

(4) *Akbarnama*, I, p. 400 (Nawal-kishore).

(5) For an account of this embassy see *Afzalu't-Tawarikh* ff 162.

two separate sets of letters to each other, one official and the other private.¹

Soon after the conquest of Kâbul² the Shâh sent an embassy of congratulation, at the same time asking for the return of Qandahâr. but the embassy was dismissed with empty promises. It is probable that Bairam Khân, who was holding Qandahâr as his Jâgîr, was responsible for this attitude of Humâyûn.

The Shâh was very disappointed and did not send any more embassies till after Humâyûn's death, when he sent an ambassador to Akbar on this occasion to tender the Shâh's condolence on the death of his father.³ As no mention of this embassy is to be found in any Indian history, it must have been an informal one. Officially these messages were conveyed a few years later by Prince Sayyid Bêg Safavî. He probably carried back news of the disturbed state of India, for on his return the Shâh started preparations to attack Qandahâr. A ready excuse was furnished by the rebellion of Bahâdur Khân, the Mughal Governor of Zamindâwar, who, as is apparent from Persian histories, was at first in league with the Shâh but, when he refused to surrender Zamindâwar to the troops sent by the Shâh, the Shâh turned against him.⁴

Shortly after Bahâdur Khân attacked Qandahâr and Shâh Muhammad Kilâtî had no other alternative than to ask the Shâh for the co-operation of the troops sent in the beginning to help Bahâdur Khân. as the help from India

(1) On ff 162 (*ibid*) a copy of a small letter penned by Tahmâsp himself is given. It is refreshingly simple and informal, and throws a good deal of light on the Shâh's character. A couplet of the Shâh's own composition is also given. It cannot be claimed that it is good poetry but it is very amusing.

(2) *Rauzat-us-Safaviyah*, however, alleges that Kâbul, too, was conquered by the help of the Persians. It says "After the conquest of Qandahâr the Qizilbâsh army under Bairam Bêg Bahârlu left for the conquest of Kâbul, Ghaznin, etc." ff. 191b.

(3) *Afzalu't-tawarikh* says "At this time H.M. became aware of the death of Gurgâni Pâdshâh and sent an eloquent ambassador for condolence and congratulation to his son Jalâluddîn Akbar." f. 208.

(4) *Afzalu't-tawarikh* says "Bahâdur Khân approached the Shâh for help. The Shâh ordered Sultân Husain Mirzâ son of Bahrâm Mirzâ, Qulî Khalîfah Shâmlu, Allah Qulî Bêg Afshâr etc., etc., to proceed with troops. He also sent firmans to Sultân Khudâbanda, the governor of Khurâsân and Muhammad Khân Taklu, governor of Herât, to help them. He also ordered Bahâdur Khân to hand over Zamindâwar to his (the Shâh's) servants." f. 209.

was a remote possibility.”¹ The Shâh sent ‘Alîyâr Bêg Afshâr with 3,000 Turkomâns to help Shâh Muhammad. ‘Alîyâr suddenly fell on the rear of Bahâdur and completely routed him; but Shâh Muhammad now made excuses for not surrendering the fort.² The Shâh, incensed at this constant bickering, decided on an open attack under the command of Walî Khalîfah, Shâmlû and Sultân Husain Mirzâ but the attack failed. Another under ‘Alî Sultân Shâmlû was more successful and the fort surrendered after a prolonged siege.³ The success was followed by the occupation of Zamindâwar.⁴ The Persian and Indian authorities are very much at variance as to the causes which led to Shâh Muhammad’s surrender. Abu’l-Fazl attributes it to the command of Akbar who, it is alleged, “did not want to fight a friend”⁵ and lauds “the gentleness and humanity which were here displayed to such a high degree, and the observance of adherence to obligations which were so conspicuous”: but it is possible that this recognition was a little late and compulsory. The Persians, however, are emphatic about the success of their arms, and attribute the surrender to the helplessness of Shâh Muhammad.⁶ The truth probably is between the two versions; Akbar being busy at this time near Gwalior was unable to send a relieving force immediately, left the question of surrender to the discretion of the local governor who, thinking it impossible to hold out very long, surrendered on the pretence of having received instructions from the Emperor. This suited the Persian King very well, for he gratefully acknowledged the unoffered and in fact wrested gift from his “dutiful son.”⁷

An ambassador, Shâh Ghâzi, was sent soon after the fall of Qandahâr to Persia. No direct reference to this embassy is made by any Indian historian, but one is found in the Shâh’s letter to Akbar which is reproduced

(1) See *Akbarnamah*, II, p. 65.

(2) A complete account of these events is also to be found in *Ahsanu’t-tawarikh*, ff. 151.

(3) *Ahsanu’t-tawarikh* ff. 153.

(4) *Ibid* ff. 145.

(5) *Akbarnama*, II. (Trans.) p. 98.

(6) *Afzalu’t-tawarikh*. ff. 223.

(7) In the firmân bestowing the Governorship of Qandahâr on his nephew, Sultân Hussain Mirzâ. The copy of the firmân is given in *Afzal* ff. 224.

in *Akbarnama*. This Shâh Ghâzi is probably Khwâja Ghâzi of the previous embassy.¹

In 1563 A.D. arrived the historic embassy of Prince Sayyid Bêg Safavî,² son of the famous Prime-Minister Ma'sûm Bêg Safavî, and a cousin of the Shâh, with choice gifts such as "fiery horses from 'Irâq and Turkey, delicate cloth and wonderful curiosities." The object of the embassy was to offer condolence on the death of Humâyûn and to congratulate Akbar. As this was an unprecedented honour, for rarely were princes of the blood sent on such political missions, Akbar ordered special arrangements to be made for the ambassador's reception and entertainment. It must have gratified the vanity of even a king like Akbar to see a Persian royal prince performing "kornish" and laying the Shâh's letter on "the edge of the throne."

The letter³ starts with the usual page-and-a-half of greetings, compliments and prayers. It apologises for the delay in sending the embassy, and a few sentences in praise of Shâh Ghâzi are inserted. But the most important part is the veiled hint about an alliance in the following words ".....and may consolidate the foundation of hereditary love and friendship, so that henceforth the revolutionary hand of time may not reach the edge thereof, nor fear of rift, or rupture enter the heart-core of any creature." Akbar's friendship was very necessary to Tahmâsp at this time, for on the north of Persia a new power, fanatically Sunnite and anti-Persian, was rising under the greatest of the Shaibânids, and was also very friendly with the Turks. The letter closes with a word of fervent hope and advice which puts Eastern diplomacy in a nut-shell: "Do not neglect to send messages.

(1). Mr. Beveridge thinks he is Ghâzi Khân Bakhshâni, but I think he is Shâh Ghâzi Tabraizî mentioned by Budâûnî (page 288, text ii., Lowe 283). A Persian and a Shî'â was more likely to have been employed, as I have already said. That Shâh Ghâzi was a great favourite with the Shâh is proved by his letter to Akbar. Tahmâsp, whose religious intolerance was well known, would not have bestowed so many signs of his favour on a Sunni.

(2) For the account of this embassy see *Akbarnamah*. II. p. 217 (Trans. p. 262).

(3) For the letter see *Jamia'i-Marasîlat* ff. 110. This letter has been translated by Mr. Beveridge with the exception of a few sentences, but their exception may be due to the use of a different copy. The letter is an exquisite example of the Persian Inshâ of the XVI century, but Mr. Beveridge thinks it to be pompous, rhetorical, etc.

and letters and to announce events, conditions, etc., etc., as the relation of love demands.”

Another embassy from Persia is mentioned in the events of the ninth year¹ (1565 A.D.), but nothing is known to distinguish it from the usual courtesy-missions sent from time to time, as stated above, to announce events, etc., except that the Shâh recommended Sultân Muhammad of Bakhar for the office of Khân Khânân, a request which was respectfully declined. Abu'l-Fazl alleges that the Shâh, being bankrupt at this time, got much gold from Shâh Muhammad.

Sultân Khudâbanda, the Governor of Khurâsân, sent Yâr 'Alî Bêg as his envoy to Akbar.² The object of this embassy is nowhere given, but like Shâhjahân's embassies to 'Abbâs and Dârâ Shikoh's to Turkey, it came for a future contingency. Khudâbanda, no doubt, realising his hopeless position, tried to secure Akbar's support during the coming war of succession, which then seemed inevitable owing to Perî Khânûm's intrigues. In a way the mission was successful, for when the guardians of 'Abbâs sent Murshid Tabrizî³ to seek Akbar's help against Khudâbanda, Akbar not only refused help, but Abu'l-Fazl says “The just Shâhinshâh did not regard him as worthy of an answer, he remarked : how could he assist one who contended with his visible god (father)?”

In 1591 came the first embassy from Shâh 'Abbâs. Unlike other missions, this was pre-eminently political in its object, for it came to seek Akbar's help against 'Abdullâh Khân Uzbek, who, profiting from the Civil War in Persia, had occupied Khurâsân. The Shâh was probably aware of 'Abdullâh's alliance with Akbar about Qandahâr and Herât. 'Abdullâh Khân, on the other hand, getting wind of the Shâh's intentions, despatched Ahmad 'Alî Atâliq who reached India in 1591, a little later than Yâdgâr. 'Abdullâh's alliance with Akbar has been more fully discussed in another chapter, but it may be here pointed out that 'Abdullâh's designs would have met with greater success had not Akbar too, like all the sovereigns of his race, dreamt of conquering Trans-Oxiana.

(1) *Akbarnamah* II, p. 357 (Trans. 358).

(2) *Akbarnamah* III, p. 8, see Elliot V, page 342 also.

(8) *Akbarnamah* III, p. 893 (Trans.)

As Akbar had not as yet made any move openly against Qandahâr, the Shâh was encouraged to send Yâdgâr Sultân, who is described by Abu'l-Fazl as "old in years but of fresh wisdom." I cannot do better than quote Abu'l-Fazl at some length about Akbar's deliberation on receiving this embassy :— "The excuse-accepting Sovereign was gracious to the envoy and held a council about furthering his designs. Some were of the opinion that he should send one of his sons with an army and take Khurâsân from the Uzbegs and in excellent way obtain the renown of a helper. As the ruler of Tûrân had sent select men, one after another, and made strong the agreement of unity, the proposition was not accepted. His Majesty said it was proper in the first place to try advice. Perhaps there would be no contest."

But in spite of these professions of sincerity and goodwill towards Persia, Akbar was all along intriguing with the Mirzâs of Qandahâr through Sharîf Khân Atakâ, the Governor of Ghaznin. The Mirzâs, too, were probably aware of Akbar's arrangement with 'Abdullâh and had no other alternative except to bow to the inevitable. The very absence of an Uzbek attack after the Conquest of Herât must have convinced them about this arrangement.

Soon after the arrival of the Persian ambassador, Mehtar Ibrâhîm brought the petition of Rustam Mirzâ. Akbar showed great kindness to him and sent Mirak Jalîr to bring the Mirzâ to the Court, and an order was issued to all governors of provinces to show the courtesy due to royalty when the Mirzâ came. Hakîm A'înu'l-Mulk, Budâûnî's great friend, was sent almost to the border of the Empire to receive Rustam Mirzâ. The Khân Khânân and Zâin Khân went out 12 kos to receive him. At the time of his audience Akbar conferred a mansab of 5,000 with Multân as fief and one krór (of dams ?) on him.

This generous treatment encouraged Muzaffar Husain who sent his mother and eldest son Behrâm Mirzâ "to beg quarters." Akbar sent Qarâ Bêg and Mirzâ Bêg to bring Muzaffar to the Court. Qarâ was probably selected because of his old associations with the Safavî dynasty.*

*The arrival of Muzaffar is fully described by the fathers of the third mission, see *Akbar and Jesuits*, p. 64. For the history of this branch of the Safavîs see *Alamara'i-Abbasi* (Add. 16684) f. 174 "Account of the descendants of Sultân Mirzâ s/o Bahrâm Mirzâ." See also Budâûnî, II, p. 402 (Low).

The occupation of Qandahâr and Zamîndâwar, though resented by the Shâh, did not lead to a breach of diplomatic relations, as the Mirzâs were more or less independent after Tahmâsp's death and by 'Abdullâh's occupation of Herât they were cut off from the rest of Persia. Although Akbar talked a great deal about helping the Shâh, he never raised a finger to do anything and dismissed Yâdgâr Sultân after four years with empty promises and false hopes.

Zainu'l-mulk was sent with Yâdgâr in 1002 A.H. (1594 A.D.) with a letter to the Shâh and Abu Nâsir as the custodian of presents.¹ They travelled by sea via Bandar Lahîrî for the obvious reason that the land-routes were in possession of the Uzbegs. In a long letter full of advice to the young Shâh, Akbar dwells a great deal on his own achievements, especially the suppression of "the wicked Baluchis and other desert dwellers" who are described as "thorns in the path of Persian travellers." The delay in sending the customary embassy is attributed to the "confusion in Persia." A very interesting and artful excuse for the annexation of Qandahâr is furnished in the following words:— "As the Mirzâs there showed slackness in assisting the sublime dynasty (Safavîs) and on the occurrence of accidents and misfortune which is the time for testing the jewels of fidelity, they did not at all show marks of concord and unanimity, nor did they repair to our sublime asylum, which is the native land of the masters of delight and ease. It therefore occurred to us that we should in the first place make over Qandahâr to our people." It further says that the occupation of Qandahâr was only undertaken to facilitate help to "that darling of sultanate (Abbâs)" his ambassador, and adds "we have confided to him some loving expressions which he will communicate to you in private."²

Akbar was reluctant to take sides in spite of his treaty with 'Abdullâh, because Qandahâr had lost most of its trade and revenue by the Uzbeg occupation of Herât and Khurâsân. He was also afraid of the growing power of Tûrân. The Tûrânîs could be expected to respect the

(1) *Akbarnamah*, III., 656 (Trans 1007).

(2) The letter is very long and full of diplomatic vagueness, especially with regard to Akbar's relations with 'Abdullâh. For the letter see *Jamia-i-Marasîlat* ff. 205,

treaty during 'Abdullâh's life-time, but 'Abdul Mu'min had more than once shown his hostility towards Akbar and it was difficult to trust him.

The reception of 'Aînu'l-mulk is described in a very exaggerated tone by Abu'l-Fazl¹ and the story of the slipper seems to be a result of his imagination. In 1598 'Abbâs in return sent Munuchher Bêg—who later distinguished himself in the Dâghistân campaign.² Among the Shâh's presents were 101 choice Gîlân horses, 300 pieces of brocade and fifty masterpieces of Ghiyâs Naqshabund.³ The Shâh, in acknowledging Akbar's letter, thanked him for his advice and offer of help and spoke a great deal of the preparations he was making for attacking Khurâsân and again sought Akbar's co-operation and help.⁴

With the death of 'Abdullâh and 'Abdul Mu'min the Civil War in Tûrân completely altered the situation and the Shâh occupied the whole of Khurâsân without Akbar's help. He sent 'Alî Beg Yuzbâshi to Akbar with a letter,⁵ in which he congratulated Akbar on the success of his son ('Abbâs), which the Shâh attributes to his (Akbar's) blessing, and friendship for his house (Safavîs).

Akbar in return sent Mîr Muhammad Ma'sûm Bukhârî with a congratulatory letter.⁶ The object of this mission can be gathered from the following remarks of Abu'l-Fazl:— "The intention of the Shâhinshâh was to send the victorious troops under the command of the Prince Royal to Tûrân and to include the ancestral territory within the Empire."

Bukhârî returned with a letter⁸ from the Shâh to Akbar

(1) *Akbarnamah*, III.

(2) Jalâl Munajjam's history, p. 249.

(3) For other works of Ghiyâs Naqshabund see the *Persian Exhibition Catalogue*. I am indebted to Sir Dennison Ross, who pointed out the historical significance of this piece of information.

(4) For the letter see *Jamîa'-i-Marasîlat* ff. 206b.

(5) *Ibid* ff. 211b.

(6) *Akbarnamah*, III, p. 1251 (Trans.)

(7) *Ibid* III, 1114; he further complains "but the Prince owing to some intrigues did not give his mind to this expedition." This was in 1598, shortly before Bukhârî was sent to Persia.

(8) Akbar's letter is nowhere to be found, but, as is usual in oriental correspondence, the Shâh's letter recapitulates all the points to which answer is given. The Shâh promised his co-operation; for the Shâh's letter see *Jamîa'-i-Marasîlat* ff. 209b.

and a letter from the Shâh's aunt* to Miriam Makâni.

A few words may be said about Akbar's attitude towards Persia before passing on to Jahângîr's reign. In his youth Akbar was very much under Shîa' influence and the Persian faction was very strong at his court; he consequently accepted the loss of Qandahâr in a spirit of resignation. The memory of the Shâh's help to Humâyûn was still too fresh to allow any breach of diplomatic relations. With the growth of the Tûrânian Empire under 'Abdullâh the situation was considerably altered, especially after the treaty; but in fact there was little in common between the views of the two sovereigns to bind them together for long. In the beginning Akbar tried to dissuade 'Abdullâh from attacking Persia, but in the end the situation in Persia was such that Akbar was compelled to come to an arrangement with the Tûrânians; besides, in this way Qandahâr was obtained without any fighting and opposition. After 'Abdullah's death Akbar reverted to his old policy of friendship with Persia, for he now saw some hope of conquering his ancestral lands in co-operation with the Shâh, but Salîm gave him no chance to do anything.

*Apparently the lady was Zeynab Bêgum, a sister of Tahmâsp and Miriam Makâni (Bilqis). Miriam used to send letters to her mother and sisters in Persia through the agency of the ambassadors. Some of her letters are given in *Jamîa'-i-Marasîlat* (ff. 127, 127b, etc.).

ABDUR RAHIM.

(To be continued.)

MUSLIM COLONIES IN INDIA BEFORE THE MUSLIM CONQUEST*

Sources

BESIDES the books mentioned above, the Persian histories of Sind have been drawn upon for the information detailed below. It is a pity that these books have not yet been published. Only their manuscripts are found in various libraries. But Elliot has quoted important passages from these books in the first volume of his history and they are before me. The names of those books are :—

Chach Nama

It is known as *Tarikh-i-Sind wa'l-Hind* and is the oldest history-book of Sind in Arabic. Md. 'Alī bin Hāmid bin Abu Bakr Kūfi translated this book into Persian in 613 A.H. (1216 A.D.) during the régime of Naseruddin Qabāchā, and he lived at Ooch (Sind) for this very purpose. The original Arabic is not found and, excepting the myth of Md. bin Qāsim and of the imprisonment of Raja Dahir's daughter, most of the facts recorded therein are corroborated by old Arabic history-books.

2. *Tarikh-i-Ma'sūmi*

This is a history of Sind written by Mīr Md. Ma'sūmi in 1011 A.H., during Akbar's time.

3. *Tarikh-i-Tāhiri*

Mīr Tāhir bin Syed Hasan Qandahari wrote this history of Sind in 1030 A.H. (1624 A.D.) during his stay in Sind.

4. *Baiglarnama*

This book, dedicated to Shah Qāsim Khan bin Syed Qasim Baiglar was written between 1017 A.H. and 1036. A.H.

*Translated by Sa'idul-Haq' B.A. (Hons).

5. *Tuhfatu'l-Karam*

Written by 'Alī Shēr in 1181 A.H. (1767 A.D.)

In respect of the details put down in this chapter, two Urdu books deserve especial mention—

1. *Tarikh-i-Sind*. Maulāna Abdu'l-Halīm Sharar of Lucknow has drawn upon Elliot's *History of Sind* (Vol. 1) and its sources and upon his personal researches, and has written a very voluminous history of Sind under Islamic rule in two volumes. All important items of information are put down in this book. But it requires re-arrangement. The Maulāna has relied too much upon Elliot, and his surmises regarding the solution of many intricate and knotty problems do not seem correct to me, as will appear in the following pages. While giving the names of books he has referred neither to the pages, nor to the volumes or chapters. Hence it is very difficult to verify and corroborate the facts in his book.

2. Another Urdu book which deserves mention is the Urdu translation of the 2nd volume of Ibn Batūtah's travel-diary (describing India), by the late Pīrẓāda Md. Hussain Sahīb of Delhi. The real value of the book lies in the translator's marginal notes on places and persons described by Ibn Batūtah, based upon the English translation and personal researches.

The histories of India included in the curricula of our schools and colleges are taught with a definite motive and the authors who write such books in English look upon things from a definite angle of vision. The history of Ancient India as found in these books is a piece of the history of Alexander and his successors. This invasion revolutionised India; it gave India an opulence of learning; and India attained to a status in the world of history.

To discover every route of Alexander's invasion and journey, to correct corrupted Greek names, and to arrange topsy-turvy statements,—this is the history of ancient India. When these historians come to Islam and India, they describe in a few lines the savage Arabs and terrible attacks of (God forbid) a ferocious Prophet and his successors. After a page or two they reach Ghazni direct from Arabia. Here they find Mahmūd's army ready to launch a crusade upon India and, taking this army, they reach the Punjab, Sind and Gujerat. After marauding expeditions, loot and plunder, they take this army back. Then,

after a hundred and fifty years, they bring Shihâbu'd-dîn Ghôri upon the soil of India and then they plunge into what is known as the Mediæval History of India. The question arises: If it was possible for the borders of Greece to have touched those of India in spite of long distances which separate them, is it not possible that on the ground of geographical propinquity the borders of India touched Afghanistan on the one hand and Makran and Sind on the other hand. Did not relations of war or peace exist between these countries? Did not these relations exist before the frontier tribes embraced Islam? Is it not necessary to join together the broken links and to make inquiry and research into this matter?

From a study of these books it is patent that, until the time of Mahmûd of Ghazni, not a single Muslim mlechch had set his feet upon the sacred soil of India; that there existed no relations of any sort between the Hindus and the Muslims. But the reader of my previous articles must have formed a clear idea of the various, many-sided relations that existed between the two peoples.

There were always continuous, unbroken relations of war and peace between India and the countries on the other side of the Khyber, before the advent of Islam. Whenever the King of Kâbul became powerful he annexed the territories right up to Vihindawar and Peshawar; and when opportunity presented itself, Rai Lohawar extended the boundaries of his dominions up to Kâbul and Kandahar. The same thing happened to the territories round about Sind. Sometimes the Shah of Persia annexed the territories from Makran to the river Sindh and sometimes the Raja of Sind, having annexed Baluchistan and Makran, made his kingdom touch the frontiers of Iran. This see-saw of political changes went on till the seventh century A.D. When the tide of Islamic conquest rushed to these places and the different tribes and communities took to Islam, the first Islamic kingdom on this part of the globe was the *Samaniyah* (Samanid) kingdom with its capital at Bukhâra. But even then the eyes of the conquerors were not upon the lands beyond Kâbul. Then came the *Safariyah* (Safârid) kingdom which was short-lived. Even then the eyes of the conquerors were not cast upon the lands beyond Kâbul and Kandahar. The 'Abbâsid Caliphate entrusted the nominal rule of Sind to this kingdom.

Alptagin, a Turkish officer of the Samanid kingdom, directed his attention away from the domain of that kingdom in order to escape invasions and chastisement by his lord. He made that distant country the pivot of his efforts and established a self-governing principality in Ghazni. This is an event of the mid-fourth century A.H. Sultân Mahmûd of Ghazni is the second or third ruler of that dynasty. During his thirty years' reign he humbled, by his terrible invasions, the Muslim and non-Muslim powers on all sides of Ghazni, added them to his small hereditary principality and laid the foundations of a mighty empire. He crushed the Islamic kingdom of Belkhan in Kashghar on the one side, the kingdom of the Samanids who were his overlords, on the second side, the kingdom of the Deylemis on the third side, the kingdom of Al-i-Zayâr in Tabristan, the country of the Ghoris who had not yet taken to Islam and had not yet been subjugated by any power, on the eastern side. Later on, he vanquished the Arab Amîrs of Multân and Sind on the eastern side, and some Rajas of Lahore and India, and established the Ghaznavid kingdom. Of these, all the powers, except those in India and Ghôr, were purely Muslim powers.

The above details indicate that the Muslim invasions through the mountain passes of Afghanistan, upon the Indian Rajas were not actuated merely by religious rancour, but formed only a link in the chain of the national wars which were waged for centuries. All this relates to northern India, but the state of southern India was different. Mahmûd of Ghazni invaded Gujerat in 416 A.H. (1064 A.D.), Shihâbu'd-dîn Ghôri in 574 A.H. (1178 A.D.), and Qutbu'd-dîn Eybak in 592 A.H. (1196 A.D.), but they came like the cloud and went away like the whirlwind. After a hundred years Raja Baghela and his Minister Madho were estranged one from the other, and it was the invitation of the latter which made 'Alâu'd-dîn Khilji the ruler of Gujerât in 697 A.H. (1297 A.D.). 'Alâu'd-dîn Khilji annexed the territories on the sea-coast from Gujerat to Coromandel. But these conquests were like a ship which cleaves the bosom of the ocean and leaves the gathering waters in its wake so placid that there seems to be no trace of the ship having ploughed them. This was nothing more than a military tour of the Khilji commander. In 709 A.H. (1309 A.D.) one of his officers named Malik Kâfûr subjugated the Karnatik. But later on in 727 A.H.

(1232 A.D.) rose the Vijayyanagar kingdom which served as a barrier to protect southern India from the onrush of the Muslims of northern India. The small Islamic principality established in Ma'bar (Coromandel) in connection with Malik Kâfûr's conquests, merged into the Vijayyanagar kingdom after a life of forty years. But further away from this dreadful carnage and terrible holocaust there were colonies of Muslim Arabs and 'Irâqis who did not come to the South by the land route from the North but travelled on the sea-coast until they settled down in those parts. It is an open fact that long before the Muslims settled down in northern India there were Muslim colonies in southern India ; and the history of these colonies really goes back to the era of commercial relations. Not only did Muslims from outside settle down in these areas but even the native inhabitants began to embrace Islam. There are various traditions regarding this impact of Islam and they are recorded in history-books and travel-diaries. What is common to these traditions is that this impact was due to two forces—one, the coming and going of Arab merchants ; the other, the spiritual influence of the Sûfis and Dervîshes who came to see the footprint (Adam's footprint) in Sarandip (Ceylon).

Ceylon, the First Muslim Centre

Firishta has written, " Since the Arabs came to these islands as merchants and the inhabitants of these islands went to Arabia even at a time when Islam had not yet dawned upon the world, the Raja of Sarandip first became familiar with Islam. In 40 A.H. (the beginning of the seventh century A.D.) during the time of the revered Sahâbis (those who had seen the Prophet) he embraced Islam*."

Firishta does not mention the source of this quotation but this fact is fully corroborated by an old book written in 300 A.H. and known as 'Ajâ'ibu'l-Hind (Wonders of India). Buzurg bin Shabryâr Nâkhôda (sailor) who used to sail round about these islands, writes in his description of Sind :—

" There are many kinds of yogis and ascetics in India.

* *Firishta*, vol. 2, Discourse No. 8, p. 311. (Nawalkishore Press).

One kind of yogis is known as Bikûr¹ (بيکور). They originally belonged to Sarandip and they entertain kindly feelings towards the Muslims. They remain practically stark naked during summer and wrap round the waist a loin-cloth only four fingers long; they cover their bodies with mats in winter; they sew for themselves a motley-coloured cloth and wear it; they besmear their bodies with the ashes of burnt corpses. They shave the head and beard and grow hairs on other parts of the body; they hang a human skull round their necks and eat their food in that skull for the sake of humility and edification." This and other statements of Arab travellers leave no manner of doubt that they were Buddhists.

Our traveller goes on to tell this story :—" When the people of Sarandip and places round about learnt about the Prophet of Islam they sent an intelligent person from among themselves to Arabia for inquiry. When at last he reached Madinah the Prophet was already dead. The period of Abu Bakr's Caliphate was also over and Hazrat 'Umar was the Caliph at that time. The messenger from Sarandip met him and inquired about the Prophet's life. Hazrat 'Umar gave him the details. While the messenger was on his way back, he died at Makrân (near Baluchistân). He had with him a Hindu servant who came back to Sarandip safe and sound. He described everything, about the Prophet, Hazrat Abu Bakr, and Hazrat 'Umar and also how they lived like dervishes. He said that humility marked their character; they wore patched clothes and slept in the mosque." The reason why the people of Sarandip have kindly feelings towards the Muslims is thus explained.²

There is a third corroboration of this tradition that when at the end of the first century A.H., Hajjâj was the Governor of 'Irâq and ships hovering round the south of India came from the harbour of 'Irâq, the Raja of Sarandip (also called by the Arabs 'the island of rubies') sent in a ship to 'Irâq, as a token of goodwill and friendship towards

(1) Probably this very word is described in one place as Beykarjîn بيكرجين and somewhere else as Beykarnatin بيكرنتين in *Kitabu'l-Bada'u't-Tarih* كتاب البدء التاريخ and the travel-diary of Suleyman the Merchant.

(2) '*Aja'ibu'l-Hind*, pp. 155-157.

the Muslims, among other presents, those Muslim women and girls whose fathers had come as traders and died, leaving them guardianless in a strange land.¹ This proves that, as early as the first century A.H., there were Muslim colonies in Sarandip. Abu Zeyd Seyrafi (300 A.H.) has mentioned the sojourn of Arab travellers in this island and their coming and going towards the end of the third century A.H.²

From a study of these various traditions one conclusion emerges : that on this side of the globe the first colony of Islām and the Arabs was established in Sarandip. Its history covered the period from the first century A.D. to the seventh century A.D.

Maldivè—The Second Centre

The second centre of Muslim and Arab colonization on this side of the globe was Maldivè, sometimes called 'Jaziratu'l-Mehl' by the Arabs. The Arabs called the collection of these small islands by the name of Deybât (ديبات).³ Ibn Batûtah has given the fullest account of these islands. During the time of Ibn Batûtah, that is, during Muhammad Tughlak's reign (700 A.H.), all the inhabitants were Muslims ; there were settlements of the Arabs and native Muslims ; and the island was ruled by a Bengali woman named Khadîjah. At that time there were in that island many scholars and navigators from Yaman and other places. Ibn Batûtah has recorded, as he heard it from them, the story of how the idolatrous island embraced Islām.

Every month a terrible spectre used to emerge out of the sea. When the people of this place saw the spectre they left a virgin, adorned and decorated, in the idol-house situated on the sea-shore. But this dreadful calamity was averted by the blessings of an Arab of Morocco named Sheikh Abu'l-Barakat Barharî Maghribî who arrived here by accident. Thereupon Raja Shanurâzâ and his subjects became Muslims and the Sheikh initiated them into the

(1) *Futuhu'l-baldan* by Balazri dated 279 A.H., p. 435 (Leiden).

(2) Abu Zeyd Seyrafi, p. 121 (Paris).

(3) Dîpt is the Sanskrit word for an island.

faith. Ibn Batûtâh says that he found the following inscription upon the archway of the mosque built by this newly-converted Raja.

“Sultan Ahmad Shanwara became a Muslim, Abû'l-Barakat Maghribî having initiated him into the faith.” In short, from that day to this all these islands are inhabited by Muslims and the majority of them are Arabs of mixed blood.

Malabar—The Third Centre

It is proved by different traditions that the third centre of Arab colonization is the extreme fringe of India known in Ancient India as Kerâlâ كَرَالَا and later on as Malibar (Malî—mountain; bar—country). As described by Arab geographers, it extends from the end of Gujerât to Kolam in Travancore.

The following is the version of *Tuhfatu'l-Mujahidin* recorded by Firshta.

“Before and after the advent of Islam, Jewish and Christian merchants used to come here and settle down. When two hundred years had passed after the advent of Islam, a band of Arab and Persian dervishes (all Muslims) was going to Ceylon to see Adam's footprint. As chance would have it, their ship, tossed by the winds, reached the town of Kadanklûr كَدَنكَوَر (Kadangânûr) كَدَنكَوَر. The Raja of the place (Zeymûr) treated them very courteously. In the course of conversation there was mention of Islâm. The Raja said, “I have heard from the Jews and the Christians an account of your Prophet and religion. Now I want you to describe all these things.” The way the dervishes explained their religion was so impressive that it touched the deepest chords of the Raja's heart. The Raja took an assurance from them that they would halt at his town on their way back. They fulfilled their promise by halting at that town. The Raja assembled his nobles and chiefs and declared that he wanted to consecrate the rest of his life to the worship of God. He distributed his lands equally to all officers, went away secretly to Arabia with the dervishes, and became a Muslim. He told the dervishes that, in order to propagate Islam in Malabar, it was necessary to establish commercial relations with Malabar, and gave a letter of recommendation addressed to his nobles. The letter ran:—‘Treat these

foreign merchants courteously and provide every means of convenience. Help them in every piece of pious work. Permit them to build their houses of worship and treat them in such a way that they may be inclined to reside there.' From that time onwards Arab merchants came and settled down in Malabar."

There is another version (which is believed by Firishta to be more reliable than this, but which I personally do not think to be so reliable) to the effect that this event took place during the Prophet's life-time. However, the der-vishes again came to Malabar and built a mosque in Kandankar. Some settled down in that town; some migrated to Kolam and built a mosque there too. They built mosques and established their colonies in Hili Mârâwī هیل، ارابی، Jarpatan بحرین، Darpatan درپتن Fin-darniya مدرنیا (Pindârâni پندارانی) Fâknûr فاکمور and Mangalore.

This is the summary of Firishta's statements. A few extracts from *Tuhfatul-Mujahidin* throw light on the conditions as they prevailed in later times :—

"Plenty of merchants have come from different countries to parts of the western coast of India. New towns sprang up; the trade of the Muslims has increased the population; plenty of houses have been built. The Raja and his chiefs abstain from adopting an unkind attitude towards the Muslims. Though the chiefs and their soldiers are idol-worshippers, still they revere the Muslims and their faith. This friendly feeling amazes us all the more when we think that the Muslims number only a tenth of the whole population. Generally speaking, the Hindu Rajahs of Malabar adopt an attitude of respect and kindness towards the Muslims, as the establishment of many towns is due to the Muslim traders having settled down in those parts." *

These are the Muslim Arab traders and merchants who left their homes and became known in India as Moplahs and Naitis. They held in their hands the reins of naval supremacy before the Portuguese became masters of the sea. The native inhabitants who became Muslims or intermarried with the Moplahs entered their fraternity.

* *Tuhfatul-Mujahidin* (quoted from Dr. Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*, pp. 382, 383).

Kolam

It lies in modern Travancore. Arab navigators have been mentioning it from very early times. They said that "this is the last town of the land of spices." Ships used to go from this place to Aden. There was a locality in which the Muslims resided. The Muslims had their mosque here.¹

Ma'bar مأبر Coromandel—the Fourth Centre

In Madras, the coast on the opposite side to Malabar is called Ma'bar by the Arabs. Its famous modern name is Coromandel. Ma'bar was notably known to Arab sailors and merchants. Ibn Sa'id Maghribî has mentioned it as a place which lies at a distance of three or four days' journey east of Kolam and leans towards the south.² Zakariya Qizwini (686 A.H.) has mentioned it in the seventh century as 'Mandal' مندل and has praised the ambergris of this place.³ He mentions Râs Kâmrân (Cape Comorin) as situated near Ma'bar or Coromandel and hence ambergris was known as 'Kamrûn 'ud' or Comorin ambergris.⁴ Abu'l-Fidâ (732 A.H. or 1313 A.D.) has mentioned 'Râs Kumari' as 'Râs Kumahri'⁵ and has thus defined the boundaries of Kolam:—"it lies east of Malabar at a distance of three or four day's journey and its boundary begins from Kolam."⁶ The name of its capital is 'Birdâl' بیردال (بیردھول). Horses are brought here from outside."⁷ It seems that this part of the coast came into Arab use after a few centuries. We find its name mentioned from the end of the sixth century onward.

In the seventh century the Arabs seem to have given an appreciable amount of power and influence in that place. Wasaf (d. 728 A.H.) and Rashîdu'd-dîn, the author of Jâmi'-ut-tawârikh جامع التواريخ (d. 718 A.H.) both wrote their books at the end of the 8th century. Both write almost unanimously upon this subject. "Ma'bar (Coromandel) extends for 3 farsangs on the sea-coast from Kolam to Silwâr سیلوار (Nellore). It contains many towns and hamlets. The Raja is called by his subjects 'Diwar'

(1) *Taqwimu'l-buldan*, p. 361.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 361.

(3) *Atharu'l-bilad* by Qizwini, p. 82.

(4) *Taqwimu'l-buldan* p. 355.

(5) *Ibid*, p. 354.

(6) *Ibid*, p. 355.

(7) The date of the authorship of *Tarikh-i-Wasaf* is 707 A.H. 1307 A.D.). Elliot, vol. 3, p. 44.

which means 'a wealthy person.' Large Chinese ships called 'Janah' bring here valuable goods and cloth from China, Sind and Hind (India) and carry silk and odoriferous wood from Malabar. Large pearls are taken out of the rivers. The products go to 'Irâq, Khurâsân, Syria, Rûm, Byzantium and Europe. It produces red and odoriferous grass. There are plenty of pearls in its temples. Ma'bar is the key of India. A few years ago Sunder Pandey was the Diwar of the place. He, together with his three brothers captured power and influence in various directions. Malik Taqîu'd-dîn bin Abdu'r-Rahmân bin Muhammad-at-Tayyabî, the brother of Skeykh Jamâlu'd-dîn, was the minister and adviser of this Raja who entrusted the kingdom of Patan, Mali Patan (Patam and Mali Patam) and Bâdal to the care of his minister. Since good horses were not found in Ma'bar, the Raja caused a contract to be made that Jamâlu'd-dîn Ibrâhîm should fetch him fourteen hundred Arab horses of fine mettle from the port of Kaish (Qais¹ قيس)."

Every year ten thousand horses, each costing 220 gold mohurs (dînârs) came from other parts of the Persian Gulf—Qatîf (قطيف) Al-Hisâ' (الحسا) Bahreyn (بحرين) and Hurmuz (هرمز). In 292 A.H. (1293 A.D.) the 'Diwar' (Raja) died and his wealth was distributed among his ministers and advisers. It is said that Skeykh Jamâlu'd-dîn, who succeeded him, got seven thousand bullock-loads of gold and jewels and Taqîu'd-dîn, according to the contract, became his representative.²

At about the same time when Marco Polo came here the kingdom was ruled over by five Hindu Râjas but he found that the Muslims commanded a powerful commercial influence. Regarding the import of horses from Arabia he says:—"Horses are not found in this land. Merchants bring horses every year from the parts of Aden and Hurmuz. Every year two thousand-horses are imported by the five Râjahs and each horse costs five hundred dînârs."

Muslims fighting against Muslims for the sake of a Hindu Raja

Soon after, Sultân 'Alâu'd-dîn Khiljî's army devastated the whole country between Gujerât and Coromandel.

(1) A full description of this island has been given in my article on "Commercial relations."

(2) Elliot's translation of 'Jami'-ut-Tawarikh pp. 69, 70.—Vide Wasâf's book, vol. 2, pp. 32, 53.

Then, for the first time in Indian history, the 'Irâqîs and Arabs who were in the service of the Râja of Coromandel, who had his capital at Bîrdhûl بىردھول, fought against the invaders who were Muslim Turks. Amîr Khusru of Delhi has recorded this event with much detail in *Khaza'înu'l-Futuh*¹ in the course of a colourful but meaningless history of these conquests of 'Alâu'd-dîn Khilji. The Muslims who had pledged themselves to the service of the Raja fought desperately against the Muslim Turks, but the latter proved more than a match for the former. The Raja was defeated and Malik Kâfûr 'Alâu'd-dîn's general, annexed the country. Malik Kâfûr wanted to chastise the Muslims who had fought against him, but they declared their faith by shouting the Kalimah and reciting extracts from the Qur'ân.²

In the second volume of his book Elliot has given a summary of *Khaza'înu'l-Futuh* under the title of *Târikh-i-Alâi*. In connection with this incident he has translated a sentence of Khusru thus :—"These Muslims were half-Hindus and quite ignorant of the principles of their religion."³ But this interpretation is entirely erroneous. The real fact is that with poetical fancies and rhetorical flourishes Anûr Khusru has reprehended the Muslims for siding with the Hindu Raja. In no way does this condemnation mean that they were half-Hindus.⁴

Gujerat—the Fifth Centre

The fifth theatre of the Arabs' commercial activities was the territory covered by Gujerât, Kathiawar, Cutch and the Konkan. It was ruled over by Wallabh Râ'ى ولبهرا or Raja Bilhara, beloved of the Arabs, who had his first capital at Wallabhipur, which was a large town near modern Bhâunagar and is always called by the Arabs Mângar or Mahânagar. Modern archæological researches prove that the circuit of this town covered an area of five miles. Some Rajas were Buddhists and some Jains and it was religious animosities and jealousies which paved the way

(1) *Khaza'înu'l-Futuh* by Amîr Khusru edited by the Jâm'râh Milliyyah Islâmîyah (Algarh), dated 1927 A.D., pp. 157, 162.

(2) Vol. 3, p. 90.

(3) *Khaza'înu'l-Futuh*. pp. 161, 162.

(4) *Ibid.*

for the downfall of this kingdom. Under the sheltering care of this kingdom the region of Cheymûr, called Seymûr صيمور by the Arabs, was in a highly flourishing condition. Khambayat and other regions came next in importance.

The first Arab traveller and merchant, who completed his travel-diary in 235 A.H., i.e., Suleymân, has showered praises upon Wallabh Râi. He writes: "He and his subjects entertained very good feelings towards the Arabs and the Muslims and they believed that the longevity of their Rajas is due to the love and affection they show to the Arabs."¹ This shows that very friendly relations existed between the Arab merchants and settlers on the one hand and the children of the soil on the other. This explains why there were plenty of Arab settlements in various towns of this kingdom and also why they existed right up to the end.

Of the Rajah of Tâqan طاقن or Dâkhan or Dakhan he states: "Like Bilahra he too treats the Arabs lovingly."² Of the Rajahs of Gujerat proper he says, "They are the enemies of the Arabs."³ At the end of the third century A.H. and the beginning of the fourth, the ships of Buzurg bin Shahryâr Nâkhôda sailed on this side and he found here a large population of Arabs and Muslims. He also met a newly converted Muslim navigator whose ships had earned a large fortune and who had gone on pilgrimage too.⁴ He also met one Muhammad bin Muslim, a merchant of Seyraf, who had lived in Thanâ (near Bombay) for more than twenty years, had visited many towns of India, and was familiar with them.⁵

In Cheymûr (Seymûr in Gujerat) he met one Abu Bakr, a Muslim of Fasâ فسا (in Persia).⁶ The courtier of the Rajah of Goal (called Chandanpur by the ancient Arabs) was a Muslim named Mûsâ.⁷

(1) pp. 26, 27.

(2) p. 29.

(3) p. 28.

(4) *'Aja'ibu'l-Hind* p. 16.

(5) p. 152.

(6) p. 157.

(7) p. 157.

Hunarmand هنر مند

This is a Persian word which denotes 'a man of skill' but the Arabs used it in a particular sense. Dropping the final *dal* (د) they called it *Hunarman* هنر من and formed the verb 'Hunarmanâ' (which meant 'to be skilled'). Technically it meant a Muslim qâdi or consul appointed in non-Muslim lands by their governments to decide cases concerning Muslims. When the Arab and Muslim governments attained their meridian of grandeur, they enjoyed in non-Muslim lands special privileges and prerogatives similar to those enjoyed in Asia and Africa to-day by Europeans, whose cases are not decided in the courts of non-Europeans. There are signs of such distinctive privileges in Turkistân, Rûm (Byzantium) China and India.¹ However, this qâdi or consul, or the Muslim officer appointed by a non-Muslim government, was called 'Hunarmand' هنر مند. At the end of the third century A. H. and the beginning of the fourth, the Arab population had grown so large in Cheymûr that the Raja had to appoint for them a 'Hunarmand' whose name was 'Abbâs bin Mâhân عباس بن ماهان'.²

The Kingdom of Vallabh Rai

Mas'ûdi came to India at the beginning of the fourth century A.H. He came to Khambayat in 303 A.H. He visited many other towns of Gujerât. His evidence about the Vallabh Rai kings is the same as recorded sixty or seventy years before by Suleymân the Merchant. He says, "In no other kingdom in Sind or in India are the Arabs and Muslims treated with so much respect as in the kingdom of the Bilahra Rajas. Islam is safe, immune and secure in this kingdom. There are mosques and Jâmi' mosques in which the faithful congregate in large numbers to offer prayers. The Rajahs rule for forty or fifty long years and the people believe that this longevity is due to the justice and respect with which they treat Muslims. The Rajah of Gujerât is a blatant enemy of Islam, while in the kingdom of Tâqan طاقن or Dakhan دکهن the Muslims are treated with the same respect."³

(1) Ibn Hauqal p. 233.

(2) 'Aja'ibu'l-Hind p. 144.

(3) *Muruju' dh-dhahab* by Mas'ûdi, vol. 1, pp. 382, 184.

In Seymûr (a town in Vallabh Rai's kingdom) the population of Arabs, and Muslims of mixed blood, was increasing day by day. When Mas'ûdî came here (in 304 A.H.) the Muslim population numbered ten thousand in this town alone.

Beysar بيسر

This is a puzzling word but Mas'ûdî defines it as the Muslims born in India. Its plural is Beyâsarah بياسره. The following is an important extract from Mas'ûdî:—

“ In 304 A.H. I went from Lâr لار in the kingdom of Bilahra to Cheymûr (Seymûr). The name of the ruler of this town at that time was ‘Jâneh’ جانج. At that time there was a population of ten thousand Muslims which was composed of those who were born in India (called Beyâsarah), in Seyraf, Oman, Basrah, Baghdad and other places, and who had settled down here. Among them there are respectable merchants like Mûsa bin Ishâq of Sandâlûn (Sandapur?). Abu Sa'îd Ma'rûf bin Zakaryâ أبو سعيد معروف بن ذكرى filled the post of ‘Hunarmand.’ Hunarmand means the Sirdar (chief) of Muslims and the Rajah selects one of the Muslim nobles to whom are entrusted all matters concerning the Muslims. Beyâsarah بياسره means the Muslims born in India.”¹

Thana

Ibn Sa'îd Maghribî ابن سعيد مغربي, a contemporary of Sultân Shihâbu'd-dîn, was writing in 585 A.H. in Morocco and Egypt a book on the geography of the heavens (astronomy) like Bêrûnî's Laws of Mas'ûdî. He has mentioned in it the names of some towns of Southern India. He says in the description of Thâna, “This is the last town of Gujerât (Lâr). Its name is on the tip of merchants' tongues. The inhabitants on this Indian coast are idol-worshipping Hindus but they also let Muslims settle down there.”²

Khambayat

He describes Khambâyat thus: “This is among the coastal towns of India. Traders use to come here; there are Muslim inhabitants too.”³ Soon after, during the

(1) *Muruju'dh-dhahab* مروج الذهب by Mas'ûdî vol. 2, pp. 85, 86.

(2) With reference to *Taqwimu'l-buldan* by Abu'l Fidâ, p. 359.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 257.

time of Sultân Shamsu'd-dîn Iltamash (625 A.H.) 'Awfi, the author of *Jami'-ul-Hikayat* جامع الحکایات, perhaps, went from Sind to Khambayat. He says: "There is a population (in Khambayat) of pious and conscientious Muslims and they have a Jâmi' mosque too and an Imam. The Râjah of Gujerât who lived in Nahrwâlah نهر والہ treated them with commendable justice."¹

Khambayat to Cheymur in the fourth century

Ibn Hauqal of Baghdâd, who travelled from Gujerât to Sind, says: "The rule of Râja Bilahra extends from Khambâyat to Seymûr.....The Hindus form the majority of the population, which includes Muslims too, who are ruled over by a Muslim gentleman appointed by the Râjah to look after them.....There are mosques in the kingdom of Vallabha Rai in which Juma' (Friday) prayers and other prayers are offered and the call to prayer is openly shouted."²

Khambayat to Coromandel in the eighth century

The conquest by Malik Kâfûr of the territories from Gujerât to Coromandel was a whirlwind which swept the land and passed away. But the flag of Alâu'd-dîn's conquests, once planted, could not be rooted out. But they both became independent. The hundreds of miles between Gujerât and Coromandel were usually under Hindu Rais and Râjahs. Gujerât was added for ever to Islamic possessions but Hasan Keythli حسن کیتھلی and his successors ruled over Coromandel (Ma'bar) for forty years right up to the middle of the eighth century. Coromandel was finally conquered by Vijayyanagar.

(1) The manuscript copy of 'Aûfi's *Jamiu'l-Hikayat* existing in Dâru'l-Musannifîn (Azamgadh).

(2) Ibn Hauqal, p. 233 (Leiden).

SULEYMAN NADVI.

(To be continued.)

ECSTASY

"THERE is no God but Thee !" I swayed and cried,
 And thence I never more have felt forlorn,
 No more the tears that did my soul adorn,
 Rise from my heart and Severance sanctify ;
 I felt Thy Presence and was glorified
 And said, " For Thee, lest we remain thus torn
 From each, from each, Oh, better ne'er be born,
 And weep to find our union still denied !"
 But now by sinking suns when I am sad,
 I only feel Thee whom I wish to see
 When eyes and sight are one and Soul is clad
 With Soul and Thou from Me and Thee art free !
 E'en thus I most delight in being mad,
 When Love—Thy love—takes me too near to Thee.

The chain that binds two hearts is ever strong,
 Is strengthened by the boundless love of each :
 A gift and blessing that shall always teach
 Affections which to purest minds belong ;
 Such flame can cleanse the hearts of a great throng
 Of this wide world and then can make them reach
 The spheres where souls for higher aims beseech
 Th' Eternal One with star-enchancing Song.
 Thrilled with this strange and sudden happiness,
 A fool shall sooner reach his destined goal,
 Through realms resounding in their silentness,
 And doubly purify that Mighty Whole,
 Which long-expectant lips shall surely press
 With unrestricted joy of Soul-in-Soul !

AMEEN KHORASANEE.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

“LORD OF ARABIA”*

MR. ARMSTRONG blends history with romance. With that prefatory warning we can assure our readers that here is a biography of Sultan ‘Abdul ‘Azîz Ibn Sa‘ûd as lively as his former delineation of the Ghâzi of Angora. Again there is too free a use of limelight ; yet none can deny the cinematographic quality of the career of the Wahhâbi King.

But the final impression derived from this biography is less of the cinema than the chess-board, which hands its highest awards to the player who is cool-headed and patient, whose faith in himself and his chosen methods rarely falters, and who never gives way to the temptation to sacrifice strategical aims for small tactical gains. Ibn Sa‘ûd, often enough with few and dubious pieces at his command, has played with strong restraint, and this quality, unexpected in one of his blood, is stressed by his admiring biographer ; so, too, is that equally vital quality of the born leader—a shrewd judgment of the practical value of the forces at his command, from tribal quarrels and fanaticism to English gold, aeroplanes and wireless.

Though the main course of the career of the Wahhâbi King is well known, we may give a brief outline of it. Riyâdh, the heart of Najd, which is the heart of Arabia, was his birthplace, but his boyhood was passed as a refugee, first with the crude Murra tribes, then at Kuweyt at the head of the Persian Gulf. The Sheykh of Kuweyt, himself rarely receiving the promised Turkish subsidy, was close-fisted, and the Sa‘ûds consequently knew poverty. The shifting forces of the period previous to the Great War saw them of lesser or greater importance in Arabian politics until, at the age of twenty-one, ‘Abdul ‘Aziz achieved his first big exploit.

* *Lord of Arabia*, by H. C. Armstrong. Published by Arthur Barker, Ltd., London. pp. 306. 9—net.

With a few companions he daringly recaptured Riyâdh from the hereditary Shammâr foe, fortified it, and by swift raiding showed his merits as a leader. There followed years of attempts to secure an adequate footing and following against the Turks, the Shammâr, Ajma, the Hashimites, Muteyn and Ateyba, either severally or in alliance. The paucity of dates, at times, in Mr. Armstrong's account of this tumult of lesser wars, which savour of the Middle Ages rather than of the scientific horrors of the twentieth century, leaves one groping.

By 1913 his power and prestige had much increased, and from his base at Riyâdh he made himself felt. He saw the Arabs, once imperial rulers, split up into races and sects, lacking the central government essential to the safety and development of the country. So, raiding and plundering were checked and settled colonies fostered, from which eventually he drew the pick of his fighting men, the famed Ikhwân. The Great War found him isolated and uncertain, ready for friendly neutrality but averse to being jockeyed into treaties. His ability to concentrate patiently on one aim here stood him in good stead. The War in Europe showed little sign of victory for the Allies, but the English were massing for a drive against the Turks, backing the Sharif Huseyn as "Guardian of the Sacred Cities," and pouring out arms, gold, and promises. "Ibn Sa'ûd was once more in control of Central Arabia, and he was of value to them. In haste they sent a mission to him—St. John Philby, a political officer from the Civil Commissioner's staff in Baghdad, and with him Lord Belhaven." At this time his relations with Huseyn and the English were indeed of the order of a chess-problem; and the various departments of the English Government further complicated matters by making conflicting treaties, the Arab Bureau backing Huseyn, the Foreign Office signing agreements with the French, the India Office giving subsidies and arms to Ibn Sa'ûd whose people were straining at the leash to attack in the name of their Faith.

His advocacy of the lost Turkish cause ought presumably to have eliminated Ibn Rashîd, the chief of Bani Shammâr, and left the Wahhâbi leader lord of all inner Arabia. But the actual state of things at the end of the War was far different. Ibn Sa'ûd was, in fact, weakened and isolated, and more than once brought to the

verge of disaster by the treachery and defection of sections of his followers. The easy victory of Turaba eventually left Huseyn and the Hijâz at his mercy ; the capture of Hâ'il scattered the Shammâr, and he behaved generously to the family of the murdered Rashîd.

But, though the Turks were gone, the English commitments remained, bolstering up a scheme, a Confederacy of Arab States, which was clearly not based on realities and which bade fair to create a halo for the brow of the defeated Turk. The Arab countries were split by internal dissensions, there was no Arab national feeling, and the English people were war-weary and tired of "side-shows."

To continue our brief résumé —The abolition of the Caliphate by the Turks was followed at once by the Sharif Huseyn proclaiming himself Caliph of all Islâm. A long-awaited opportunity was presented to the Wahhâbi King. But here again he moved with all deliberation, after well-remembered conferences and feelers in many parts of the world, and with a stern hand on the more fanatical of his followers. The Hijâz was soon in his hands, and the intolerable abuses of his Hâshimite predecessor suppressed. His treatment of the situation was shrewd and politic, and soon (to quote Mr. Armstrong) "the Russians sent an envoy to recognise him as 'King of the Hejaz.' The English followed, sending Sir Gilbert Clayton to treat with him as 'King of the Hejaz and of Najd and its Dependencies.' After them came the French, the Germans and the Dutch and many other countries. With the exception of the Yemen and the territory far to the south beyond the Great Waste, Ibn Sa'ûd, holding a protectorate over Asir, ruled all Arabia from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf and from the Great Waste to the edges of Syria."

But, though he stamped on plots and conspiracies, troubles still came thick and fast. However, the guerilla methods of desert warfare were now up against modern devices, the telephone replaced the camel in transmitting news, and motor cars killed ancient tactics by rapid concentration of forces at danger-points. He broke the ring of States which hemmed him in, and forced the Western Powers to re-orient their policy in Arabia. He "had made up his mind that modern inventions were necessary for the safety of the State and he would have them without further delay. He built a high-powered wireless station

outside Mecca and another at Riyadh, and connected up the districts with his palaces by wireless telegraph and telephone so that he could talk direct with his provincial governors and keep in personal touch.... He bought motor cars himself and he encouraged others to do the same. In 1926 there had been no more than a dozen cars in the whole country. By 1930 there were 1,500 running between Jedda and Mecca...."

Such, in brief, is the story of a remarkable career. The main theme of this book, however, is not so much history as a fervent characterisation of the personality of the man himself; he appears as a hero fighting odds, daring and brave yet discreet in victory, frugal, almost ascetic, yet dispensing lavish hospitality, preferring peace, ready to parley yet indomitable as fighter and leader, deeply religious and heir to a long tradition, yet endowed with remarkable elasticity of mind and outlook. Despite the fireworks, Mr. Armstrong's enthusiasm enlists our respect and sympathy for the intrepid leader, and makes us feel that the future peace and prosperity of troubled Arabia rest on the broad shoulders of His Sa'ûdi Majesty.

R. C.

THREE ISMA'ILI CLASSICS

THE Islamic Research Society of Bombay, of which Mr. A. A. Fyzee is the energetic Secretary and moving spirit, is doing excellent work towards bringing Ismâ'ilism back into the general theatre of Islamic thought and culture and reducing the comparative isolation from which that section of the Shî'a community has so long suffered. The Society has found a capable Editor for its publications in Professor Ivanow, who in his prefaces, is mindful of world-standards when treating of Ismâ'ilism, thus giving to the Society's publications the touch of scholarship necessary to recommend them to the student of every community. Of the three books which lie before us, two consist of brief

* (i) *Discan of Khaki Khorasani*. Persian text edited with an introduction by W. Ivanow. Bombay 1933.

(ii) *Two Early Isma'ili Treatises (Haft-Babi Sayyidna and Mathlubul-Muminin)*. By Tusi. Persian text with an introductory note by W. Ivanow, Bombay 1933.

(iii) *True Meaning of Religion* (Risala dar Haqiqat-i-Din). By Shihabû'd-din Shah Al-Husayni. Persian text, and an English translation by W. Ivanow, Bombay 1933.

treatises on the principles of Ismâ'ilism, while the third is a collection of poems of the eleventh Islamic century by an Ismâ'îlî poet who had suffered persecution in his day. All three are in easy Persian and have the advantage of an explanatory and critical introduction by Prof. Ivanow; but the *Dîwân* of Khâkî Khurâsânî will appeal most to the general public, for, though the author will not bear comparison with the greater poets of Persia, he has a true poetic gift and his themes are the familiar Sûfî themes, for ever popular. Indeed, in all these works, the reader would imagine himself in Sûfî company were it not for a word here and there which puzzles him and calls for explanation. On this resemblance of Ismâ'ilism to Sufism, partly protective, partly regional, we cannot do better than quote Prof. Ivanow's introduction to the *Dîwân* of Khâkî:

“ With regard to Sufism it would be superfluous to recall the close connection between the Sufic and Ismâ'îlî theories, which are derived from the same source. In adopting Persian poetic terminology the Ismâ'îlîs probably did not so much follow the *taqiyya*, but simply yielded to the powerful influence of this literary fashion which exercised its pressure far outside the purely Sufic and Shi'ite circles. We see from the poems of Khaki that such influence was not entirely superficial. For instance, he frequently alludes to the theory of the three stages of religious life, the *shari'at*, *tariqat* and *haqiqat*; to these he gives quite a different meaning from that of Sufic literature; *shariat* here means the outward religious practice, the *zahir*; *tariqat* is a combination of the *zahir* and the *batin*, apparently just as in the Fatimid form of Ismailism; and *haqiqat* is pure *batin*, evidently in the sense as in the reformed Ismailism of the Alamut school of the *Qiyamatu'l-Qiyamat*.

“ The question of the real internal relations of Sufism in its later stages in Persia with the later Ismaili doctrine is still quite obscure, and cannot be properly studied until we have at our disposal more authentic material. It seems, however, that a genuine and complete combination of both is quite possible. According to the secret beliefs of the darwishes of Persia the highest stage, *haqiqat*, is entirely identified with the doctrine of *Ali-ilahis*; and, strange to say, a properly educated darwish, even now, has to know by heart the Nizari line of the Imams; though, as a rule, these darwishes do not possess the slightest

idea as to who these persons are. We know that there were some Sufic orders who deified Safavides. Remnants of such sects, the so-called *Siyah-supuri* (i.e., "black-shielded") are still in existence in some villages not far from Tehran. It is quite possible that such symbiosis of Ismailism and Sufism could have existed in practical life for a long period of time. We know that one of the Nizari Imams, the 40th according to the official genealogy, Nizar II who lived toward the end of the Safavide period, was a prominent member of the Ni'matullahi Sufic order and was known under the name 'Atâ'u'llah. His followers who formerly inhabited Khorasan moved under his guidance to the province of Kerman, and are still known by the name of 'Atâ'u'llâhîs. Probably after his time, or perhaps even earlier, a strong connection had been established between Sufism and Ismailism in Persian popular ideas. Even now the average Persian regards the followers of the "Aga Khani Mahallatî" as a peculiar order of darwishes of the ordinary Shi'ite type."

Khaki Khurasani's name was Iman Quli and he lived in the village of Dizbad in Khurasan in the time of Shâh 'Abbâs I or Shâh 'Abbâs II. The present edition of his *Diwan* is derived from two MSS. one belonging to Mr. Mukhi Muhammad Mir of Bombay, which the owner believes to be an autograph, and a recent copy, made in 1890, belonging to Hâjji Musa Khân of Poona, for which he "used the Old copy mentioned above, supplementing it from other sources." The Editor of the present edition remarks: "the New copy repeats all the mistakes of the Old and adds many more. There is not a single case of deviation which really deserves to be called a variant. Sometimes there is an omission of a line, or a mistake in the sequence of lines, but these are obviously due to the scribe's negligence. The poems which at present are missing in the Old copy could have belonged to it when it was fuller than it is at present. A peculiar feature of Khaki's poems is an occasional change of metre in one and the same poem. Such cases may be in reality due to a confusion of several poems possessing the same rhyme." We may take it that the Persian text of Khaki's poems in the present edition is the best in existence.

In "Two Early Ismaili Treatises" we have (1) *Haft Babi Baba Sayyidna* which the editor describes as "apparently the earliest known work belonging to the Alamuti school of Ismaili literature in Persia"; and (2) *Mathubu'l-Muminin* by Nasru'd-dîn Muhammad Tûsî. The former

is ascribed by the Ismâ'îlîs of Badakshan (where alone copies of it are now to be found) to Baba Sayyidna (i.e., Hasan b. As-Sabbâh) himself. But this ascription is, in the opinion of the editor, "a mere mnemonic designation based on the frequent references to Sayyidna in the work." In point of fact there is no clue to the identity of the author, though it is clear that the treatise was completed in 597 A.H. (1200 A.D.), more than 70 years after the death of Hasan b. As-Sabbâh. It belongs, however, definitely, to the Alamuti period, it affords an insight into the religious thought of that period and provides references to books of that period which are otherwise unknown. It forms, to a great extent, the basis of one of the most important items in the religious literature of the Badakshânî Ismâ'îlîs—the *Haft-Bab-i-Sayyid Nasir* or as it is called, *Kalam-i-Pir*. The author was no learned theologian but a credulous and zealous "adept," which makes his work more valuable to us today. *Matlubu'l-Muminin*, on the other hand, is the work of a learned theologian and was intended as a manual or text-book for his scholars. In appearance it is ordinary Sûfî teaching.

The last of these Persian revivals is of very much later date, being from the pen of "the late Shihabû'd-din Shah, the son of the 47th Imâm of the Nizaris," who is "still remembered by the old men in Bombay and Poona as a young man of outstanding ability and exceptional learning." His *Risalah dar Haqiqat-i-Din* was intended for the enlightenment of the people, and so made as simple in its terms as possible. Because of his untimely death it was never finished, and the first part, which alone had been written, was left uncorrected. It contains some excellent moral teaching associated inevitably with that peculiar variant of the doctrine of Al-Imâmu'l-Hâdir which is the pivot of the thought of this community.

All these publications of the Islamic Research Society are well edited, well printed and scholarly. They deserve to be widely known.

M. P.

AN ELEMENTARY QUR'AN READER*

THIS little book represents the last instalment of a series of Readers on a system which is essentially the same

*The Last Part of the Holy Qur'an. The Holy Qur'an Society, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1934. Price 8 annas.

as that of other elementary Readers. Important words (with their meanings), to be memorised, are printed in advance of the Arabic text of the Qur'ân, which is given out in short passages printed side by side with the English translation. By way of preface the reader is vouchsafed brief directions how to become a Muslim, how to perform Wuzu', how to pray, how to punctuate his reading of the Qur'ân. So far the book runs as it would in English; but it is a little confusing, when one comes to the subject itself, to find the paging going one way and the text going the other, to find "The End" printed at the bottom of what is in fact the first page of the book itself. More disfiguring is the large number of misprints. Three or four such errors can be found on almost every page, some of them being of a nature to mislead the unskilled reader; as, for instance, where the meaning of *زید* is given as "We will *not* increase" (our italics) and where in the English translation of the *tahiiyya* the words, "I bear witness that there is no God save Allah," are left out.

The compiler has taken Mr. Pickthall's translation as the basis of his work, though without acknowledgment. Such passages as: "They ask thee of the Hour, when will it come to port?" "Verily, man is rebellious that he thinketh himself independent," and "He is Allah the One, Allah the Eternally Besought of all" proclaim their source and copyright quite clearly. Where the compiler has substituted or added words or phrases of his own, or from some other translation, the blemish is apparent and he has even made mistakes—e.g., "As for him who thinketh himself independent (of you)" completely spoils the meaning which is, thinketh himself independent of Allah. The translation given for *مرسأها* in the vocabulary—"Come to port" suggests that the person who arranged the English portion of the book had no knowledge of Arabic. "Transliteration of Arabic words" is the heading of a page concerned not with transliteration but pronunciation of Arabic consonants. The transliteration throughout is 'ajami and, even so, inconsistent.

S. M. S.

THE HISTORY OF JUNAGADH*

THE massive work before us is the history of Mustafa Abad or Junagadh. The publisher in his foreword says

**Mirat-e-Mustafa Abad* by the late Shaikh Ghulam Muhammad, State Historian, Junagadh State. Byculla, Karimi Press. (Illustrated.)

that the work was nearly completed by his father, the late Shaikh Ghulâm Mohammad, an erudite historian ; and that he himself has added very little to it besides the last two chapters. The author had access not only to histories written in English but also to those in Arabic, Persian and Gujarati.

The present Nawab of Junagadh, H.H. Sir Muhammad Mahâbat Khân Bahi Bahâdur III. G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., comes of an old Afghan family. His ancestor having been one Bahi, the dynasty is known by that name. In India the history of the family is traced from the reign of the Mughal Emperor Humayun. It is related that when 'Adil Khân came to India with that Emperor, his son 'Usmân Khân accompanied him, though another version has it that 'Usmân Khân alone came to India. The author supports the latter statement on the ground that since Bahâdur Khân, the son of 'Usmân Khân held an important post during the reign of Akbar, it is impossible to believe that 'Adil Khân accompanied Humayun. He has cited no authority for either statement.

The author vividly describes the history of Junagadh from the earliest times till now. In his opinion the Muslims attacked Sorashtra in 57 A.H. but failed, as is found from an inscription at Ghogh, which says that the Muslim General, Ismâ'il, with officers like Ya'qûb of Medîna, met his death after a bloody fight. According to some Arab travellers, they again attacked some places on the coast of Kathiawad in the second century A.H. but met with scant success. Sultân Mahmûd of Ghazni was the first Muslim invader who penetrated to the heart of Gujarat and raided Somnath. Colonel Watson, quoted by the author, holds that Mahmûd on his return appointed Metha Khân to govern Somnathpatan, whereas, according to Ferishta, it was Dabishlen, the pious, whom Mahmûd appointed ruler of the territory. After Mahmûd, Sultân Qutbuddîn raided the country and came as far as Sorath, a small town near Girnar or Junagadh. For a period of about a hundred years there were no Muslim incursions, but a Muslim agent lived at Bilawal to take care of the pilgrims going to Mecca. In 697 A.H., Ilmas Beg, brother of 'Alâuddîn Khiljî, invaded Gujarât and in 700 A.H. the Sultân himself invaded and conquered that country. The Sorashtra territory was then annexed to Gujarât. During the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, there was a rebellion and the Emperor himself came to suppress it. It was the first

time that Junagadh itself was captured by a Muslim sovereign (p. 57). Ferishta, however, differs from the author and says that it was not Muhammad Tughluq but Mahmûd Shâh of Gujarât who conquered it. The last-named king named it Mustafa Abad, after the name of the Prophet.

Authorities differ as to the origin of the name Junagadh, though most probably, as the author opines, it was named after Juna Khan, the real name of Muhammad bin Tughluq. The place was repeatedly attacked by the neighbouring Hindu Rajahs till Sultân Mahmûd of Gujarât conquered the whole territory of Sorashtra in 875 A.H. and made Junagadh its capital. The Mughal armies attacked it more than once, and conquered it in 999 A.H. when the whole peninsula came under the Mughal sway and a Faujdar was appointed. In 1150, Shêr Khân Bahi was appointed as Nâ'ib-Faujdar but, seeing the chaotic condition of the country, he declared himself independent. From him the present dynasty descends.

Junagadh is the premier state in the Kathiawad Agency with an area of 3,337 square miles, a population of 46,593, and a revenue of 85 lacs of rupees. It is rich in ancient relics ; chief among them being the inscriptions of Asoka, Rudradaman and Skandragupta, a translation of which would have been welcome. These inscriptions are on a rock preserved by the order of the Nawab of Junagadh. There are also ruins of Buddhist monasteries, but the author has not described them, merely telling us that they are full of interest to students of history. Sorashtra has some ancient Jain and Hindu temples which are noteworthy from the architectural point of view. An archæological society was once established but, as the members took no active interest, it soon expired.

The State has its own railway and mint, a college and a decent library. Primary education is given free. There are some beautiful gardens and a number of schools and hospitals. The present Nawab, H.H. Nawab Sir Muhammad Mahâbat Khân Bahi Bahâdur III, takes much interest in his people, and the State has prospered under his benign rule.

MAULANA SHIBLI AND 'UMAR KHAYYAM*

THE aim of Mr. Bhajiwala in writing this book is to

**Maulana Shibli and Umar Khayyam*. By Rustomji Pestonji Bhajiwala, with a foreword by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. Surat, I.P. Mission Press. Price Rs. 4.

bring to the notice of scholars the criticism of Maulâna Shibli on 'Umar Khayyâm's poetry, and, to begin with, he has given us a sketch of Maulâna Shibli's life and works of which he is obviously a devout student. As a critic, Shibli was second to none in his day; he was also a philosopher, a poet and a historian. After the biographical sketch of this great Urdu writer comes Mr. Bhajiwala's translation of Shibli's critique of 'Umar Khayyâm, with an account of the growth of the Persian poet's fame in Europe and Asia. As Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi remarks in his Foreword: "It is doubtful whether Umar Khayyam would have come to light—if not to the full light to which he has now come, even to half the light—were it not for Fitzgerald..... It was Fitzgerald, known as a good poet, who appreciated Umar Khayyam's poetry and valued it for the literary public." In Persia he was better known as an astronomer than a poet.

According to Maulâna Shibli, 'Umar Khayyâm was a learned man and a philosopher, but not a Sûfi, for he drank wine and drank it openly. "Nearly half the number of his quatrains deals with wine." To corroborate this statement Shibli quotes the following lines:

من بے مئی ناب زیستن نتوانم بے جام کشیده بارتن نتوانم

"Without pure wine I cannot live a day

"Without a cup my body's strength gives way."

Mr. Bhajiwala, however, quotes another critic, Mr. Mir Wali Ullah, author of *Kaus ul Kiram* who does not fall in with this opinion of Maulâna Shibli. He argues that there are no historical proofs to support this opinion, and if only the tumult and insolence with which Khayyâm speaks of wine is taken as a sufficient proof of wine-drinking then there is hardly a poet, from the days of Rudaki down to the present generation, who might not be called a drunkard, because everyone of them sang of wine."

A chronological list of Persian and Arabic works containing references to 'Umar Khayyâm, and a bibliography of works consulted by the late Shamsu'l-'Ulama Maulâna Shibli No'mâni when writing *Shu'arau'l-'Ajam*, in which his criticism of Khayyâm occurs, are given in two appendices.

MR. YAZDANI'S EDITION OF RUMI'S MATHNAVI*

"Did the sculptor create beauty, or was it always lying in the bosom of the marble, his genius only removing

* To be had for Rs. 40 from the Curator, Hyderabad Museum.

its veil?" Those who think the latter achievement no less praiseworthy than the former must congratulate Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, Director of the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad on the publication of this fine photo-type edition of the 'noble Mathnavi,' incidentally showing, thanks to the skill of Messrs Bruckmann of Munich, what wonderful development that printing process has attained in Europe. The whole manuscript, comprising 478 pages with a number of brightly painted headings and gold marginal lines, has been so exactly reproduced that it would be difficult at first sight to distinguish the reproduction from the original. A brown paper similar to that of the old manuscript; tasteful binding in Arab style, selected by Mrs. Yazdani; a dark pink cover with a case of the same tint—all these contribute to the perfection of this sumptuous volume.

The manuscript, as explained in the colophon, was written by 'Abdul-Karīm, a great grandson of the famous calligraphist Mīr 'Imād* of Qizvīn, in 1103 A.H. (about 1692 A.D.) for his patron Mirza Mohd. Shafī, apparently somewhere in Persia. It has been preserved for all these 240 years in very good condition and, quite apart from its artistic panels, illuminated headings and other decorative features, may be regarded as an attractive specimen of the *Nastaliq* style, though of course inferior to the handwriting of 'Imād or other great masters of this mode of Persian calligraphy. The writing lacks uniformity and seems to be particularly weak in the prose passages interspersed throughout the *Mathnavi*. Examining, for instance, the second page of the foreword to the 2nd book (p. 95) one notices that the letters ل and ت, which occur several times, are neither uniform nor perhaps as regular as the canons of a high-class calligraphy demand. Indeed one may be permitted to doubt whether, from this point of view alone, our new edition is a conspicuous improvement upon the lithographs of Tehran, Bombay or that of Cawnpore which Professor Nicholson described as 'handsome.'

Our calligraphist does not distinguish between ا and ک or, often, between ح and ج and ب and پ; indulging

* Mr. Yazdani, evidently following the *Ta-kerah-i-Khushnavisan*, gives 'Imād's patronymic as 'Al-Husaini,' but he is known to have generally styled himself 'Al-Hasani,' and in support of this I may cite the authority of the two *Qita's* and one beautiful manuscript in 'Imād's handwriting in Mr. Yazdani's own collection at the Hyderabad Museum.

in other orthographical vagaries as well that make it rather difficult for an average reader to understand or read the *Mathnavi* correctly.* Nor is his copy, so magnificently reproduced, free from clerical errors. Taking, for example, only the two middle pages of Books I and III, the following mistakes were detected :

Page 48	Heading	for	الافتعروضوا لها
v. 8	خلقان نیست	..	حيوان نیست
v. 46	بلال یار	..	ملوئی یار
Page 227	v. 5	گاودوزخ راه بیند	.. کاودورحرا نه نید
v. 6	درگزند	..	بے کردند
v. 10	گواه سر لگام	..	کواه سرد کام
v. 20	یار بے نامد	..	یا بے نامد
v. 31	رو - نکوست	..	ز ویلوست

What may seem perhaps more reprehensible is the failure of 'Abdul-Karîm to write correctly the quotations from the Qur'ân and the holy traditions that frequently occur in the headings. The following are a few examples of such errors gleaned from a perusal of 30 pages only :

Page 280	Heading	for	انما المؤمنون (الآیه)
.. 283	..	.. مثل آیتنا	میل آمتی (الحديث)
.. 303	..	.. ست عبد ربی یطعمی و ..	ایست عند ربی یطعمنی و ..
.. 304	..	.. لیسیتی	لیستینی (الحديث)
.. 48	..	.. او حسن فی نفسه	او جس (الآیه)
.. 48	..	.. الافتعروضون	الافتعروضوا لها (الحديث)

(already noticed above).

'Abdul-Karîm does not indicate the archetype of his copy, but, judging from the standard provided by Professor Nicholson, it cannot be very authentic or older than 15th century as interpolations common to these later

* Professor Nicholson, emphasising the need of an accurate edition, writes : " The *Mathnavi* demands thought and intelligence from those who study it and they on their part have the right to expect that its meaning shall not be obscured by doubts as to orthography and syntax due to omissions of the *izafat*, absence of vowels or the fact that ك is not distinguished from كمر (Introduction to Part I of his edition of the *Mathnavi* p. 17).

editions are also repeated by our copyist.¹ It may, therefore, be regarded as still more unfortunate that in spite of these apocryphal amplifications, hundreds of genuine couplets have been omitted by 'Abdul-Karîm from the text, as compared with Professor Nicholson's authentic edition of the *Mathnavi*, which itself contains fewer verses than other present-day editions in general circulation in the East. As a casual examination showed Books IV and V of our new edition to be particularly defective, I collated only the opening sections of these two with the corresponding parts in Prof. Nicholson's text and noticed the following three gaps in the volume under review :

Nicholson's edition :

Book IV, v. 1156 to 1257 (100 couplets missing from Mr. Yazdani's edition, p. 295, v. 41).

„ v. 1807 to 2004 (197 couplets missing from Mr. Yazdani's edition, end of p. 300).

Book V, v. 329 to 458 (129 couplets missing from Mr. Yazdani's edition, p. 328, v. 17).

But, though the volume with such imperfections is scarcely calculated to be of much use to critical students of the *Mathnavi*, its splendid get-up and really beautiful reproduction is sure to appeal to all lovers of luxurious editions and oriental calligraphy.

S. H.

PICTORIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE KA'BAH²

THE meticulous care and erudition with which European, and especially German, collectors of every sort of curiosity study, classify and describe their treasures with the aid of experts is well known to everyone; but we were surprised to receive this monograph upon a subject

(1) *Ibid*, p. 14, Prof. Nicholson gives two interesting instances of such interpolations : One occurs in the story of the Parrot and the Grocer (Book I) where a cat is invented by later editions to explain the fright of the bird ; and the other, in Book II, where the original three verses on Love have been amplified into a dozen of very inferior quality. In both cases these spurious additions appear in the edition under review (on pp. 48 and 126 respectively), clearly showing that it must have been copied from an edition of no earlier period than the 15th century A.D.

(2) *Die bildliche Darstellung der Ka'ba in Islamischen Kulturkreis*. Von Richard Ettinghausen. Sonderabdruck aus Band 12. Heft 3, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*. Georg Sten-dorff, Leipzig. 1934.

which no Muslim would have thought of separating from the general one of Islamic pictorial art ; still more surprised to find the work both interesting and enlightening. Herr Ettinghausen divides representations of the Ka'bah, as found in European libraries and art-collections, into three categories : (1) Topographical (2) Pictorial and (3) Symbolical ; the main part of his essay being devoted to group (2), which is the most numerous as regards examples and by far the most attractive æsthetically. Wherever a picture of the Ka'bah appears, however primitive, whether in picture or book-illumination, on metal, leather, tapestry or pottery, the author has noted the examples known to him and compared them. The Ka'bah in its actual surroundings and the changes which have been made at different periods is first described, as a standard by which to check the accuracy of the artist or the artist-craftsman, who, it must be mentioned, hardly ever aimed at accuracy but rather at filling a space or supplying a well-known requirement. The Ka'bah itself is always recognisable at a glance but not so the surroundings which may be made Indian by an Indian or Chinese by a Chinese craftsman. In group (1), the topographical, the artist aims at accurate presentment but only as regards the relative position of certain sites and recognisable indication of certain buildings, the actual productions being highly conventionalised. In group (3) the instances given include amulet cases (whereon the Ka'bah appears in conjunction with other sacred symbols) and prayer-mats. Only group (2) comes properly within the field of Art, and here the text is illustrated by some excellent photographs.

So far as we know there is no form of pictorial representation of the Ka'bah in existence which has escaped the notice of Herr Ettinghausen except a form which could with difficulty find its way into European museums—the paintings to be found in Egyptian villages and in villages in other countries of North Africa on the white walls of houses of returned pilgrims. Here the whole course of the pilgrimage is depicted ; it used to be a donkey, a sailing boat, a camel, a larger sailing-boat (or else a steamer with a very prominent funnel and a cloud of black smoke) and if the party had been attacked upon the way, two or three men on horseback with long spears. At the end (save for the Mosque at Al-Madīnah) or in the middle if the return journey was also portrayed, appeared the Ka'bah, sometimes alone, sometimes together with the Maqām-Ibrahim and other little buildings and a minaret. Nowadays, the

railway-train and steamboat must have replaced the camel and the sailing-boat in very many such memorials, which are generally painted on a straight line near the top of the wall in monochrome (red or black) or in two or three plain colours. They are perishable because the local custom generally is for the house to be allowed to go to ruin when the owner dies, a new house being built by his son or successor. But even the modern examples we imagine would be of interest to the author of this monograph.

To collectors of Islamic art-productions of all kinds there is much here that will prove of interest, and we can recommend this offprint from the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* to all our Readers who know German as a little mine of information and a piece of sound scholarship.

M. P.

THE CLAIMS OF ISLAM*

THE late Khwāja Kamāl-ud-dīn, founder of the Woking Mission, wrote many books, large and small; all with the missionary purpose, *ad captandum animas*. His work as a whole must be regarded as an important contribution to Muslim polemics, probably the most important contribution to that branch of literature which has been made for the past fifty years. Unlike much polemical writing it is not devoid of literary grace. The little book before us, though in reality and intention a tract, has the merits of an essay. The Khwāja had a gift for summing up a train of arguments in striking form; for example, on p. 11 of the present work: "Islam and Christianity advance two different and contradictory propositions. Christianity says that man is born in sin, while according to Islam he is sinless at his birth. If a child, therefore, dies at his very birth, he must go to heaven under Islamic teaching, but he is foredoomed to hell according to Christian principles. In other words heaven is our birthright under Islam. We may lose it by our subsequent misdeeds. But according to Christianity we are born for hell unless reclaimed by our faith in the Blood. Similarly, sin is a heritage according to Church beliefs, but it is an after-acquisition under Islam, and can be avoided."

* *Islam My Only Choice*. By Al Haj Khwāja Kamāl-ud-dīn, Lahore. Muslim Book Society, 1934.

In controversy with his old opponent "Church-Christianity" the Khwāja was at his best, and worst, polemically, knowing his ground thoroughly, but apt to generalise from isolated facts and apt to take too dark a view of Christendom. In "Islam My Only Choice," he was concerned with Hinduism quite as much as with Christianity and also with Buddhism and Zoroastrianism, and we have the writer's own opinions and religious experience put forward reasonably and in a pleasant literary style. Only once (on p. 19) do we find an exceptionable statement :

"Only the other day the Bishop of Ripon proposed to give scientific research a holiday for ten years. This was but an echo of the old cry of tyranny and oppression that came from the Church against culture and science in the Middle Ages, though it is clothed in the euphemisms of modern refinement."

If we remember rightly the Bishop's proposal was directed at the kind of scientific research which aims at the destruction of all life on earth by the invention of poisonous gases and ever more deadly projectiles for use in warfare ; and so did not deserve the censure here bestowed on it.

The pamphlet is a good example of the thought and style of a writer whose death has left a gap not easily to be refilled.

M. P.

"A PROTEST AND A WARNING"

In the April number of "Islamic Culture" there is a very apt and timely "warning" by Dr. Krenkow, and I have no doubt that it will go a long way towards clearing the ground for research in Islamics. There are, however, one or two remarks in footnote (1) about my translation of Reinaud's "Invasions of France, Piedmont, Switzerland and Northern Italy by the Muslims" which call for explanation. No doubt, not only Reinaud but most European writers are grossly biassed in what they write about Islam or its history, and some of them may even be consciously endeavouring to paint the picture in a false light. I was fully aware of this when translating the work, and therefore took great pains to append critical notes to what I considered to be either false information or incorrect conclusions. I would refer to my (two page) note on 'naval enterprise in Islām,' my notes on the 'veracity of

Hadîth literature,' the 'inter-tribal feuds' (I. C., July, 1930), the 'question of a permanent peace between the Muslims and the Christians,' and the 'Christian martyrs' (I. C., October, 1930), the 'similarity between the Apostle Moses and 'Abdu'r-Rahman,' the question of 'the proximity of Muslim and Christian habitations' (I. C., January, 1931), 'Muslim ecclesiastics,' 'the rebuilding of churches,' 'Muslim taxation,' and 'Muslim monuments in France and Spain' (I. C., October, 1931), etc. Reinaud himself recognises not only that the land of France and the adjoining countries were overrun by the Huns and the Germanic nations but also that the medieval chroniclers sometimes mixed up the 'Saracens' with these non-Muslim and non-Arab races, and sometimes actually changed the date of their incursions in order to make Charles Martel and Charlemagne the heroes of the national exploits against them. For this, *vide*, I. C., January, 1930, pp. 108 and 111, July 1931, p. 475, October 1931, pp. 672 ff. I may also mention that Reinaud freely criticises the exaggerated and false accounts given by certain ecclesiastical chroniclers. (*vide* his own introduction, I. C., January, 1930).

The real value of Reinaud's work lies in the attempt to give a connected account of the gradual onward march of the Muslims from North Africa to Northern France, their spreading into Switzerland and Northern Italy from Southern France and Northern Spain, and the fate that met them after the expulsion of their kindred from the Peninsula. Details may be proved to be wrong, but the main steps are sure and certain. A scholar cognizant of Latin, French, Spanish and Arabic has yet to write a history of this gradual progress and colonization, taking into full consideration the latest information bearing on the subject; but till that is done, Reinaud's work, with critical and corrective notes, remains unique in the field, and I hope it will prove to be an incentive to scholars to work on the subject.

H. K. SHERWANI.

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CORRIGENDUM

"Islamic Culture" Vol. VIII, No. 2 p. 174, line 15 for "Persians, like Firdus," read *Persians, like Hindus*.

ISLAM AND THE SCIENCE OF GEOGRAPHY*

[The substance of this article was delivered as a lecture on the 21st July 1933 before the *Kulturbund* of the Muhammadans studying in Vienna, having first appeared in an Arabic translation by Dr. Zaki Ali in the Cairo newspaper *Al-Ma'rifah*. The lecture was afterwards, by the kindly interest of my teachers and friends (Dopsch, Oberhummer, Mzik and Aurel Stein among others) made suitable for Europeans and furnished with notes. (Author's note)].

WE are receding ever further and further from the time when the revolutions which took place in consequence of the Arab and Turco-Mongol expeditions of conquest or migration originating in South-western or North-eastern Asia were regarded only as a disaster to human culture, as a catastrophe in world-history. Nowadays learned scholars, especially economic historians such as Henri Pirenne, the two brothers Alexander and Eugen Kulischer, Alfons Dopsch and Erna Patzelt, show, in contrast to earlier writers, the great and positive role of these movements in the cultural history of the world.¹ All events of world-history are closely linked together: if the Islamic culture is unimaginable without the classical culture and the present cultural movement in the East unthinkable without the present European civilization, similarly Franco-Germanic culture in the form which history shows us would never have come into existence without Islam. (Pirenne's formula is: Charlemagne is unthinkable without Muhammad.) Without the adherence of the mid-Asiatic (Iranian and Turkish) peoples to Islam the latter would have become only a religion of Western Asia and never a world-civilization which could spread as far as to the Pacific Ocean. Without the conquests of the Muhammadan Turks in India that country would never have come into the mediæval culture-movement of Western Asia. Without the Arab-Berber pressure through the medium of Spain, sea-trade in the Baltic would not at that time have developed. Only after the Mongol conquests could the

* Translated by Marmaduke Pickthall from the German typescript.

cultural and commercial relations of Eastern-Central-Western Asia and Western Europe assume such gigantic proportions and could the greatest world-commercial companies arise.²

These problems, especially the influences of these prodigious Asiatic folk-migrations on the world around, are now attracting the attention of many scholars. The Arab-Berbers and the Turco-Mongols not only unconsciously supplied the impetus to cultural movements of other peoples, but their own movements had great intrinsic significance which they passed on as a motive force. The study of the psychical and cultural value of these movements and their temporal and local developments is arousing great interest nowadays among historians and geographers because of its problems.

II

For such study Islamic geographical literature must form the basis. The importance of that literature—which will here be treated not only as “ Arabic ” but as “ Muham-madan ”—for universal geography has been clearly demonstrated by Reinaud, Peschel, Schoy and Schwartz; for separate earth-sections and countries by various authors as, for instance, West and Central Asia by Tomaschek, Marquart, Barthold and Le Strange. Were it not for Islamic geographico-historical literature next to nothing would be known of the cultural and civic life of West and Middle Asia, and that not only during the Islamic period but also in the time of the Sasanids. The importance of these studies for Eastern Europe has been stressed by Frähn, Marquart, Westberg, Jacob, Nehmat and Talgren; for East and South-east Asia by Reinaud, Sachau and Ferrand; for Africa by MacGuckin, de Slane, Storbeck and also Marquart.³ As regards these last-named countries it is sufficient only to remember that some of the weightiest geographical works were written by scholars who themselves were natives of Central and Southern Asia (Balkhî, Jeyhâni, Gardîzî, Abu'l-Fadl 'Allâmî, etc.), of North Africa (Al-Bakrî and Al-Umari) and of Europe (Idrisî, Abu Hâmid Al-Andalusî and Abu Sa'id al-Girnatî) and who had travelled through or even ruled those lands.

The works of the earlier Arabic geographers (Al-Battânî, Al-Khwârazmî and Suhrâb) were, especially for the regions surrounding the ancient world, (Africa, South-Eastern and

Northern Asia), dependent on their Greek models.⁴ The geographers who sprang from Central Asia (Jeyhânî, Gardizî, the author of *Hududu'l-'alam* and Al-Bîrûnî) gradually freed this science from Greek and also from Jewish-biblical influence. For the perfecting of knowledge concerning Eastern Asia and Eastern Europe the formation of the three Turkish Muslim States—the Karakhanid in Central Asia, the Ghaznavid in Southern Asia, and the Bulgarian on the Volga—is of great importance. The learned Al-Bîrûnî could obtain sufficient data concerning Eastern Asia and Oceania through Eastern Turkistân and from the sea-route south of Asia, but concerning Eastern Europe only from Bulgarian-Khwârazmian merchants.⁵ From the Chinese and Eastern Turkistânî ambassadors, who also were of Muslim-Turkish ancestry and who had come by way of the sea and India, he got the reports about "the South Pole beyond the ocean."⁶ From other reports of his, one perceives that the Muhammadan merchants had already, as early as in the time of the first Omayyads, founded colonies in the Green Sea (i.e., the Indian Ocean) in the neighbourhood of the Java Islands, and had married native women; so that Muslims must have known South-Eastern Asia long before the voyage of Suleyman Tâjir (in the year 851 A.D.) who has been treated as the first Muslim to set foot in China.⁷ I believe that Peschel's conjecture that the Arabs knew Australia was correct and that the words of the geographer Ibn Rusta concerning a place in the land of the Zenjis, that "there the day lasts only six hours," refer to South Australia, though Pater A. Kyas and Gabriel Ferrand would give these words a rather different meaning.⁸ Among Muslim authors Al-Bîrûnî is the first to give the names of the river Angara and of the populations of the Baykal region in Eastern Siberia, as also to give accounts of the Scandinavian Warangians and concerning the metal-work in Northern Europe, and to provide adequate information concerning the Ice-sea north-east of Europe.⁹ Through the Mohammedan Africa-merchants he obtained personally valuable pieces of knowledge about South Africa, about Mozambique (*Safalatu'z-Zanj*) and about the other trans-equatorial countries where, according to his information, "during our summer winter prevails."¹⁰ For such a well-informed scholar there was of course no longer any Jaba'l Qâf (of the Islamic legends), no pseudo-callesthenic, fantastic North-world, no old Greek Agrippæans and Hyperboreans. The Wall of Gog and Magog,

which earlier geographers had sought northward of the Caspian Sea or in the neighbourhood of Tianshan, was for him, as for our European scholars de Goeje and Marquart, only the western portion of the Wall of China.¹¹

Still the distance of East and North Asia was not yet quite clear even for Al-Bîrûnî: for example, his second climate ends at the place where his fifth, sixth and seventh climates end.¹² But at the time of the Mongols no place in East, North and South Asia remained unknown for the Muslims. The Muslims played a leading part in the administration and in the commercial and cultural life even of the Northern and Far-eastern parts of the Mongolian Empire, and their knowledge is reflected in contemporary historico-geographical works. Muhammadan experts (Juweynî, Ibn Batûtah and 'Abdur Razzâq) travelled over the greater part of that empire and have left us a full description of those countries. The exact knowledge of the earlier authors (Al-Bîrûnî, Gardizî, *Hududu'l 'alam* and Aurfî) concerning Northern Asia extended to the uppermost courses of the rivers Irtysh and Yenisei. The Mongolian Grand Vizier in Iran, Rashîdu'd-dîn, however, tells us about the Lower Yenisei, about the country Alaqchin, about the Land of Rubies, about North-west Siberia (Ibir-Sibir and It-Baraq), about the Muslim traders in those lands and about the part they played in the court circles of the Great Khaqan in Khanbalik (Pekin). The same Rashîdu'd-dîn gives detailed information concerning the geography and ethnography of South-east and South Asia and of Europe. He has bequeathed to us books on the history of China, India and Europe with corresponding pictures, and these pictures accurately portray the type and costumes of the Chinese and Europeans of those days. (The best MS. of this work, with pictures of the author's own time, is in the Court Library at Istanbul).¹³ Muhammadan geographers at the time of the Mongols had an influence on the geographical science of the Chinese. Thus the Chinese official map for the year 1331, as Albert Herrmann has pointed out,¹⁴ was composed either in dependence on Muhammadan geographers or by Muhammadan geographers themselves. Another Muslim Engineer, Qutbu'd-dîn ash-Shirâzî, who served the Mongols in Iran, submitted a map of the Mediterranean Sea to the Ilkhanid king Argun in the year 1290 A.D.¹⁵ The Mongolian rulers Chinghiz and Timur made fruitful use of cartography for strategical purposes.¹⁶ For Argun's successors,

Gazan and Uljeitu, a world-geography was compiled by the collaboration of the learned of the various nations.¹⁷ Unfortunately neither the maps named nor the world-geography have come down to our time, and later works show less originality.¹⁸ Yet the Mongols, especially Timur, have left us detailed descriptions of their campaigns and lines of march which were compiled under the direction of their Uigur secretaries (Bakhshi) and then translated into Persian.¹⁹ We first get detailed knowledge of the economic state of Iran and Asia Minor from the geographers and historians of the Mongol Empire.²⁰ And from the Mongol chronicles²¹ and the Arab sea-captains²² on the South-east Asiatic sea-trade route, which under the Mongol rule was awakened to new life, we first have precise accounts of the Malay Archipelago.

III

The Muhammadan geographers, as compared with Greek geographers, made great strides forward, especially in this respect, that—as Barthold claimed—they assigned greater value to civic and cultural life, to the description of manners, language and belief than did most Greek authors. The determination of the geographical latitude and longitude of places, especially in the case of Al-Birûnî, is so exact, and the data for the lines of march, especially with the geographers of the Mongol period (Hamdullah Qazwinî and Hâfiz Abrû), are so explicit that a map of Iran and Trans-Oxiana compiled from them would show no very great mistakes as compared with our present maps.²³

It is a pity that Muhammadan geographical literature is not accessible for wider circles even in the East. Hitherto attention has been principally devoted to the editing of the oldest geographers (the publications of de Goeje, Barbier de Meynard, Nallino and Mzik).²⁴ Of these, however, few have been translated into European languages (Mas'ûdî, the abridgment of Ibn Khurdâdhbeh, Qudâmah, Muqaddasî, Al-Battânî and in part Al-Khwârazmî). The works of some of the most authoritative geographers have not yet been discovered (Jeyhânî,²⁵ the complete edition of Ibn Khurdâdhbeh and the work *Suwaru'l-Aqalim* of Rashîdu'd-dîn) and most of the works discovered hitherto are still preserved as MSS. in chests in different libraries. To study this geographical literature dispersed in various lands as a whole has been given to

few Orientalists (e.g., Barthold and Le Strange) and to them not perfectly. This rich material for practical science, above all for economic history, remains almost unutilised. In this field, except for an article here and there and the casual remarks of some authors (e.g., Adolph Grohmann on South Arabia), one could point, perhaps, only to one work of Barthold on the history of the irrigation of Western Turkistân;²⁶ whereas similar works, drawing on still richer sources, could be written for the Nile Valley, Mesopotamia and Persia. The Islamic sources, however, will be really available for such purposes only when they have once been collected and published with critical analysis. I say "critical analysis" because the Muhammadan geographical literature has its errors too. Most of the works, especially those compiled after the 10th century A.D., bore also for their time the character of historical geography. Thus the geographers of the 11th to the 14th century—Idrîsî, Dimashqî (both of these are also known in a now very antiquated French translation), Al-Bakrî (with the exception of his reports concerning West Africa, which are also known in a French translation), Al-'Omarî (he too has only been partly translated) and the big geographical lexicon of Yâqût, among others—describe partly the world which they see, but above all also that which more ancient authors have portrayed. And they often bring in the observations of such earlier authors without naming them. Idrîsî, for example, often combined the reports of former Islamic and Greek authors with the observations of his contemporaries without mentioning that these are his own combinations; and these combinations passed on into the works of his successors (Ibnu'l-Wardî, Ibn Sa'id al-Girnatî and others).²⁷ Thus it is easy for one to commit the error of ascribing observations taken out of earlier authors, without the sources being named, to the time of the later authors who are named. Yet these often present, in reports derived from sources which are lost to us, data which, if their origin were critico-analytically ascertained, would be most valuable. Even the authors of the 16th-17th century, Abu'l-Fadl al-'Allâmî and Amîn ibn Ahmad Râzî in India, Kâtîb Chelebi and Munajjim Bashi in Turkey and Mahmûd ibn Walî in Turkistân (the great geographical work of this historian of the later Mongol period was discovered by me in Bukhara in 1914) made use of many sources which are now lost.²⁸ Thus, for example, Munajjim Bashi, among other sources, made use of a history of the Karakhânids and a complete Arabic

composition on the history and geography of Derbend and Trans-Caucasia : Amîn Ahmad Râzî utilised, among other sources (for us) still undiscovered, the geography of Rashîdu'd-dîn.²⁹ Such late geographical works, therefore, even though they may be clear compilations, in critico-analytical editions represent a vast treasure for the history of world-culture.

IV

I may here give an example to show how much the makers of Islamic geography were conscious of their superiority over the Greeks and of their own powers, and how justly they estimated the value of their contributions. In the following lines I quote a passage from the hitherto unpublished work of Al-Bîrûnî concerning the methods of the geographical research which he completed on the 21st September of the year 1025 A.D. at Ghazna (in what is today Afghanistan), of which the only autograph MS. is in the library of the Fatih Mosque in İstanbul.

He says :—“ My object therefore is to establish the geographic longitude of a certain city on the Earth-globe, that is to say, Ghazna. Hitherto I have been able to determine only the degree of latitude of this city ; as for what concerns the longitude, I was not able to establish that properly owing to adverse circumstances. But if I were to plead these obstacles as an excuse for such negligence and were to show myself as therefore blameless, I should have portrayed myself as a denier of God's open and secret favours as well as of the benefits of the Dispenser of Kindnesses (i.e., of the ruler, Mahmûd of Ghazna), whose hand has brought me unto full prosperity. Something quite different ranks with me as obstacle. I have in mind some other scientific questions, which I pray Almighty God that I may master ; questions which attract me, and my resolve to deal properly with which will never be shaken even if I were to stand on the brink of an abyss of danger for my soul and for my body. I hasten to make this problem my own in order that I may have completed it before the coming of the fearful hour (of death).

And I say : Most of the data of the Geography (of Ptolemy) concerning the longitude and latitude of points on the Earth have really been adopted only on the ground of rumours which had come from far-off districts. In the practical use of such data Ptolemy himself must have hit on the right way ; but others have only imitated him and

it is possible that the latter, moreover, have diverged from the right way. Anyhow, the ground on which these data rest is mere report ; indeed those lands were very difficult of access in the past owing to the national divisions (*at-tubayan al-milli*), for national division is the greatest obstacle to travel in countries. We see, for example, some peoples who think—as do the Jews—to come nearer to God through treacherous attacks on folk of other nationalities. Or they take foreigners as slaves, as do the Romans, and that is the lesser evil. Or travellers, because they are foreigners, are turned back, held in every kind of suspicion and they are thus brought to a very unpleasant and dangerous plight.

“ But now (the circumstances are quite different). Islam has already penetrated from the eastern countries of the Earth to the western : it spreads westward to Spain (*Andalus*), eastward to the borderland of China and to the middle of India, southward to Abyssinia and the countries of Zanj (i.e., South Africa, the Malay Archipelago and Java), northward to the countries of the Turks and Slavs. Thus the different peoples (*al-umam al-mukhtalifah*) are brought together in mutual understanding (*ulfah*), which only God's own Art can bring to pass. And of those (who could be obstructive to cultural relations) only common vagabonds and highway-robbers are left. The remaining obstinate unbelievers have become timid and tame ; they now respect the followers of Islam and seek peace with them.

“ To obtain information concerning places of the Earth has now become incomparably easier and safer (than it was before). Now we find a crowd of places, which in the (Ptolemaic) “ Geography ” are indicated as lying to the east of other places, actually situated to the west of the others named, and vice versa. The reasons (of such errors) are either confusion of the data as to distance on which the longitude and latitude were estimated, or that the populations have changed their former places.”³⁰

If we learn from this example that Al-Bîrûnî knew that he and his colleagues were in a much better position than the Greek authors, we see from other works of this scholar how eagerly he made use of these favourable opportunities in order to increase his store of knowledge as quickly as possible. He was perhaps always filled to overflowing with the new tidings for Science which the constant ex-

tension of the Islamic power in South and Middle Asia brought to him.

V

The passage from Al-Bîrûnî just quoted has yet other significance for us. It shows us how a learned man from Khwârazm (in what today is Turkistân) valued the spread of Islam in his homeland and in the whole world and most thankfully welcomed the collaboration of the different nations which was thereby promoted and assured. Al-Bîrûnî's reflections on this, and on the importance of the spreading of Islam from the standpoint of expansion of the cultural area, correspond fully to the observations on the same subject put forth in the literature of the present day.³¹ In Khwârazm in the time of Al-Bîrûnî not only the representatives of the Muhammadan peoples but also those of the Christian peoples collaborated. That cultural collaboration had then become possible for the most different nations Al-Bîrûnî appreciates with full consciousness in his other works. For him Islam was culture rather than religion, and the Arabic language the language of Science rather than that of the Qur'ân.³² The strength of Islam in Middle Asia at first consisted in the fact that the spread of Arab political dominion corresponded with the inclination of the merchant-folk of that region, who were disgusted with the feudal regime of the pre-Arab period. They served Islam as missionaries even in regions where the Arabs had no political power, exactly in the same way as later, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, they served the heathen Chinghîz against their own co-religionists, the Islamic feudalists.³³ The occupation of a great part of the country by the Arabs was not, in Turkistân, associated with particularly mournful memories for the nation as a whole, as was the case with the Persians. Gradually Islam adjusted itself to the local conditions. In Al-Bîrûnî's time the political power was entirely in the hands of the native-born Muhammadans. Islam was for them only a religion and an ideology which showed to the nations the way of collaboration; and scholars of the type of Al-Bîrûnî were inwardly content with it.

It is to be hoped that even now Islamic cultural circles will some day find a way to realise the ideal of publishing in the East itself, through the common means of the Islamic States, the collected works of the whole Muham-

madan geographical literature textually and with critical analysis. Scientific achievement of this great and difficult undertaking would in my opinion even now be possible for learned Muhammadans of today in collaboration with European Orientalists. It is clear, on the other hand, that the study of the cultural history of the Islamic world will be established on a firm basis only when it is no longer considered as a secret belonging to the learned in Oriental philology, but as a subject of research for the widest circles of general knowledge ; when Oriental sources for all fields of learning are available for the colleges and institutions concerned with the cultural history of mankind, and when the scientific forces of the Western world collaborate with those of the Islamic world. Therefore, I consider that the translation of the new critico-analytically edited Islamic geographical literature and of earlier Islamic sources for cultural history into the principal European languages might well be a task for all nations.

NOTES

1. Henri Pirenne, *Mahomed et Charlemagne* in *La Revue Belge de Philologie et Histoire*, Brussels, 1922, also his *Les Villes du Moyen Age (Essai de l'histoire économique et sociale)* Brussels, 1927. Alexander and Eugen Kulischer, *Weltgeschichte als Völkerbewegung*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932. Prof. Alfons Dopsch in his *Lectures*. Prof. Erna Patzelt, *Die Frankische Kultur und der Islam (Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Wirtschafts und Kulturgeschichte an der Universität Wien ; edited by A. Dopsch B. IV)* Vienna, 1932.

2. Some of these great problems await proper solution through the collaboration of Western and Eastern authorities on economic and cultural society.

3. Compare O. Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, 1877 pp. 104-160 ; P. Schwartz, *Die älteste geographische Literatur der Araber* in Hettner's *Geog. Zeitschrift*, III, 1897, pp. 137-146 (only the works edited by de Goeje are dealt with) ; C. Schoy, *Moslem Geography of the Middle Ages* in the *Geographical Review*, New York, 1924, pp. 257-269 (treated from the standpoint of mathematical geography) ; G. Ferrand, *Relations des voyages et textes Géographiques Arabes, persans et turcs, relatifs à l'Extrême Orient*, Paris, 1913-14 ; G. Jacob, *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an Germanische Fürstenhöfe*, Berlin, 1927 ; C. J. Tallgren-Tuulio, *Idrisi la Finlande et les autres pays baltiques Orientaux*, Helsingfors, 1930 (*Studia Orientalia*, III). For the works of other authors named compare K. Kretschmer, *Die Literatur zur Geschichte der Erdkunde* in the *Geog. Jahrbuch*, vol. XLI, 1926, pp. 135-138 and W. Barthold, *Die Geographischen und historischen Entdeckungen des Orients*. (Stube,

Quellen und Forschungen, vol. VIII, Leipzig, 1913. pp. 15-22, 99-102, 204-206, 216.

4. Compare E. Honigmann, *Die Sieben Klimata, etc.*, Heidelberg, 1927. pp. 112ff, and v. H. Mzik in *Beiträge zur historischen geographie*, Vienna, 1929, pp. 174ff.

5. For Al-Bîrûnî's knowledge of the Northern lands and of South-Eastern Asia, compare my forthcoming work: *Neue geographische und ethnographische Nachrichten über Mittel-Ost-und Nordasien, sowie Osteuropa, aus Albiruni's Werken*, pp. 17-20.

6. *Ibid* (p. 24), the explanation of Zahiruddin al-Bayhaqî's account (*Tatimmatu sâran ul-Hikmah*, MS. in the Koprulu Mehmet Pasha Library, Istanbul, No. 902, F. 183(b), also in Yâqût's *Dictionary of Learned Men*, ed. Margoliouth, v. VI, p. 310) concerning the Chinese-Turkish embassy in Ghazna and also of the other notices of it.

7. Balâdhurî (*Liber Expugnationis Regiorum*, ed. M. de Goeje, Leyden, 1866, p. 435) for reports concerning Mohammedan women, the daughters of trader-colonists, of the Banî Yarbû'a in the "Isle of Rubies"; these girls, after the death of their fathers (before the year 90 A.H.—708 A.D.) were given over to the Umayyad Governor, Al Hajjâj. Al-Bîrûnî, in his *Mineralogy* (MS. in the Rashid Efendi Library at Qaisariyeh, N. 476. F. 24 b.) gives detailed variants of this report and adds that this island is to be found in the Green Sea in the neighbourhood of "the islands of Dîva and Java." He identifies it with the Ptolemaic (particularly with the pseudo-Callisthenic) Isle of Rubies. Concerning these islands, after the other sources, compare H. Mzik *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 194-8. For the literature concerning the first relations of the Arabs with the South-East Asiatic island peoples and with China, compare L. V. C. van den Berg, *Le Hadhramout et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien*, Batavia, 1886, p. 104; Martin Hartmann and A. Nieuwendhuis in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Article "China" (I. 875) and "Java" (II. 616).

8. Peschel (*Geschichte der Erdkunde* p 121) supports his statement with a very weighty report of Mas'ûdî (*Les Prairies d'Or*, I, 387). Ibn Rustah, ed. de Goeje, p. 88. Pater Amund Kyas, *Übersetzungen Ausgewählter Kapitel aus Ibn Rusta (Jahresbericht des öffentlichen Städtischen Gymnasiums der Benediktiner zu Braunau in Böhmen am Schlusse des Schuljahres, 1905)* p 37; Ferrand *Relations des voyages*, etc., pp. 69, 576, did not explain the text clearly, though both understood that here the reference is to the Eastern Asiatic Archipelago. F. Storbeck, *Die Berichte der Arabischen Geographen des Mittelalters über Ostafrika* (Corr. of the Oriental Seminary, Berlin, XVII, 1914.) p. 106, distorts the meaning of the text (having, instead of Al-Zanj, "East-Africa" throughout).

9. For Al-Bîrûnî's accounts of the northern ice-sea and Eastern Siberia, cf. my forthcoming work *Albiruni's Weltbild und Gradientabelle*, p. 88; for his account of metal-work in North-east Europe, my *Neue Nachrichten aus Albiruni's Werken*, above mentioned, pp. 51-55.

10. That Al-Bîrûnî got his information about S. Africa direct from the South Africa traders he himself expressly states in his *Kitab ul-Hind* (ed. Sachau, Text, 100, Translation, vol. I, 204): also in his *Mineralogy* above mentioned (MS. F. 117 a). As to fixing the whereabouts of

Sufalat al-Zanj cf. G. Ferrand, Article *Sufala* in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, IV, 508. For "the countries beyond the equator with winter instead of our summer" see the *Pharmacology* of Al-Birûnî, Brûsa, MS. 108 and my *Albiruni's Weltbild*.

11. For this question, see my *Neue Nachrichten*, p. 8.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

13. For 'Anfi's accounts of North-east Europe, cf. Marquart-*Ein Arabischer Bericht über die arktischen Länder* (*Ungarische Jahrbücher*, IV, 1924, 263), of Siberia, his *Skizzen zur geschichtlichen Völkerkunde von Mittelasien und Sibirien* (*Festschrift für Harth*, 1922, p. 288) also W. Barthold, *Kirgizy*, Frunze, 1928 (Russian), pp. 12, 21, 26. Rashidu'd-din's account of the Alaighin are not found in most MSS. of his *History* nor in the Beresin edition; therefor Barthold (*Kirgizy*, p. 31) knew the variant of this account preserved in Abulghâzi as a "legend." Rashidu'd-din's text about Alaighin is preserved in the Istanbul (Topkapuserai Library, N. 2475, F. 17 a) and Vienna (*Mut.* 326, F. 18 a) MSS. Rashidu'd-din's accounts of the Muhammadan traders in the Land of Rubies (Qûnî, Barqû and Qirgîz) are in the E. Blochet edition, p. 521. The MSS. of Rashidu'd-din's *World-history* with named pictures are Topkapuserai N. 2475 and 1863 (the latter with additional notes by Hâfiz Abrû); concerning these MSS. see my not yet printed Turkish work. *Istanbul kutuphanalarında Resideddin eserleri*.

14. Albert Herrmann in Sven Hedin's *Southern Tibet*, vol. VIII, Stockholm, 1922, p. 260.

15. Rashidu'd-din's *Jam'u'l-Tawarikh*, vol. I. (History of the Mongols), MS. Topkapuserai, 1518, f. 266a.

16. For the topographical chart of West Afghanistan used by Chinghiz Khân and that of Eastern Asia used by Timursee my still unpublished Russian essay: *Koc tschto o kartografi pri Mongolach*.

17. The words of Rashidu'd-din concerning this World-Geography are thus quoted by M. Quatremér in his *Histoire des Mongoles de la Perse*, Paris, 1836, p. LXXIII: *Le quatrième volume présente avec les détails les plus circonstanciés la détermination précise des limites assignées à chacun des sept climats, la division et l'étendue des vastes contrées du globe, la position géographique ainsi que la description exacte de la plupart des villes, des mers, des lacs, des vallées et montagnes avec l'indication des longitudes et des latitudes. Pour rédiger cette partie de notre travail nous ne nous sommes pas contentés de recueillir avec éritique et discernement ce qui se trouvait consigné dans les meilleurs ouvrages de géographie, nous avons en outre interrogé les hommes les plus instruits et ceux qui avaient vu par eux-mêmes les différentes contrées, nous avons inséré dans notre narration les renseignements que nous ont fournis les savants de l'Inde, de Tchîn, de Matchîn, du pays des Francs, etc., et qui sont extraits fidèlement des ouvrages écrits dans les langues de ces différents peuples, en sorte que nous pouvons nous flatter de n'offrir à nos lecteurs que des choses parfaitement variées. Enfin nous avons eu soin d'indiquer exactement la position des lieux de poste (jam) et d'en faire dessiner la figure.* For the Arabic text, *Ibid* p. CLX, cf. the Vienna MS. *Muzt*, 326, F. 6a.

در بیان صورالاقالم ومسافات الممالك بقدر امکان تتبع و تحقیق کرده آنچه بیش ازین در ممالك دانسته بودند و شرح آن در دفتر آورده و آنچه درین عهد همایون حکما و دانایان هند و چین و فرنگ و غیر هم در کتب خویش یافته بعد از تحقیق کردند تمامت در مجلد سیوم ثابت کرده شد

The above quoted words of Rashīd'ud-dīn, also his statement that he had submitted the Geography to King Uljeitu among others, expressly contradict the opinion of some Orientalists (e.g., Barthold, *Iran*, Tashkend, 1926, p. 76) that Rashīd'ud-dīn did not write this Geography but had only a purpose and a scheme of writing such a work.

18. Such is the geography of Hāfiz Abrū (MSS. Leningrad "Public Library," Dorn, N. 290, British Museum N. or. 1577, 1586). This famous historian and geographer of the Timurid period compiled his great work containing very rich material on the model and design of the majority of Arabic classical geographers, especially Istakhri (the order being Arabia, Indian Ocean, Africa, Spain, the Mediterranean islands, Egypt, Syria, Western Asiatic countries and Persia, Fars, Kermān, Khurāsān and, last of all, Trans-Oxiana); he often copied from Istakhri and Hamdullāh Qazwīnī; cf. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the British Museum*, II, 421-424; Barthold, *Al-Muzaffariyeh* (*Festschrift für Bar. v. Rosen*), pp. 1-28 and his *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, London, 1928, pp. 55-56.

19. These descriptions of the Mongol campaigns evoked imitation among their neighbours (the Mamlūks of Egypt) and their successors (the Safavids, Uzbeks, Baburids and Osmanlis), and the importance of these descriptions of campaigns is such that without them it is impossible to write a geography or a cultural history of the Asia of those days. For Turkistān these materials have been utilised by Barthold and by me, for Persia they have been partially utilised by Barthold (*Istoriiko-geografitscheski obzor Irana*, Petersburg 1903, in Russian; in 1930 a Persian translation appeared in Teheran), by Le Strange (*The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, London, 1905), and more copiously by V. Minorsky (in his articles in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*). The descriptions of the Osmanli campaigns and lines of march have hitherto been signalled by F. Töschner (*Das Anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipzig, 1924, 2 vols.) for Asia Minor, and by me (*Azerbaycanın tarīhi geografiyası* in the newspaper *Azerbaycan Yurt Bulgısı*, Istanbul, 1932, N.1-5) for Azerbaijan.

20. See my paper on the economic condition of Anatolia in the Mongol period in the newspaper *Türk Hukuk ve iktisad tarihî Mecmuası* (*Revue de l'histoire juridique et économique turque*) vol. I, Istanbul 1931, pp. 1-44, and the article upon it by F. Töschner in the *Orient Literaturzeitung*, 1933, N. 8-9, p. 483 ff.

21. The accounts of Rashīd'ud-dīn and Wassāf in G. Ferrand, *Relations des Voyages, etc.*, II, 359-364 and E. Blochet, *Jam'ul-Tawarikh* (Gibb Memorial, old series, XVIII) 1912, pp. 452, 498.

22. Two South Arabian sea-captains, Shihābuddīn Ahmad ibn Mājūd (1465-1495) and Suleymān ibn Ahmad al-Mahrī (1511-1512)

have written unparalleled detailed descriptions of the Malay Archipelago (for their works, v. G. Ferrand, *Relations, etc.*, p.p. 485, 660-661, and his articles in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, IV, 372-379, 389-396); the Turkish captain Seyyidî Ali utilised and complemented their works (for whom, v. K. Sussheim, *Enc. of Islam*, I, pp. 301-302).

23. Al-Bîrûnî's topographical conclusions in his two hitherto unpublished works: *Al-Qanun al-Mas'ûdî* (MS. in the Veluiddin Efendi Library of the Bayazîd Mosque in Istanbul, p. 2277, F. 145b-153b) of which I have treated in my above-named work, *Albirûnî's Weltbild und Gradentabelle*, and *Tahdîd nihayat al-Amâkin* (MS. of the Fâtîh Mosque in Istanbul, N. 3386). Topographical data for the people of the Western lands; Ibn Yûnus Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî al-Marâkîshî, cf. C. Schoy, *Langenbestimmung bei der älteren Völkerkunde (Mittheilungen der K. K. Geograph. Ges. zu Wien*, B. 58, 1915, pp. 27-62); for Southern Persia, *Kitabû'l-Akcal*, which was made use of by Abû'l-Fidâ (Reinaud's edition, *Geographie d'Ibnul-feda*, Paris, 1848, two vols.) For Central and Northern Asia and for the latest compiled tables of Ghayâthuddin Chamshîd al-Kâshî (*Zîrî Khawânî fî takmilî Zîrî Ilhâmî*, MS. in the Aya Sofya Library in Istanbul, N. 2692, F. 53, 56) the tables of Tûsî and Ulughbek (Greaves, *Binar Tabular Geographica*, Oxford 1650 and Sédillot, *Ulughbek*, t. II, Paris, 1847, pp. 257-271) are also of weight. The work of Hamdullâh Qazwîni (*Nuzhatu'l-Qulub*) has been published in Bombay and (only the geographical part) by Le Strange (Gibb Memorial, old series, v. XXIII; vol. I, the Text, 1915, vol. II, the English translation, 1918). The lines of march found in Hâfîz Abrû are, in spite of the remark of Rieu (*Cat. Pers.* II, 422-3) largely independent of Hamdullâh Qazwîni. Concerning the accuracy of Al-Bîrûnî's topographical findings cf. Sprenger's words in his Introduction to *Reisevoten des Orients*, Halle, 1865: p. XXIV: "Bîrûnî was the first who fixed the longitude and latitude of the towns with a degree of accuracy which, when the names are transferred to a map, gives us a picture of the country concerned."

24. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Batavia, 1870-1894. I. Istakhârî, II. Ibn Hauqal, III. Muqaddasî, V. Ibn al-Faqîh, VI. Ibn Khurdâdhbeh and Qudâmah, VII. Ibn-Rustah and Ya'qûbî, VIII Mas'ûdî; C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battânî sive Al-Batnî opus astronomicum*, 2 vols., Milan 1899, 1907; H. Mzik, *Bibliothek Arabischer Historiker und Geographen*, vol. III. *Al-Khawarazmî*, Leipzig, 1926, vol. V, *Suhrah*, Leipzig, 1930.

25. Some scholars have been led by a passage of Herzfeld (*Ephemerides Orientales*, N. 28, January 1926, p. 7) to suppose that he had found Jeyhânî and Ibn Fadlân at Mashhad (e.g., G. Jacob, *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an Germanische Fürstenhof*, Berlin, 1927, p. 1; Stephen Janczsek, *Al-Djâihânî's lost Kitâb ul-Masâlik val-Mamâlik, is it to be found at Mashhad?* in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London*, 1928, pp. 15-16). In fact Herzfeld is only giving an account of my discovery, though without mentioning my name. In March 1923 I discovered at Mashhad a collective work of Ibn al-Faqîh, Abû Dulaf and Ibn Fadlân, of which I gave an account in the *Journal Asiatique* CCIV, 1924, pp. 149 ff. and in the *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, Petrograd, 1924, pp. 237-248. J. Marquart had even before that referred to my discovery in his

Arabische Berichte über die Arktischen Länder (Ung. Jahrbucher, IV, 1924 pp. 262, 268-9) and had been at pains to procure a photographic copy through Herzfeld. Prof. Herzfeld, when he wrote his article above-mentioned, had clearly not seen the Mashhad MS. or he would not have spoken of two independent discoveries (Ibn al-Faqīh and Ibn Fadlān) and have told a chimerical story about Jeyhānī in Mashhad apropos of the dependence of his information about Eastern Europe on Ibn Fadlān.

26. Adolph Grohmann, *Sudarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Brunn, vols. I-II, 1930-33; W. Barthold, *Istoriia Oroscheniia Turkestana*, Petersburg, 1914, Uzbek translation, Tashkent, 1926.

27. For Idrīsī's dependence on Ptolemy, cf. Homigmann, pp. 125, 165, 182; H. Mzik *Ptolemeus und die Karten der Arabischen Geographen*, Vienna, 1915, pp. 16-19; J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komänen*, p. 103, also in the *Hirth-Festschrift*, Berlin, 1920, p. 298. For Ibn al-Wardī's and Ibn Sa'īd's dependence on Idrīsī, cf. M. Lelewel, *Geographie du moyen âge*, Breslau, 1851, vol. I, p. 125 ff.

28. Abū'l-Fadl al-'Allāmī (d. 1595), *Aini Akbari*, Calcutta, Text 1877-8, English translation by Blochmann, 1872, 1891, 1894; Amin Ahmad Rāzī, *Haft-i-Iqlim*, known from several MSS. (e.g., Br. Mus., N. or. 203, concerning which see Rieu, *Persian Catalogue*, I, 335); Kātib Chelebi's work *Jahan-numa*, with the exception of the part concerning Europe, appeared in 1732 in Istanbul with some additions by the publisher, Ibrāhīm Muteferrika. Regarding this work and Osmanli geographical literature in general, see the article F. Tieschner in the *Zeitschrift d. Morgenl. Ges.* vol. 77 (1923), pp. 31-80. The geographical portion of the great work in seven volumes by Mahmūd ibn Walī (*Bahr a-Asrar fi Manaqib al-Akhyar*, is described by me in my *Vostochnie rukopisi v Bukhar'skom Khanstve* in the *Zap. vost. otd. imp. russk. Arkheol. Obschestva*, vol. XXIII, 1915, p. 255.

29. I mean the Arabic original of Muncijim Bashi's *Jam' al-Duwal*, (e.g., the Esad Efendi MS. in Istanbul, N. 5019) where, among other sources now no longer available, he has made detailed use of the Arabic edition of the very valuable History of Derbend (*Tarikh al-Bab wa'l-Abwab*) the very existence of which was denied a little while ago (Barthold, in the periodical *Iran*, II, Leningrad, 1930, p. 52); I have put together this quotation and sent it out to the press. Ahmad Amin Rāzī quotes from a *Suwar al-Aqalim* composed in the Mongol period (see Kātib Chelebi, *Jahan-numa*, p. 392, article *Beylagan*) which must surely be the Geography of Rashīdu'd-dīn.

30. The above-named *Tahdidu Nihayat al-Amakin*, F. 123b-124b; the text and commentary in my *Neue Nachrichten*, etc., p. 100-102.

وإذا تقرّر ما قدمته ومقصودي معرفة طول بلد معين من الأرض معلوم الوضع من سائر البلاد وهو عنة التي لم يحصل لي إلى الآن الأرض عرضها فاما طولها بالوجه التي تقدمت فلم يتمه لا سباب عاقت عن ذلك وان اعتذرت بصفتها تصورت نفسي كارة نعم الله الظاهرة والباطنة ثم نعم ولي المعمة التي سبغت على

بده ولكنى استوفقه تعالى سهيل التمكن من المباحث التى (F 124^a) عشقتها ولم يعل عريمتى فيها الوفوف على تنفا الخطر فى الروح والبدن بل كمت استتجبل تحصيلها وانما مها قبل الاحل فى الساعات الهابله واستعينه على صلاح الدنيا والاحر بهمه . فانى اقول ان اكثر اطوال بقاع الارض وعروضها المذكورة فى كتاب جاورا فيا انما هى مستخرجة بالمسموع من مسافات ما بينها بطرق لاند من ان يسلك بطليموس اصحها فاما غيره فيمكن ان يقتضيه ويمكن ان يحرف عنه ولكن الاصل الذى بنى عليه هو السمع وقد كات هذه الممالك فيما سلف عصره السلوك لما كان فى اهلها من التباين الى فاته اعظم الموانع عن سلوكها على ما يشاهد من اسراع المحائف الى اعتيال مخالفه تقربا الى ربه فعل اليهود واستعباده وهو اسلم احواله كما يفعله الروم وانكار حاله لغربته واتهام التهم عليه وبلوؤه من ذلك الى عايت المكاراة الاتية على النفس فاما الآن وقد طهر الاسلام فى مشارق الارض ومغاربها وانتشر فيما بين الاندلس عربا وبنى اطراف الصين وواسطة الهند شرقا وفيما بين الحبشة والزنج حوبا (F. 124^b) والترك والصقالبة شمالا لجمع الامم المختلفة على الالفة التى هى صعب تفرد الله به ولم يبق بينهم الا ما يكون من فساد دوى العبث وتخيفى السبل وصارت البقية المصرة على الكفرتها بالاسلام وتعظم اهلها وتهاذمهم فان تحصيل المسافات بالسمع الآن اوثق واصح فكتبنا ما نجد فى كتاب جاورا فيا مواضع شرقية عن آخر ثم يكون فى الموحد المشاهد عربية وبالعكس وانما السبب فيها اما التخاليط فى ذكر المسافات التى منها استخرجت اطوالها وعروضها واما انتقال الامم عن بلاد الى آخر مع نقل الاسامى الهما .

31. e.g., the opinions of N. Marr in the *Zap. vost. otd.*, XVIII, Appendix, p. 14, and W. Barthold, *Kultura Musulmanstva*, Petersburg, 1918, pp. 40-46, *Musulmanski Mir*, 1922, p. 14, *Iran*, Tashkend, 1926 p. 29. With the words of Al-Birūnī regarding the favourable position of Science in his time compare the words of Peschel *Kein Volk hat sich in einer gunstiger Lage gefunden zur Forschung der alten Welt als die Araber. Es erstreckte sich ihre Herrschaft von Spanien bis zum Indus und Sirderya, vom Kaukasus bis zu den Afrikanischen Negerlandern. Kriege und Eroberungen haben stets die Erdkunde gefordert—Geschichte der Erdkunde*, p. 104; also M. Reinaud, *Introduction generale a la Geographie des Orientaux*, *Geographie d'Abulfeda*, vol. I, p. XL.

32. Concerning the Arabic language as the language of Science, see his *Tahdūd*, F. 6b. his *Pharmacology*, F. 7a and my *Neue Nachrichten* pp. 93 and 103.

83. Of the role of the Central Asian traders in the spreading of Islam in the 8th-10th centuries I have written in my *Mittelasien im 8-12 Jh.* (Lectures to the University of Istanbul, Winter term, 1928-29); for their role in Chinghiz Khân's foreign policy, v. Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk tarihi hakkinda konfianslar*, Istanbul. 1927, pp. 130, 144, also his article *Die Entstehung des Königreiches von Tschingiz-Chan* in the *Zap. vost. otd.* X, 102.

AHMET ZEKI VALIDI.

A SENSUOUS PARADISE

1

I SEE the Realms of Bliss where toilers rest
Whose virtue flagged not in the earthly strife.
I see them with the spirits of the Blest
Revestured in the visual garb of life.

2

In groves and glades where murmuring waters flow,
'Neath laden boughs in grateful shade reclined ;
Far from the desert sands where tempests blow
And Death comes riding on the sun-fed wind.

3

For them eternal peace. Their prayer is praise
Of Him who first the boon of Life bestowed.
Whose guidance led from error's darksome ways
O'er shining paths unto the Blest Abode.

4

'Mid beauteous scenes what forms around them glide
Fairer than aught that fancy pictured fair !
What visions rare, to poet's eyes denied,
Float round them here and fill the ethereal air !

5

Fair forms as softly bright as orient pearls
With eyes in which the Maker's love is blent
With reverent wonder, even as boys and girls
To wait upon the favoured guests are sent !

6

I pause. 'Tis not the philosophic mind
But 'tis the sense-touched, throbbing, human Heart
That in these visual forms its bliss would find—
The Heaven-born Artist revelling in his Art !

7

Or must I dream with Plato ? Seek to rise
From Form to Beauty, the self-beautiful,
The formless Regent of his Paradise
Which of unborn eternal types is full ?

8

Where shall the disembodied spirit dwell ?
In form, or formless in void nothingness ?
I question Earth and Heaven but none can tell,
None save the voice sent from on high to bless,

9

The voice that rang below the vault of Heaven
When Man with eager heart first gazed above.
He waited long ; then was the tidings given
Of life eternal and eternal love !

10

That voice rang out from darksome age to age—
Loud, clear and vibrant as a trumpet call.
It taught man's soul to burst its iron cage
And soar above the World's encircling wall,

11

Reach out to Heaven, see a realm more bright
Than ever seen beneath the starry dome :
Of passionless Desire's pure delight,
Of love and grace the everlasting home

12

Ordained for those who leave life's dross behind
E'en with the body sepulchred in Earth ;
Life's toils and trials past, who hope to find
In Death advancement to a higher birth !

13

That Voice I hear resounding in The Book.
It bodies forth the spirit's pure desires
As scenes in Heaven ; to others who forsook
The path of Right, reveals Hell's flaming fires.

14

Man's mind, sense-guided, rises to a height
Surpassing sense : but Visions can appeal
Through Sense alone. God's glory and His might
Are Thoughts that Nature's picture-scenes reveal !

15

Enough for me ; our " Sensuous Paradise."
(By folly misconceived) is pictured Thought.
The Truth it veils lies open to the wise,
Its web and woof with deepest meaning fraught.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

A TRANSLATION OF ASH-SHAMAIL OF TIRMIZI

On the Behaviour of the Prophet

KHARIJA bin Zeyd bin Thâbit¹ says that a number² of people came to his father³ and requested him to mention the Traditions of the Prophet. He wanted to know what Traditions he should relate to them. He said that he was the neighbour of the Prophet. When revelations were made to the Prophet he used to call him. Then he (Zeyd) wrote them for the Prophet. When the Prophet talked of this world he also joined them and when they talked of the next world the Prophet also talked of it with them. And when they talked of food, the Prophet also talked of it with them. These things he told them concerning the Prophet.

‘Amr bin al-‘As⁴ says that the Prophet used to direct his face and conversation towards abominably wicked people. He showed attachment to them by these means. The Prophet turned his face and conversation towards him (‘Amr) till he thought that he was the best of all the people. Then he (‘Amr) said, “O Prophet of God! Who is better? Abû Bakr or I?” He replied, “Abû Bakr.” Then ‘Amr bin al-‘As asked, “O Prophet, Who is better? ‘Umar or I?” He replied, “‘Umar.” Then ‘Amr asked, “O Prophet, Who is better? ‘Uthmân or I?” He replied, “‘Uthmân.” When ‘Amr got this reply from the Prophet he thought it would have been better if he had not asked the Prophet anything. Anas bin Mâlik says that he served the Prophet for ten years

(1) Khârija bin Zeyd bin Thâbit died A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib*, p. 107.

(2) The word *Nafar* in the text means a number of persons from three to ten.

(3) His name is Zeyd bin Thâbit. He died A.H. 45—A.D. 665, *Al-Ma‘arif*, p. 133.

(4) ‘Amr bin al-‘As died A.H. 43—A.D. 663. *Al-Munawi*, vol. II, p. 189.

and he never said so much as Uff (an expression of rebuke), and for anything that he did the Prophet never asked, "Why did you do it?" nor did the Prophet take him to task for any fault of omission by saying, "Why did you omit to do it?" The Prophet was the best of mankind as regards manners. Anas bin Mâlik says that he never touched any silk, raw or otherwise, or anything softer than the palm of the Prophet and never smelt any musk or 'attar more fragrant than the perspiration of the Prophet. Anas bin Mâlik narrates that there was with the Prophet a man who had yellow stains.¹ Anas says that the Prophet did not like to say anything before a person which might be unpleasant to him. When the person in question had departed the Prophet said that if they told him to get rid of the yellow stains it would be better for his own sake.

'A'isha says that it was not in the nature of the Prophet to utter obscene words intentionally or even unintentionally. He did not clamour in the market nor did he return evil for evil, but he used to forgive and pardon. 'A'isha says that the Prophet never struck anybody except in *Jihad* (holy war). He never struck a servant or a woman. 'A'isha says that she never saw the Prophet take revenge for any wrong which might have been done to him so long as nothing unlawful had been committed, but if there was any transgression in religious matters he would become very angry. When he was given the choice between two things he would select the easier one if it involved no sin. 'A'isha says that a person sought permission of the Prophet to come to him while she was with him. The Prophet said that he (the person asking permission) was the worst man in the tribe.² Then he gave him permission and spoke gently with him. When he went away 'A'isha said, "O Prophet of God, you made such remarks about the man and yet spoke gently with him?" Then the Prophet said that the worst of all mankind is he whom people forsake owing to his censorious discourse.

(1) It was the yellow saffron that he had rubbed over his body, which is forbidden to a man.

(2) The Prophet said this, so that people might know him and save themselves from his evil actions. The Prophet spoke softly with him so that he might not give up his company. He was the chief of the tribe and he was gently treated so that he might accept Islam, his tribe becoming Muslims. His name was 'Uyeyna bin Hisn al-Fazari. See *Al-Munawi*, vol. II, p. 199.

Huseyn bin 'Alî says that he asked his father regarding the character of the Prophet among his companions. His father said that the Prophet was of a cheerful disposition, gentle manners and a happy countenance. He was neither rude nor rough nor noisy nor a speaker of obscene words; he was not a slanderer nor a miser. He avoided the thing which he disliked. He did not disappoint anyone. He did not deprive anyone of his kindness. Certainly he refrained from three things: from quarrelling unrighteously, from showing pride and from that which was not good for him. Towards the people he observed the following rules:—He spoke evil of no man, he slandered no man and found fault with no man. He did not speak of anything except when he found that it would bring reward from God. When the Prophet spoke, his companions used to bow their heads as if Fate was upon them (i.e., they became silent and still as statues, listening attentively) and when he ceased speaking, then only they would talk. They did not dispute in conversation before him. The people listened to the person who began to speak first in the presence of the Prophet and maintained silence until he finished speaking. The Prophet listened to the words of everyone (as attentively) as he had listened to the words of the first speaker. The Prophet would smile at the things at which his companions smiled. The Prophet would wonder at the things at which they all wondered. The Prophet bore patiently the harsh questions and remarks of strangers; so the companions brought strangers to the Prophet. The Prophet used to say that if there was any needy person wanting help he should be helped. The Prophet did not accept praise from anyone except in the way of thanks. He would not stop anyone from speaking until he transgressed the limits, and if he transgressed the limits the Prophet would either stop him or go away.

Jâbir bin 'Abdullah says that if anyone asked anything of the Prophet he would never say "nay" (i.e., he would either gratify him, if he could, or he would promise to give him the thing; or would pray for him). Ibn 'Abbâs says that the Prophet was more liberal than the rest of mankind in giving away property and he grew more liberal in the days of Ramadân than in all other days till it came to an end. Gabriel would come to the Prophet and recite the Qur'ân to him and when Gabriel came to him the Prophet grew more lavish in distributing wealth than the

blowing wind.¹ Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet did not keep anything (for himself) for the coming day. 'Umar bin al-Khattâb narrates that a person came to the Prophet and asked him to give him something. The Prophet replied that he had nothing, but told him to buy his food on his (the Prophet's) credit; when the Prophet received something he would pay for it. Then 'Umar said: "O Prophet, verily you have given² him a (court-
eous) answer. (Why do you take his credit upon yourself?) when God has not burdened you with the thing over which you have no power"? The Prophet disapproved of the words of 'Umar. Then one of the Ansâr (the people of Madinah) said, "O Prophet, spend and fear not the Lord of the Throne about giving less." Then the Prophet smiled and his happiness was apparent in his face because of the words of the Ansâr. Then the Prophet said, "I have been ordered thus." Rubaiyî' daughter of Mu'awwiz bin 'Afrâ' says that he (her father) took a dish of fresh dates and small cucumbers to the Prophet who gave him a handful of ornaments and gold. 'A'isha narrates that the Prophet accepted presents and made suitable returns.

On the Modesty of the Prophet

Abû Sa'id al-Khudrî says that the Prophet was more modest than the virgin sitting behind a curtain and when he disliked anything it could be gathered from his face. 'A'isha³ says: I never saw the nakedness of the Prophet " (owing to his modesty).

On the Application of Cupping-glasses by the Prophet

Anas bin Mâlik was asked regarding the earnings of a cupper (whether they were lawful or unlawful). Anas

(1) Al-Bukhârî says that a very large amount of wealth came from Bahreyn. The Prophet ordered it to be placed in the mosque and paid no attention to it. After performing the prayer he distributed it all to those who came for it. A woman came to the Prophet after the victory of Huneyn and recited a verse. The Prophet gave her things the price of which was *Khamis Mi'at Alf Alf*, i.e., fifty crores or five hundred millions. It is the greatest generosity ever performed in the world. See '*Ali al-Qari*, vol. II, p. 213.

(2) Some commentators have translated: "You have given away everything which you had," referring to Al-Bukhârî's Hadîth which I have translated 'blowing wind.'

(3) Further she said that when the Prophet used to go to her for cohabitation he veiled his head and face and neither of them saw the other. '*Ali al-Qari*, vol. II, p. 218.

replied that the Prophet had himself cupped. Abû Taiba¹ cupped him. Then the Prophet ordered two sâ's (sâ' is a dry measure about 7 pounds in weight) of eatables for him. The Prophet recommended him to his master and the master lessened the tribute.² The Prophet said that the best of remedies was cupping.³ 'Alî says, "The Prophet had himself cupped and ordered me (to pay the cupper), so I gave the cupper his wages." Ibn 'Abbâs narrates that the Prophet had himself bled in the two veins on the two sides of the neck and between the two shoulders and gave the cupper his wages; and if the wages had been unlawful the Prophet would not have paid him. Ibn 'Umar narrates that the Prophet called a cupper who cupped him. When the cupper was asked about his wage he said that it was three sâ's. Then the Prophet reduced his demand by one sâ' and gave him his wage. Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet had himself cupped in the two veins and in the vein between the two shoulders and he used to have himself cupped on the 17th, 19th and 21st of a month. Anas bin Mâlik narrates that the Prophet had himself cupped at Malal⁴ on the feet while wearing the dress used in pilgrimage.

On the Names of the Prophet

Jubair bin Mut'im⁵ narrates that the Prophet said, "Verily there are names for me. I am Muhammad, Ahmad, Mâhi (meaning obliterator). God will annihilate heathenism through me. I am Hâshir (i.e., the Prophet will rise first on the Day of Resurrection, then the rest of mankind). I am 'Aqib, because after me there will be no other Prophet." Hudheyfa⁶ says that he met the Prophet

(1) The name of Abu Taiba was Nâfi'. He belonged to the tribe of Bani Haritha. *Al-Munawir*, vol. II., p. 218.

(2) The name of the master is Muheyyasa bin Mas'ûd, a Companion of the Prophet. Abu Taiba was a slave, and in Arabia there was a custom to employ one's slave in some work on an agreement to pay something out of his earnings every day. The master of Abû Taiba had fixed a high proportion which he could pay with difficulty. Abû Taiba complained to the Prophet of this and the Prophet recommended him to his master who lessened his tribute.

(3) The narrator is doubtful about the exact expression.

(4) It is a place between Mecca and Madînah about 17 miles from Madînah.

(5) Jubair died A.H. 59—A.D. 678. *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 145.

(6) Hudheyfa bin al-Yaman died A.H. 36—A.D. 656. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib*, p. 82.

on one of the roads in Madīnah. The Prophet said, "I am Muhammad, I am Ahmad and I am Nabīyū'r-Rahmah (Prophet of mercy), Nabīyū't-Tawbah¹ (Prophet of repentance). I am Muqaffi (i.e., one who comes last), I am Hāshir, and Nabīyū'l-Malāhim² (the Prophet of war)."

On the Living of the Prophet³

Samāk bin Harb narrates that he heard Nu'mān bin Bashīr⁴ saying (to the Companions of the Prophet): "Do you not eat and drink as much as you like? Verily I saw the Prophet getting not even the worst kind of dates to fill his stomach." 'A'isha says that the members of the family of the Prophet used to pass a month without lighting the fire; their food consisted of dates and water only. Abū Talha⁵ says: We (Companions) complained to the Prophet about hunger and then we raised a stone each from our respective stomachs. Then the Prophet raised two stones from his stomach. The author of the work Abū 'Isa says that it was customary with the Arabs to bind stones on the stomach to lessen the fatigue and weakness due to hunger. Abū Hureyrah says that the Prophet came out at a time when one would never come out and no person would visit him at that time. Abū Bakr came to him and the Prophet said, "What has brought you here, O Abū Bakr?" Abū Bakr replied that he had come out with the purpose of meeting the Prophet and of seeing his face and of saluting him. 'Umar arriving not long after, the Prophet said, "What has brought you, O 'Umar?" 'Umar said, "O Prophet of God, it is hunger." The Prophet said that he had also experienced the same thing. Then they proceeded to the house of Abū'l-Heytham bin at-Taiyihān al-Ansārī⁶ who

(1) He is so called (Nabīyū't-Tawbah) because throughout the day he asked forgiveness seventy times (some say a hundred times) or because the repentance of his followers will be surely accepted.

(2) That is, "there will be many Jihāds (religious wars) during my time and after me my followers will undertake many Jihāds."

(3) Al-Imām Tirmizī has already described the living of the Prophet in Chapter IX; but here he gives a more detailed description.

(4) Nu'mān died in A.H. 65—A.D. 684, *Taqīb*, p. 374.

(5) The name of Abū Talha is Zeyd bin Sahl. He died A.H. 36—A.D. 656. *Al-Ma'arif* p. 138.

(6) Abul Heytham died A.H. 20—A.D. 640. *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 18

had a number of date and other trees and goats. He had no servant. They did not find him. Then they asked his wife: "Where is your lord?" She replied that he had gone out to bring fresh water. It was not long afterwards that Abû'l-Heytham came carrying a water-bag. Then he put down the water-bag and came to the Prophet and embraced him and said, "My father and mother be a sacrifice for you." Then he took them to his garden and spread a couch for them. Then he went up to the date-tree and brought down a bunch containing ripe, unripe and dry dates and placed it (before them). Then the Prophet said, "Why did you not choose for us ripe dates (only)?" He replied, "Oh Prophet, I brought it, thinking that each of you may select ripe or unripe dates according to his individual liking." Then all of them partook of dates and drank sweet water. Then the Prophet said, "I swear by Him in whose power my soul is (that) these, namely, cool shade, fresh ripe dates and cold water, are among the bounties concerning which you will be questioned on the Day of Judgment." Then Abû'l-Heytham went to prepare food for them. The Prophet said, "Don't kill a milch-animal for us." So he killed a she-kid or he-kid for them. Then he brought it to them. Then all partook of it. Then the Prophet asked: "Do you possess a servant?" He replied, "No." Then the Prophet said, "When the captives come to me do you come to me also." When two slaves were brought to the Prophet there was no third one with them. Abû'l-Heytham* came to the Prophet, who said: "Choose one from among them." He replied, "Oh Prophet of God, you choose one for me." The Prophet said, "One who is consulted is a person in whom one is safe and secure. Take this slave. Verily I have seen him offering prayers and take my advice to treat him well." Then Abû'l-Heytham went to his wife and told her of the words of the Prophet. Whereupon his wife said, "You will not be able to perform what the Prophet has said concerning him unless you liberate him." Then Abû'l-Heytham said, "He is free." Then the Prophet said, "Verily, God has not sent any Prophet or any Caliph but with two hidden companions—one companion tells him to do good and forbids him to do evil deeds, and the other companion does not forbid him to do evil deeds; and one who is saved from a bad companion is saved from evil." Qeys bin Abi Hâzim

* Qeys bin Abi Hâzim was a reliable Traditionist. *Tagrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 307.

says that he heard from Sa'd bin Abî Waqqâs who said that he was the first Arab¹ who made the blood of infidels flow for the sake of God. He was the first² man who shot the arrow for God's sake and verily he saw himself doing *Jihad* (holy war) along with the Companions of the Prophet. They did not eat anything³ but leaves of trees and fruits of thorny trees until the corners of their mouths got chafed to the extent that one would say of their night-soil that it was that of goats or camels, and the tribe Banû Asad wished to teach him the rules of religion (here meaning prayers). Then verily he became hopeless and his action became null and void.⁴

Khâlid bin 'Umeyr⁵ and Shuweys Abû'r-Ruqâd⁶ narrate that 'Umar bin al-Khattâb sent 'Utbah bin

(1) In the beginning of Islam the Companions of the Prophet used to say their prayers privately in hidden places, such as gorges of the mountains. Once they were saying prayers in a ravine near Mecca. The infidels saw them and began to find fault with them. Sa'd became very much annoyed and struck a man with a bone of a camel and wounded him. He was the first Muslim who made the blood of an infidel flow for Islam. *Ali al-Qari*, vol. II., p. 243.

(2) The first Holy War which the Prophet waged was at al-Abwâ' a village between Mecca and Madinah. A large number of people of the tribe of Quraish under the headship of Abû Sufyân came to fight with them. Sa'd was the first Muslim who shot an arrow at the infidels. *Ali al-Qari*, vol. II.

(3) This refers to the battle called *Khâbt*. According to some it took place in A.H. 8—A.D. 629. About 300 Muslims under the leadership of Abû 'Uбайдah bin al-Jarrâh advanced on the infidels. First three camels used to be slaughtered for the Muslim army, but later on instead of camel-meat, dates were distributed. When this provision also was exhausted, the Muslims used to eat the leaves of trees. Consequently the campaign is called *Khâbt* which means "striking down the leaves of a tree with a stick." Some called it *Sariya Saif al-Bahr* as it was near the sea. *Al-Bukhari* (Muṭṭabâ'i edition, Delhi 1343), vol. II. p. 625.

(4) That is, Banû Asad wanted to teach him the rules of prayer. Sa'd said this, because Banû Asad (a tribe of Kûfa) complained before Caliph 'Umar that Sa'd did not perform prayers in the same manner as the Prophet did. When Sa'd heard this he said the above and his purpose in saying this was that he had been the Companion of the Prophet and never forsook him at critical times and he always offered prayers with the Prophet and learnt the way from him. So it was not meet that they should find fault with him about his prayers. Sa'd called prayers "religion," because prayer is the essence of religion.

(5) Khâlid was a reliable Traditionist. Al-Bukhârî and others accepted his Traditions. He died before A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 110 and *Al-Munawî*, vol. II., p. 244.

(6) Shuweys was a reliable Traditionist and died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 170.

Ghazbân¹ (towards Basrah) saying, "Do (you) go along with them (the army) who are with you till you reach the limit of Arabia and the land of 'Ajam."² Then all started, so that they reached Mirbad (stable for camels made of white soft stone) and found whitish soft stone.³ Then they asked what are these things. They replied this is Basrah (Basrah means whitish, soft stone). They proceeded on till they reached a small bridge and they said that they were ordered for that place. They all alighted and the narrators of this tradition describe this at length.⁴ The narrator says that 'Utbah bin Ghazbân said, (in the sermon which he delivered here, but the author Tirmîzî omitted those accounts as they had no connection with the subject-matter of this chapter): "I found myself in such a condition while I was the seventh⁵ Companion among the seven Companions of the Prophet (in respect of the acceptance of Islam, as he accepted Islâm after six other persons), that there was nothing for us to eat except the leaves of trees,—till the corners of our mouths were wounded. Then I found a mantle which I divided between myself⁶ and Sa'd. Now there is not one among those seven Companions but

(1). 'Utbah died A.H. 17—A.D. 638. *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 140.

(2) The King of Persia, Yazdjurd, asked for help of money and men from the King of India, in order to fight with the Arabs. 'Umar wanted to stop the progress of the Indian army and consequently this Muslim army was sent to check its advance towards Persia. *Al-Munawwî*, vol. II., p. 244.

(3) The town called Basrah was built by 'Utbah bin Ghazbân during the Caliphate of 'Umar in A.H. 17—A.D. 638, and the people took up their abode in A.H. 18—A.D. 639. *Ali al-Qari*, vol. II., p. 245.

(4) The rest of the account is that when they alighted there they asked help from some of the villagers of Khûzistân who at first helped the Muslims. But, seeing the insignificant number of the Muslims who were only 300, the non-Muslims betrayed them. Ultimately they were defeated and the Muslims took possession of Basrah. *Al-Munawwî*, vol. II., p. 245.

(5) The six people who accepted Islam before 'Utbah are Khadija the wife of the Prophet, 'Alî bin Abû Talib, Abû Bakr bin Abû Suhafa, Zayd bin Hâritha, Khâlid bin Sa'id and Sa'd bin Abû Waqqâs. *Al-Isaba*, vol. I, p. 435, vol. IV. p. 537, vol. II. 1086.

(6) Then we were so needy that even one mantle was divided between us two.

is governor of a city and you will soon test the governors¹ after us." Anas says that the Prophet said, "I was frightened in the religion of God and no-one will be frightened so much, and verily I was much oppressed for the religion of God and no-one will be oppressed in that manner. Verily thirty days and nights passed and for me and Bilâl there was not so much food as a living being could eat, but only as much as Bilâl brought concealed under his arm-pit,"² (i.e., very little). Anas bin Mâlik narrates that the Prophet lived in such a condition that he could never get bread and meat for the morning and evening meal except on invitation. Naufal bin Iyâs al-Huzalî³ says that Abdur Rahmân ibn 'Auf⁴ was his companion (and he was the best companion) and he walked with him one day till they reached his house and he went in and bathed and then came out. A dish containing bread and meat was brought before them. When the dish was set Abdur Rahmân wept. Then Naufal asked, "O Abû Muhammad, what makes you weep?" He replied that the Prophet died in such a condition that he and his family had never had enough barley bread. He did not think that they were given time (to live in this world) for the thing which was good for them.⁵

On the Age of the Prophet

Ibn 'Abbâs narrates that the Prophet remained in Mecca for thirteen⁶ years, during which period revelations were sent to him. He remained in Madinah for ten years

(1) That is, these governors will be absorbed in the world and will give up religion.

(2) This refers to the journey of the Prophet to Tâif and other places before the Hijrah. *Al-Munawi*, vol. II., p. 247.

(3) Naufal was a reliable Traditionist. He died before A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib*, p. 377.

(4) Abdur Rahmân died A.H. 32—A.D. 652. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib*, p. 235.

(5) That is, the Prophet lived in poverty till his death and now they were living in affluence and this was not good for them. To live as the Prophet lived was good.

(6) That is, after being a Prophet, he remained in Mecca for thirteen years.

and he died at the age of sixty-three.¹ Mu'âwiyah² once said in a sermon that the Prophet died when he was sixty-three years old and Abû Bakr and 'Umar (at the same age) also and he (Mu'âwiyah) was 63 (sixty-three) years old also.³ 'A'isha says that the Prophet died at the age of sixty-three. Daghfal bin Hanzala⁴ said that the Prophet died at the age of sixty-five. Abû 'Isâ (the author of the work) remarks that Daghfal lived during the time of the Prophet but did not meet him. Anas says that the Prophet was neither very tall nor very short, nor very fair nor very dark. The hair of the Prophet's head was neither very curly nor very straight. God made him declare his prophecy at the beginning of the fortieth year of his age. Then he remained at Mecca ten years and at Madinah ten years and he died at the beginning of the sixtieth year and on his head and chin there were not twenty grey hairs.

On the Death of the Prophet

Anas bin Mâlik says that the last time he saw the Prophet (before his death) was Monday when the Prophet raised the screen. Then he looked at his (the Prophet's) face which was, as it were, a leaf of the Qur'ân⁵. The people were behind Abû Bakr, offering prayers. The Prophet made signs to the people to remain in their places. Abû Bakr led the prayer and the Prophet let down the screen and he died at the end of (the first part of) that day. 'A'isha says that she let the Prophet recline on her breast or lap. The Prophet asked for a basin to pass water and then he passed water and died. 'A'isha says that she saw the Prophet when he was dying and near him was a cup in which there was water and he put his hand in the cup and rubbed his face with water. Then he said, "O

(1) There are different Traditions about the age of the Prophet. But reliable Traditionists and historians say that he died at the age of sixty-three.

(2) Mu'âwiyah bin Abû Sufyân died A.H. 60—A.D. 679. *Taqrib*, p. 357.

(3) Mu'âwiyah actually died at the age of 78 or 80 or 86. *Al-Mu-nawwî*, vol. II., p. 250.

(4) Daghfal was skilful in genealogies. *Taqrib*, p. 118 and *Al-Isaba*, vol. I., p. 975.

(5) Just as by seeing the Qur'ân guidance and inward purity were obtainable so it was by looking at the face of the Prophet.

God, help me in the agony of death.”¹ ‘A’isha says that she did not wish for anyone an easy death after she had seen the death agony of the Prophet.² ‘A’isha says that when the Prophet died the Companions differed about the place of his burial. Then Abû Bakr said: “I have heard from the Prophet a thing which I have not forgotten. The Prophet said that God had not taken the soul of any Prophet but in the place in which he liked to be buried. You should bury him where his death-bed was.” ‘A’isha says that Abû Bakr kissed the Prophet after he was dead. ‘A’isha narrates that Abû Bakr came to the Prophet after he was dead. Then he placed his mouth between the two eyes of the Prophet and his two hands on the two arms of the Prophet and said, “I am sad, O Prophet, I am sad, O Chosen One, I am sad, O Friend.” Anas says that the day on which the Prophet came to Madînah everything became bright and then the day on which he died everything became dark in Madînah. They had not yet shaken the dust (of the grave) from their hands and they were in the act of burying the Prophet when their hearts revolted.³

(1) The Prophet died a very peaceful death in A.H. 11—A.D. 632.

The following incident will show how the Prophet passed away:—

‘A’isha, seeing the Prophet very weak, raised his head from the pillow, and laid it tenderly upon her bosom. At that moment her brother, Abdur Rahman, entered with a green tooth-stick (*miswak*) in his hand. ‘A’isha observed that the eyes of the Prophet rested on it, and, knowing it to be such as he liked, asked whether he wished to have it. He signified his assent. Chewing it to make it soft and pliable, she placed it in his hand. This pleased him; for he took up the tooth-stick and used it, rubbing his teeth with a vigour which she had not seen before. Then he put it down. After a little while, he said, “Lord, join me to the companionship on high.” Then all was still. His head grew heavy on the breast of ‘A’isha and she, softly removing his head from her bosom, placed it on the pillow. The death of the Prophet, according to *Al-Bukhari*, was due to the poison which the Jewish woman (Zainab bint al-Hânth) gave him at Kheybar in the meat prepared for him. The effect of this poison appeared in his advanced age and Ibn Mas‘ûd and others believe that the Prophet died as a martyr from the effect of the poison. *‘Ali al-Qari*, pp. 254, 258 and 259.

(2) That is, seeing the agony of the death of the Prophet she believed that it was no bad sign.

(3) One meaning is that they had not as yet finished burying the Prophet when the state of hearts was changed (for the worse) and that pure love of religion disappeared. Another meaning is that their hearts refused to throw dust on him. This meaning is suggested by the incident in the *Sharh as-Sunnah*. Fâtimah said, “Oh Anas, does your heart like that you should throw dust on the Prophet?” The first explanation is correct. *‘Ali al-Qari*, vol. II., p. 262.

'A'isha says that the Prophet died on Monday. Sufyân bin 'Ueyyana¹ narrates on the authority of Muhammad bin Bâqir that the Prophet died on Monday and the sacred body lay that day, the whole night of Tuesday and the whole day of Tuesday and he was buried during the night of Wednesday.² Further Sufyân remarks that others say that the noise of iron shovels was heard at the last part of the night (of Wednesday).

Sharik bin 'Abdullâh bin Abî Namir³ narrates from Abî Salama⁴ ibn 'Abdur Rahmân ibn 'Auf that the Prophet died on Monday and was buried on Tuesday.⁵ Sâlim bin 'Ubeyd⁶ says that the Prophet became unconscious in his illness, then he came to his senses and said, "Has the time for prayer come?" They replied, "Aye." Then he said that Bilâl should be asked to call to prayer and Abû Bakr should be asked to lead the prayer. Then the Prophet became unconscious and when he came to his senses he said, "Ask Bilâl to call to prayer and ask Abû Bakr to lead the prayer." 'A'isha replied, "My father has a very tender heart. When he will stand at the place where you used to stand, he will weep and will not have the power (to lead the prayer) and if you ask another person it will be better." Sâlim says that the Prophet again became unconscious and then he came to his senses

(1) Sufyân died A.H. 198—A.D. 813. *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 254.

(2) The cause of the delay in the burial is that there was a great confusion among the Believers owing to the death of the Prophet. Some said that the Prophet was not dead and there was difference about the place of burial. These difficulties were removed by Abû Bakr who established the fact by quoting the Qur'ân that the Prophet was liable to death and also proved by the words of Traditions that the Prophet should be buried at the place where he died. Also, there was a dispute between the Mahâprin and the Ansâr about the appointment of a Khalifah. At last Abû Bakr was appointed Khalifah and people acted according to his words.

(3) Sharik died 140 A.H.—A.D. 757. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib*, p. 169.

(4) Abû Salama died A.H. 94—A.D. 712.—*Al-Ma'arif*, p. 123.

(5) It is a mistake on the part of Sharik bin 'Abdullâh to record Tuesday as the day of burial, but some explained it in this way, that the first Tradition refers to the end of the work and the second Tradition to the beginning of the work, i.e., the preparation of the burial began on Tuesday and they completed and finished the burial in the last part of the night of Wednesday * *Ah-al-Qari*, vol. II., p. 264.

[* Which means Tuesday night, as Europeans reckon—Editor "Islamic Culture."]

(6) Sâlim was a Companion of the Prophet. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib*, p. 187.

and said, "Ask Bilâl to call to prayer and ask Abû Bakr to lead the prayers with the people"; (then, addressing 'A'isha, he said), "Verily you are the female companion of Joseph."¹ Sâlim says that Bilâl was ordered and he called to prayer and that Abû Bakr was ordered and he led the prayers with the people. Then the Prophet became a little better. Then he said, "Get me someone on whom I may lean." There came Barîra² and a man,³ and the Prophet leaned on both (and went to the mosque). When Abû Bakr saw him he began to step backward. But the Prophet beckoned him to remain at his place and Abû Bakr finished the prayer. And (after that) the Prophet died. And 'Umar said, "I swear by Allâh that I will not hear any person saying that the Prophet is dead, for I will strike the man with this sword." Sâlim says that the people were illiterate and there had been no prophet among them before the Prophet. Consequently the people stopped saying that the Prophet was dead and they said, "O Sâlim! let us go to the friend of the Prophet and call him." Then Sâlim went to Abû Bakr and he was in the mosque. He went to him, weeping and agitated. When Abû Bakr saw him he said, "Is the Prophet dead?" Then Sâlim said that 'Umar had said that he would not hear anyone saying that the Prophet was dead but that he would strike him with the sword. Then Abû Bakr said, "Let us go." Sâlim went with Abû Bakr. A large number of people came to the Prophet and Abû Bakr said, "O people, give way." Then they gave way and Abû Bakr came and fell upon the Prophet and kissed him and

(1) That is, the female companion of Joseph whose name was Zuleykha. She apparently called the women to a feast but her real intention was that, by seeing Joseph's beauty, people might excuse her for loving him. So 'A'isha apparently gave the excuse of her father's tender-heartedness but in mind she had that the people would not love any person who should act as an *Imam* (one who leads prayers) in the place of the Prophet and consequently she thought this leadership a bad omen. For this reason the Prophet praised her cleverness. Secondly, it means that the women at the time of Joseph wanted to persuade Joseph to yield to the wishes of Zuleykha. Similarly, "You want to dissuade me from my intention for your father's sake. This will not take place. Just as Joseph could not be persuaded so I will not give up my determination and I have given orders for the leadership to the person in whom there is benefit for the followers."

(2) Barira bint Safwân was an emancipated slave-girl of 'A'isha. *Taqrîb-at-Tahdhîb*, p. 470.

(3) The name of this man is Nuba. He was a slave. We find in some of the books that there were two men and not a woman and a man. *Al-Munawî*, vol. II, p. 267.

recited the verse of the Qur'ân,¹ "Lo ! thou wilt die, and lo ! they will die." Then all said, "O friend of the Prophet, is the Prophet dead ?" He replied, "Yes." Then all knew that Abû Bakr had said the truth, and all said, "O friend of the Prophet, wilt thou say the funeral-prayers on the Prophet ?" Abû Bakr said, "Yes." Then the people said, "How ?" He replied, "Let one group of people come and let them say, 'Allâhu Akbar' (God is Great) and pray for him and bless him and let them then come out, then let another group come and do similarly till all the people have done likewise." Then the people said : "O friend of the Prophet, will the Prophet be buried ?" He replied, "Yes." The people asked, "Where ?" He answered, "At the place where God has taken his soul. Verily God has taken his soul in a sanctified place," and all knew that Abû Bakr had said the truth. Then Abû Bakr ordered that the descendants of the Prophet's paternal grandfather should bathe² the Prophet. The Muhâjirîn³ gathered to consult among themselves. They said, "Let us go to our brethren, the Ansâr,⁴ so that we may allow them access to our consultations, (concerning the appointment of a Successor)." The Ansâr replied, "Let us choose a chief from among ourselves and do you also choose a chief from among yourselves." Then 'Umar ibn ul-Khattâb said, "Who is that person who possesses these three qualities : 'The second⁵ of the two,' 'When they two were in the cave, when he said unto his comrade : 'Grieve not. Lo ! Allâh is with us.' 'Who were these two persons ?'"⁶ Then 'Umar stretched out his hand

(1) Sûrah 39, verse 30. Pickthall, p. 475.

(2) 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib bathed the Prophet. 'Abbâs, Fazl bin 'Abbâs, Qusam bin 'Abbâs, Usâma bin Zeyd and Shuqrân, the emancipated slave of the Prophet, helped 'Alî. *Al-Munawwî*, vol. II, p. 273.

(3) Muhâjirîn is the plural of muhâjir—one who abandons his country. A term used for all those Muslims who left Mecca with the Prophet and came to Madinah. Under the title are also included all who from time to time joined the Prophet at Madinah, either from Mecca or from any other quarter, up to the conquest of Mecca in A.H. 8—A.D. 629. They rank first in order amongst the early Muslims.

(4) Ansâr is the plural of nâsir, a helper. A term used for the early converts of Madinah to Islam. But, when all the citizens of Madinah accepted Islam, they were all named Ansâr.

(5) Chapter 9, verse 40 of the Qur'ân. Pickthall's Translation, p. 196.

(6) This verse of the Qur'ân refers to Abû Bakr when the Prophet and Abû Bakr were in the cave. The three qualities are (a) God has mentioned him with the Prophet and called him the second of the two, (b) the association of God with Abû Bakr through His association with the Prophet, (c) God has mentioned Abû Bakr as the friend of the Prophet.

and did homage to Abû Bakr and the people also did homage to him willingly and cheerfully.

Anas bin Mâlik says that when the Prophet experienced the pains of death Fâtimah¹ said, "The pity of this pain!" Then the Prophet said, "There is no pain for your father after this day, verily that thing (death) has appeared to your father. God will not exempt any person from it till the Day of Judgment." Ibn 'Abbâs says that he heard from the Prophet who said that the person for whom there were two *farat*² among the followers, God would admit him into Paradise for the sake of these two. Then 'A'isha said to the Prophet, "if there is only one *farat* among your followers." Then the Prophet replied, addressing her, "O Muwafaqah (i.e., O thou favoured with goodness by the grace of God), yes, that person too who has got only one *farat*." 'A'isha asked if there was not a *farat* for a person among your followers, (what about him). He replied, "I am the *farat* for my follower: never was a calamity sent³ (to them) like my death."

On the Heritage of the Prophet

'Amr bin Hârith⁴ says that the Prophet did not leave anything behind him but his weapons, his mule and a piece of land called 'Fadak' which was given over to public charity. Abû Hureyrah says that Fâtimah came to Abû Bakr and said, "Who will inherit your things?" Abû Bakr replied, "My wife and my children." She said, "Why should I not inherit my father's property?" Abû Bakr said, "I have heard the Prophet say, 'We prophets do not leave⁵ inheritance,' but I will support

(1) Fâtimah died in A.H. 11, A.D. 632 *Al-Isti'ab*, vol. II, p. 773.

(2) One sent before a caravan to prepare the buckets and other conveniences for drawing water for the camels immediately at the arrival at the end of the stage. Here it means a child who dies before its parents and who prepares for his parents in Paradise.

(3) A follower feels sorrow for the death of his child but my death will cause much greater sorrow amongst them.

(4) 'Amr bin Hârith was the brother of Juweyriya (the wife of the Prophet). He was a Companion of the Prophet. See Tirmizi. *Ash-Shama'il*, p. 219.

(5) There are strong reasons why the prophets did not leave any heritage. The first is that their heirs might wish their death; if they did so it would be a great sin for them and they might be punished. The second is that people might think that prophets wanted worldly wealth—all their things belong to God; if they had been of the world they would have been divided. Whatever Abû Bakr had heard from the Prophet he told Fâtimah and she went away.

those persons whom the Prophet supported and I will spend for those on whom the Prophet spent." Abû'l-Bakhtarî¹ says that 'Abbâs² and 'Alî came disputing to 'Umar during his caliphate. Each of them said to the other "You are such and such." Then 'Umar said to Talha,³ Zubair,⁴ 'Abdu'r-Rahmân bin 'Aûf⁵ and Sa'd,⁶ "I put you under the oath of God, whether you have not heard the Prophet say that the things belonging to the Prophet are for public charity except what God fed him with. Verily we do not leave patrimony." In this Tradition there is a long story.⁷ 'A'isha says that the

(1) Abû'l-Bakhtarî His full name is Sa'd bin Firûz. He died A. H. 183—A.D. 799. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 118.

(2) 'Abbâs bin 'Abdul Muttalib died A.H. 32—A.D. 652. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 190.

(3) Talha died A.H. 36—A.D. 656. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 182.

(4) Zubeyr died A.H. 36—A.D. 656. *Taqrib*, p. 127.

(5) 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Aûf died A.H. 32—A.D. 652. *Taqrib*, p. 235.

(6) Sa'd died A.H. 55—A.D. 674. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 142.

(7) The story runs as follows according to Al-Bukhârî —

Malik bin Anâs says 'Umar bin al-Khattâb called me into his presence one day and, while we were sitting, his servant, Tarfa, came and said, 'Usmân bin 'Affân, 'Abdur Rahmân bin 'Aûf, Zubair bin al-Awwâm and Sa'd bin Abî Waqqas have come to see you.' 'Umar permitted them to come in. The servant again appeared, saying, 'Abbâs and 'Alî have also come to seek an interview with you.' They were also permitted to come in. When 'Abbâs and 'Alî came, they were disputing with regard to the lands of Banî Nazîr and Fadak and Kheybar which were personal and special properties of the Prophet. They wanted 'Umar to decide the case between them. 'Umar said, 'The Prophet has declared that none will be his heir; as whatever he will leave behind will be meant for alms.' The Companions who were then present endorsed the remarks of 'Umar. The latter further said to 'Abbâs and 'Alî, 'You have come after two years when I had entrusted the said properties to you on the condition that you will manage them according to the manner of the Prophet and the Khalîfah Abû Bakr, to which you had agreed. But now you two are disputing among yourselves and I find that it will be impossible for you to manage this affair. So it will be better for you to leave it in my hands as it was before.'

Further Bukhârî says, on the authority of 'Urwah, that the lands were in the hands of 'Alî and continued to remain under the management of Hasan bin 'Alî and then under Husain bin 'Alî and then under 'Alî bin Huseyn and other descendants of 'Alî. It is also narrated that, during the time of the Umayyads, Marwân bin al-Hakam had converted these lands into his personal properties and they remained so till the time of 'Umar bin 'Abdu'l 'Azîz, who, on his own initiative, restored the lands to their former uses as was the practice during the times of Abû Bakr and 'Umar. See Persian Translation of *Mishkat*, vol. III., pp. 370-373 and *Mazahir-i-Haqq*, vol. III., pp. 416-419. Also see *Fathu'l-Baria*, vol. VI., pp. 139-146

Prophet said, "We do not leave patrimony and what things we leave behind are for charitable purposes."

Abû Hureyrah narrates that the Prophet said, "My heirs should not divide *dinars* and *dirhams* (gold and silver coins). Whatever I leave behind, after giving the maintenance to my wives and wages to the workers,¹ is for charitable purposes." Mâlik bin Aus² says that he went to 'Umar. Then came 'Abdur Rahmân ibn 'Aûf, Talha. Sa'd, 'Alî and 'Abbâs disputing. Then 'Umar said to them, "I commend you to the oath of that Lord by whose order the Earth and Heaven stand, whether you know that the Prophet had said, 'We do not leave patrimony. Whatever we leave behind is for charitable purposes only.'" Then all said, "Yes." 'A'isha says that the Prophet did not leave behind *dinar* nor *dirham* nor goat nor camel. The narrator is doubtful about slaves and slave-girls (i.e., he is doubtful whether 'A'isha mentioned slaves and slave-girls or not).

On Seeing the Prophet in a Dream

'Abdullâh (bin Mas'ûd) says that the Prophet had said, "Whoever sees me in a dream truly sees me because Satan cannot assume my shape." 'Asim bin Kulaib³ narrates on the authority of his father,⁴ who heard it from Abû Hureyrah, that the Prophet had said, "Whoever sees me in a dream, really sees me because Satan cannot assume my shape." 'Asim's father said that he told this Tradition to Ibn 'Abbâs that he saw the Prophet in a

There is a very serious difference of opinion between the Sunnis and Shî'as with regard to the lands of Fadak and Kheybar and their proprietorship since the very earliest time. The Shî'as consider that these were the personal property of the Prophet and as such should have been inherited by the Prophet's daughter, Fâtimah, and her descendants. They put forward in their arguments that as the Prophet David's estates and property were inherited by Solomon and his descendants after his death, so also the Prophet Muhammad's personal property could not be regarded as belonging to public charity, rather should have been inherited by his descendants.

(1) 'Amil means worker; here it means the Caliph who is engaged in Islamic works on behalf of the Prophet. Some say it meant the collector of Zakât (compulsory alms).

(2) Mâlik bin Aus died A.H. 72—A.D. 691. *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 218.

(3) 'Asim bin Kuleyb died A.H. 136—A.D. 754. *Al-Munawi*, vol. II, p. 294.

(4) The name of the father is Kuleyb bin Shihâb. He was a reliable Traditionist and died before A. H. 100—A.D. 718. *Taqrib at-Tahdhib*, p. 310.

dream. Then he mentioned Al-Hasan bin 'Alî and said that he found the Prophet resembling Hasan. Ibn 'Abbâs said that certainly Hasan resembled the Prophet. Yazîd al-Fârisî,¹ who used to copy the Qur'ân, said that he saw the Prophet in a dream while Ibn 'Abbâs was living. He told Ibn 'Abbâs that he had seen the Prophet in a dream. Ibn 'Abbâs said that the Prophet had said that Satan had no power to assume his (the Prophet's) shape and whoever saw him in a dream really saw him. Ibn 'Abbâs asked : "Can you give me a description of the person whom you saw in dream ?" He replied, "Yes : I saw a man between two men² in body and flesh. He was of brown colour but inclined to whiteness ; his eyes were set off with collyrium as though by nature ; his smile was lovely : he was beautiful and of round face ; his beard filled the place from ear to ear, and verily overspread his chest." 'Aûf³ says that he did not remember other qualities of the Prophet besides these (which his teacher described). Ibn 'Abbâs said, "If you had seen the Prophet in your wakefulness you could not have said about him more than this." Anas narrates on the authority of the Prophet that whoever saw him in a dream really saw him, because Satan could not assume his shape. The Prophet said that the dream of a true believer is the forty-sixth part of prophecy.⁴ 'Abdullâh bin Mubârak says, "If you are appointed a judge (to decide cases) then strictly follow the Traditions." Ibn Sîrîn says, "Tradition is religion, hence examine the person from whom you take religion."

(1) Yazîd al-Fârisî lived till A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Al-Munawwî*, vol.II. p. 296.

(2) Two men, i.e., a tall man and a small man or a fat man and a lean man. He was between these two kinds of men, i.e., he was neither very tall nor very short ; neither very fat nor very lean.

(3) The name of 'Aûf bin Abî Jamîla comes in the chain of the narrators of this Tradition. He died A.H. 146—A.D. 763, or A.H. 147—A.D. 764. *Taqrib at-Tahdhîb*, p. 292.

(4) For an explanation of this Tradition see Ibn Khaldûn *Al-Muqaddamah*, pp. 77-101, (Egypt edition).

HIDAYET HOSAIN.

(Concluded)

NIZAMU'L-MULK ASAF JAH I

FOUNDER OF HYDERABAD STATE

First Viceroyalty of the Deccan

QUTBU'L-MULK used to say that he considered Nizâmu'l-Mulk as his elder brother. Through the latter's influence he wanted to win the Tûrânîs to his side. It was on his advice that Farrukhsiyâr appointed Nizâmu'l-Mulk to the viceroyalty of the Deccan and the faujdârî of the Carnatic. His presence in the capital was dangerous for the consolidation of the Syed brothers' (Qutbu'l-Mulk and Amîru'l-Umarâ's) influence. Moreover, the confusion and disorder in the Deccan required the presence of some superior man who would not allow the Mahrâtts to encroach too much on the Imperial territory. Qutbu'l-Mulk proposed the name of Nizâmu'l-Mulk and obtained sanction from the Emperor who bestowed on him, before his taking leave for the Deccan, a robe of honour, a head ornament (sarpech), an Arab steed with gold-embroidered trappings, a sword and a dagger. Qutbu'l-Mulk, himself, came to Nizâmu'l-Mulk's house with presents of rolls of cloth, two diamonds, a sword, a jewelled poniard, two steeds and an elephant. Nizâmu'l-Mulk returned the visit and offered a present of two diamonds, an Arab steed with gold-trappings, a sword and a jewelled poniard. Nizâmu'l-Mulk left Delhi in May, 1713. When he arrived in the vicinity of Sironj, he received a present of fruit from the Emperor. The kahârs and mace-bearers who brought him this present were duly rewarded. In the neighbourhood of Ūjjeyn he went out hunting and from thence he proceeded in the direction of Burhanpur where he arrived at the end of June, 1713.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk was faced with chaos in the Deccan. Already under Zulfiqâr Khân, who was Subedâr of the six provinces, Sâhû son of Sambhâjî had obtained an Imperial

firmân conferring on him the right of chauth¹ and sardes-mukhî² of the whole of the Deccan. Mun'im Khân, the Chief Minister of Bahâdur Shâh, favoured the cause of Târâ Bâi and petitioned to the Emperor to obtain a firmân for her son, instead of Sâhû, whom he considered to be dangerous for the Empire. The Emperor issued a firmân for Târâ Bâi's son, entitling him to collect sardes-mukhî and chauth in the Deccan. Thus, the Imperial Government, conscious of its own weakness, hoped to come to some understanding with the Mahrâtât, on condition of their acknowledging the suzerainty of the Imperial Government.

After the death of Mun'im Khân, Zulfiqâr Khân had been supreme in the affairs of the State, and had directed Dâ'ûd Khân Pannî, his deputy in the Deccan, to come to terms with Sâhû on his behalf, allowing him one-fourth of the revenue but reserving its collection and payment to his own agents. Sâhû's recognition by Zulfiqâr Khân and the Imperial Government helped him to establish his own ascendancy over the Mahrâtât Chiefs. Nemâji Sindhiâ, who had taken part in the battle against Kâm Bakhsh, was raised, through Zulfiqâr Khân's influence, to the rank of 7,000 personal, 5,000 horse, and was appointed to collect the revenues of the province of Aurangâbâd. Thus he got an opportunity to extend his authority and influence as far as Mâlwa and Central India.

No sooner did Nizâmu'l-Mulk arrive at Aurangâbâd than he started reorganizing the administrative machinery of the six provinces. The Mahrâtât had appointed their kamâishdârs (revenue-collectors) to collect the chauth and to exact tolls from merchants and travellers who desired security from plunder, and upon every cart and bullock passing through the territory. These kamâishdârs could get military support from the Mahrâtât subedârs who had established a sort of parallel government in the Deccan, dividing the Mughal territory among themselves. If there happened to be any difficulty in obtaining their blackmail, they openly defied the Imperial authority. The first thing that Nizâmu'l-Mulk did was to consolidate his position in Aurangâbâd and to suppress the authority of the local Mahrâtât collectors.

(1) One-fourth of the whole revenue of the State exacted by freebooters.

(2) Ten per cent., over and above the blackmail of 'chauth.'

Nizâmu'l-Mulk took advantage of the dissensions prevailing between the Kolhâpur party, which owed allegiance to Târâ Bâi, and that of Sâhû. Several Mahrâtta Chiefs had declared the latter to be a pretender and refused to recognise him as Sambhâji's legitimate son. After the death of Dhanâji Jâdav, whose adherence to the cause of Sâhû had much strengthened the latter's position, his son Chandrasen Jâdav was made Senâpatî (Commander-in-Chief) of Sâhû's forces. Being jealous of the esteem and confidence gained by Bâlâji Vishvanâth, originally a petty official under his father, Chandrasen Jâdav considered him an obstacle in the way of his ambition. Sâhû directed him to proceed at the head of a huge army towards Malegâon in order to raise chauth and sardesmukhî. After his departure Sâhû dispatched Bâlâji Vishvanâth to supervise the collection of revenue of that part of the country and to watch the movements of Chandrasen Jâdav who was suspected of intriguing with Târâ Bâi. The latter did not relish this. He found a pretext for quarrelling with Bâlâji on account of a dispute that arose between one of the officers of Bâlâji and a Brahmin clerk of Chandrasen Jâdav. As Bâlâji refused to surrender the officer to the Senâpatî, the latter ordered his troops to attack Bâlâji's contingent. Bâlâji took to flight and found refuge at the court of Sâhû. The Senâpatî was forthwith ordered to present himself at the court. When this message reached Chandrasen Jâdav, he sent back word that unless Bâlâji was handed over to him he was not prepared to offer his allegiance to Sâhû any longer. On receiving intelligence of the Senâpatî's designs, Sâhû directed Haibat Râo Nimbalkar to march against him. He defeated Jâdav's troops at Adarkî and compelled him to retire to Panhala. Here he openly espoused the cause of Târâ Bâi's son and opened negotiations with Nizâmu'l-Mulk.

To undermine the growing influence of the party of Kolhâpur, Bâlâji manipulated to create division in the camp of Târâ Bâi. He succeeded in winning over Râjasbâi, the younger widow of Râjâ Râm, to his side. He offered her Sâhû's support if she cared to bring forward the claim of Sambhâji, her son, in opposition to Sivâji, the son of Târâ Bâi. Râjasbâi, with the help of Bâlâji, imprisoned Târâ Bâi and her son Sivâji. This was a very critical position for Chandrasen Jâdav, who was afraid of being surrendered to Sâhû. He sent his Lieutenant Appa Râo to Nizâmu'l-Mulk, offering him his services. Nizâmu'l-Mulk promised to protect him and bestowed on him a large

fief with a revenue of twenty-five lakhs a year for the upkeep of his troops. He was expected to keep fifteen thousand well-equipped men, ready for action at any moment. Chandrasen Jâdav joined Nizâmu'l-Mulk's party along with Râo Rambha Nimbalkar. He was raised to the rank of 6,000 personal, 6,000 horse, with the right of Standard and Kettledrum. His fief was scattered over parts of Bhalki, Bahmanâbâd, Ilandû and Chandargarh. He was treated like other nobles and his advice was sought on all important matters concerning the Mahrâtât (*Mahnama*).

Then Nizâmu'l-Mulk started his work of reform in the devastated regions of the Deccan, in order to secure peace and plenty to the peasantry whose lands were lying waste on account of the Mahrâtât inroads. He assured them that they would not be deprived of the fruits of their labour. He stationed troops at vantage-points to keep off the armed bands of Mahrâtât freebooters. Then he had to deal courageously yet skilfully with Bâlâjî, who had, after the withdrawal of Chandrasen Jâdav, risen in the favour of Sâhû. When he came to know of the intentions of Nizâmu'l-Mulk, he levied a fresh force in order to remove all the obstacles in the way of Mahrâtât unity. He had compelled different Mahrâtât chiefs to acknowledge allegiance to Sâhû, who, in recognition of this, honoured him with the title of 'Sena Kurt' (Creator of armies). He succeeded in winning over almost all Mahrâtât musketmasters to his side. Haibat Râo Nimbalkar, Mahrâtât Governor of the province of Godavari, co-operated with him whole-heartedly in establishing the supremacy of Râja Sâhû.

Meanwhile, Nizâmu'l-Mulk had sent a force in the direction of the Godavari, to compel Sâhû's officers, who were ravaging the countryside, to withdraw. An encounter took place in which the Mahrâtât were forced to retire to the bank of the Bhîma river. On hearing the news of this defeat Sâhû directed Bâlâjî to proceed against Nizâmu'l-Mulk. He marched at the head of a huge army in order to re-establish the Mahrâtât authority in the regions whence it had been ousted. A battle was fought in the vicinity of Purandhar in which Bâlâjî suffered a severe defeat. He had to retire and seek refuge in the Ghâts. A Mughal contingent under the command of Râo Rambha Nimbalkar occupied the evacuated territory in the neighbourhood of the Pûna District. This territory was given

in Jâgir to Chandrasen Jâdav, in recognition of his services. After the termination of hostilities a treaty was signed between Nizâmu'l-Mulk and Bâlâji, the exact terms of which are not known. The Mughal forces were directed to evacuate the occupied territory and return to Aurangâbâd.

For some time after this Bâlâji was engaged in wars with different Mahrâtta chiefs and with the Siddîs on the western coast : he could not concentrate attention and resources on the Deccan. But other Mahrâtta chieftains, at his instigation, continued to raid Mughal territory. There was a caravan coming from Sûrat to Aurangâbâd, with which Muhammad Ibrâhîm Khân Tabrizî, paymaster and news-reporter of Baglânâ, was travelling. This caravan was looted and Ibrâhîm Khân Tabrizî, among many others, was killed in the fight with the marauders. (*Khâfi Khan*, vol. 2, p. 743).

In 1714, a rebellion was organized in Maharâshtrâ to overthrow the government of Nizâmu'l-Mulk. Secret Mahrâtta agents had spread a network of conspiracy to paralyse the Mughal administration and establish a parallel government. In one of the subdivisions of Gulshanâbâd (Mêdak) some fifty miles from Aurangâbâd, a *deshmukh* named Anbûjî joined in the conspiracy. He, being an influential man there, managed to gather round him nearly ten thousand men in a small and out-of-the-way fortress which had been constructed in the time of Dâ'ûd Khân Pannî. On receiving intelligence of this insurrection, Anwar Khân, the district officer who resided at Phulmarî, a town sixteen miles north-east of Aurangâbâd, advanced with an armed force to restore peace and order. A Mahrâtta revenue-collector, Kâlû, who pretended he had lost his job, came to Anwar Khân, when he was making preparations to start his march, and sought employment in the Imperial Service. He agreed to accompany Anwar Khân as a guide, knowing as he did the topography of that part of the country. On the way Anwar Khân found out that he was an agent of the Mahrâtts and had been sent on purpose to mislead him. He ordered his men to arrest him. This happened not very far from the place where the insurgents had gathered to offer resistance to Nizâmu'l-Mulk's forces. When they received information of this, they attacked Anwar Khân and captured him and all his men. At news of this, Nizâmu'l-Mulk dispatched Ibrâhîm Khân Pannî, younger brother of Dâ'ûd Khân Pannî, with

a small army to chastise the malcontents. On account of heavy rain for several days continuously, the arrows, bows and matchlocks of Ibrâhîm Khân's soldiery were out of order. The Mahrâtât, too, outnumbered them. They pressed hard on Ibrâhîm Khân's army in the engagement that took place, and compelled him to retreat. Ibrâhîm Khân at once sent word to Nizâmu'l-Mulk to send reinforcements. On receiving the message Nizâmu'l-Mulk ordered his own bodyguard to be dispatched under the command of his elder son, Ghâziu'd-dîn Khân, who was barely eight years old. Muhammad Ghiyâs Khân and Mirzâ Khân Bakhshî, both experienced leaders, were appointed as his guardians.

When the Mahrâtât received information of the arrival of Ghâziu'd-dîn Khân's force, they were afraid and took to flight, taking refuge in the hilly jungle where they hid themselves. They left all their equipment, horses and artillery on the field of battle, and made no further attempt at resistance. The fame and prestige of Nizâmu'l-Mulk's generals took away all courage from the heart of the enemy. Muhammad Ghiyâs Khân directed some of his officers to pursue the Mahrâtât fugitives and dispatch them to the other world. Then he ordered the small fortress (garhî) to be demolished completely. He also destroyed several other Mahrâtât strongholds in the neighbourhood, where rebels from the Imperial territory used to take shelter.

Muhammad Ghiyâs Khân's men had chased the Mahrâtât for 150 miles, driving them to the caverns of the hills. They were proud of having captured two war elephants. When they returned to Aurangâbâd, Nizâmu'l-Mulk was delighted to hear that the country was resettled, the people reassured and the enemy coerced.

As he had lately recovered from a severe illness, he took the opportunity to celebrate this victory in a grand manner. For nine days continuously, the capital witnessed gorgeous festivities and celebrations. Those who had taken an active part in the campaign against the Mahrâtât were given increase of rank and robes of honour in recognition of their services. Nizâmu'l-Mulk sent the captured elephants to the Emperor, and Mirzâ Beg Khân was directed to carry the message of victory to Delhi (*Khafi Khan*, vol. 2, p. 747)

Dâ'ûd Khân Pannî used to share in the annoying taxes and exactions that the Mahrâtât chiefs imposed on the

helpless peasantry and merchants. Nizâmu'l-Mulk appointed Khêm Kiran, in place of Muhammad A'zam, as Dîwân of the six provinces of the Deccan, and directed him to hold a thorough investigation into the people's grievances; in the course of which he was informed that Dâ'ûd Khân Pannî and his subordinates used to appropriate for themselves twenty lakhs of rupees annually from the revenue, in accordance with their secret arrangement with the agents of Râjâ Sâhû. Informed of this, Nizâmu'l-Mulk ordered Khêm Kiran and Muhammad Ghiyâs Khân, Dârôgha of Artillery, to proceed to Shâhgarh and Amber where revenue administration was in a hopeless condition, and reorganize the very basis of revenue collection. Thus Nizâmu'l-Mulk flung himself into the task of setting in order the finances of the Deccan with an energy which nothing could subdue. He did not increase the burden of taxation on the peasantry; in fact he very greatly reduced it by his rigid supervision and by relentless punishment of those servants of the State who made dishonest gains by their exactions. He was determined to see to it that the peasantry were left unmolested by petty officials and the collection of revenue was organized in such a manner as to stimulate the production of wealth.

During the second year of his viceroyalty, Nizâmu'l-Mulk undertook several expeditions to effect his administrative reforms in different parts of the Deccan, and to restore order. The local land-holders practised all manner of evasions and created disturbances whenever they could. To stop this Nizâmu'l-Mulk set out with an armed force of six thousand horse and five thousand infantry in the direction of Munkipatan. On his way he halted at ten places, cleared the country of malcontents, and made suitable arrangements for the realisation of revenue. From Munkipatan, Nizâmu'l-Mulk marched towards Shâhgarh, where three Persians carrying rolls of cloth from Hyderâbâd had been robbed by the Mahrâtta freebooters. (*Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, p. 69).

Next year he dispatched an expedition under the command of Ibrâhîm Khân Pannî against the unruly and turbulent Mahrâtta population in the neighbourhood of Jâlna. A little later Nizâmu'l-Mulk himself set out in that direction. Two days after he had started on his march, intelligence arrived that Haider Qulî Khân had been sent by the Emperor and was due to arrive at the capital (Aurangâbâd) after a few days, to take charge

of the Dîwânî of the whole of the Deccan. It is said that the Sayyid brothers had no hand in this arrangement, which was intended to cripple the power of Nizâmu'l-Mulk. According to the general rumour it was Mîr Jumla, himself an aspirant for the viceroyalty of the Deccan, who intrigued against Nizâmu'l-Mulk at court and brought about this arrangement. (*Khafi Khan*, vol. 2, p. 740).

Nizâmu'l-Mulk felt insulted, but did not postpone his march towards Jâlna. He gave orders to Jân Fishâr Khân, his chamberlain, not to give any official reception to Haider Qulî Khân until his return from the expedition. As the latter had obtained his appointment without his approval, he must be made to feel this. Moreover, Haider Qulî Khân was a creature of Mîr Jumla who tried his best to undermine the influence of Nizâmu'l-Mulk. Mîr Jumla was an intriguer. He had managed so that the Emperor treated him with the utmost confidence. He had given him the right to sign his name and used to say: 'The words of Mîr Jumla and the signature of Mîr Jumla are my words and my signature.' Haider Qulî Khân being his chief favourite, he procured for him the Dîwânî of the Deccan in order that he might prepare the ground for him there. He had an Imperial firmân issued, appointing Haider Qulî Khân to supersede Diyânat Khân, son of Amânat Khân, in the Dîwânî of the six subas, with complete authority of appointments and dismissals in his department. Nizâmu'l-Mulk could not be expected to relish this.

After a short time it was brought to the notice of Nizâmu'l-Mulk that Haider Qulî Khân was showing extreme severity in his treatment of the revenue and custom officials. He summoned him to present himself in court, in order to explain his conduct. Haider Qulî Khân, pretending not to have received the summons, left Aurangâbâd for a tour in the districts. Nizâmu'l-Mulk, unafraid of Mîr Jumla and his resources at the Imperial court, sent a message to Haider Qulî Khân, through Muhammad Ghiyâs Khân and Sa'du'd-dîn Khân, telling him to behave properly in future with his subordinates, otherwise he would have to bear the consequences of his acts. (*Hadiqat-ul-'Alam*, p. 71).

In the year 1714, the circumcision ceremony of Mîr Muhammad Fîrûz Jang and Mîr Ahmed Nâsir Jang was performed at Aurangâbâd, with great pomp and festivities.

The chief nobles of the Deccan presented themselves to offer gifts on this auspicious occasion. Mubâriz Khân, Subedâr of Hyderâbâd, who excused himself for not being able to come, sent presents of brocades, china and glass-vessels to Nizâmu'l-Mulk. The landlord of Deogarh sent a herd of deer which were different, in that they were whiter, from ordinary deer. The Faujdâr of Patan sent a huge river-fish, weighing one maund and twenty seers.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk was recalled to the court in the month of May, 1715, in view of the appointment of Huseyn 'Alî Khân as new Viceroy of the Deccan. He immediately left Aurangâbâd for Burhânpur where he was apprised of the presence of two Mahrâtta chiefs who were exacting chauth from the people in the neighbourhood. Nizâmu'l-Mulk marched against them. He chased them into a thick forest which was set on fire by the Mahrâtts. Nizâmu'l-Mulk very skilfully extricated his army and continued to pursue the enemy for eighty miles. Then he returned to Burhânpur whence he resumed his journey to the North. On his way he passed within three or four miles of Huseyn 'Alî Khân's route, but did not halt to see the new Viceroy. It might be out of consideration for the feelings of the Emperor, who was displeased with Huseyn 'Alî Khân, that Nizâmu'l-Mulk did not meet him, or it might be owing to his personal grievance. There is no doubt about the fact that Huseyn 'Alî Khân had deprived him of his rightful position when he was busy introducing his reforms in the administration and collection of the revenues.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk reached Delhi on 13 June, 1715. I'timâdu'd-Daulah (Muhammad Amin Khân) came out from Delhi to receive him and to escort him to the Imperial presence. The Emperor bestowed on him a dress of honour and a jewelled head-ornament (*sarpêch*). On the day after his arrival, Nizâmu'l-Mulk deposited eleven lakhs of rupees in the Imperial treasury, which sum he had realised as tribute from the land-holders of the Deccan.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk was against the defeatist policy of abdication of the Deccan to the Mahrâtts, adopted by Zulfiqâr Khân. During his short stay in the Deccan, he succeeded in abrogating the impossible and harmful arrangement made between Zulfiqâr Khân and Râjâ Sâhû. Its maintenance was not only disgraceful to the Imperial authority, but it also tended to the oppression and impoverishment of the people and the virtual paralysis of

Government. Nizâmu'l-Mulk showed bold initiative in the stupendous task of restoring all the Mughal conquests in the Deccan, and re-establishing the Imperial authority, although the Emperor himself was evidently not enthusiastic for the same, being afraid lest the attempt might plunge him in a sea of troubles.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk showed masterly grasp of the situation and an intimate acquaintance with the problems of the Deccan. During his short stay there, he succeeded in effectively checking the encroachments of the Mahrâtâtâs. By strict economy and care in the management of the finances, as well as by reorganizing the revenue system, which had become corrupt and iniquitous, he restored the prosperity of the country. He abolished the payment of the large sums which Zulfiqâr Khân had engaged himself to pay, by way of blackmail, to the Mahrâtâtâ court. His untimely recall gave the latter an opportunity to re-assert its claims and strengthen its hold on the Deccan.

YUSUF HUSAIN.

(To be continued)

**CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-
ENGLISH VOCABULARY**

(*Mostly from Newspapers of recent date.*)

آب

آب معدنی (ab-e ma'danî) : "Mineral water," (Medicinal)
(محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 3).

قرص میزال - مواد عامله کارلسبا دبرائے ساختن آب معدنی کارلسبا د -

Mineral tabloids—active agents for preparing the Carlsbad mineral waters.

ابتدا (for ابتداء ibtidâ'an) : "First of all, at the beginning."
(محشر 1924, No. 55, pt, sub-col. 4).

اگر ما مشروطه داشتیم میگفتیم بایستی اولیاء امور ابتداء ملت ورعایارا
از فقر و مسکنت نجات بدهند -

If we had a constitution, we should say the authorities should first of all rescue the country and people from poverty and want.

ابتکار (ibtikâr) : a "device or thought not previously conceived."
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 2).

باید مقدمه بدانم که اینجا دشعبه ادبی در متوسطه از ابتکارات مانمی باشد

We must know first that the devising of the Arts branch in Intermediate Schools is not an original thought of ours.

ابتیاعی (ibtiyâ'î) : "Purchasable."
(ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 2.).

آلات و اشیای ابتیاعی از شمال و جنوب در تحت توقیف دودوات همجوار
مانده ایرانی مایوس میگردد -

Implements, tools, etc., purchasable from North and South, would have remained subject to the detaining hand of the two neighbouring governments (England and Russia), and the Persian would have been utterly frustrated.

ابدیا (abadîyan): "Eternally." (تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 2).

که سهل است اگر کمپانی تقاضا می کرد که نفت شمال را دوات ایران ابدیا بکمی ندهد دولت آسمانی فوراً قبول می نمود.

Nay, it is evident that if the company had demanded that Persia should not to all eternity grant the petrol in the North to any one, the heavenly State would have acquiesced immediately.

[The "heavenly State": i.e., Persia under Nâsiru'd-Din Shah, when high-flown compliments were in vogue].

ابراز

ابراز نمودن (ibrâz namûdan; with در): "To display," (e.g., zeal) (in). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

دولت ایران * * * باید جدیت کامل در تهیه موجبات شروع مذاکرات ابراز نماید.

Persia should display the utmost zeal in preparing the means of initiating conferences.

ابلاغ (iblâgh): an "intimation, communication." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 2, col. 2).

انتصاب

بما بران ابلاغ آقای وزیر مالیه آقایان ذیل هر یک بسمت معین منصوب * *
گردید.

Appointments.

In accordance with an intimation from the Financial Minister the following have been appointed, each, to a particular office (in the Ministry).

ایران جوان) (âb-u tab): "Splendour, brilliance." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1). "Most splendid, or splendidly."

آب و خاک (âb-u khâk): "Human beings, humanity." (آب و گل 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 4). Cf.

امید است جریده تمدن * * خدمات مهمه با این آب و خاک بکند و آقای
تمدن الملك تصدیق فرمایند که شرح فوق بر ای انتقاد نه نیست بلکه بر اے
آگاه است.

We hope the "Tamaddun" (newspaper) will do important service to humanity (in our country), and that the editor, Tamaddunu'l-Mulk will assure us that the above has been offered rather for our edification than for our selection (as agreeable to civilization).

آتشه "Attachè." (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 1. col. 4).

افتخاری

اتباع (atbâ; pl. of تبع taba'): "Subjects" (of a State). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1. col. 4).

سردار سپه در نتیجه حسن سیاست خارجی با جمهوری ترکیه توانستند از ضیقانی
که تا قبل از زمان مداری ایشان نسبت با اتباع ایرانی بعمل می آمد جلوگیری کنند.

The General Commanding-in-Chief as a result of his good foreign policy with the Turkish Republic has been able to obviate the hardships that before his government were inflicted on Persian subjects.

اتحادیه A "trades union." (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 4. col. 1).

اتحادیه کارگران سمان بخری آلمان اعتصاب عمومی را اعلان نمودند

The trades union of the naval construction workers in Germany have proclaimed a general strike.

اتفاق

اتفاق ملل (ittifâq-e milal): "The League of Nations." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, sub-col. 5).

سنانور همران پیشهاد نمود که یک کمیسیون تقنینی دائمی در آلمان برقرار گردد تا
مرتبا راپورت وضعیت نظامی آلمان و تجهیزات آن را به مجمع اتفاق ملل تقدیم دارد

Senator X. proposed that a perpetual commission of enquiry should be established in Germany to report regularly to the assembly of the League of Nations on the military position and preparations of that country.

اتکا داشتی (ittikâ dâshtan; with به): "To rely" (upon), (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3. col. 2).

رحمت کشان اتحاد شیوروی که بمساعت عناصر تر قیخواه دنیا اتکا دارند دوماقبل
جمله که از طرف مرتجعین انگلیس شروع شده است با وحدت روح مقاومت
خواهند نمود.

The responsible heads of the Soviet Union, who rely upon the help of the progressive elements of the world, will oppose the attack of the English reactionaries with one spirit.

طوفان (French "étiquette"): a "ticket, label." (1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 3).

و بعلاوه طول و عرض قالی و قالیچه و گلم بایستی در روئے اتکت هر تپعه فرش
قید شود.

And in addition, the length and breadth of the carpets and rugs must be entered on the label affixed to each carpet or rug.

اتوموبیل (sometimes spelled اتوموبیل): a "motor-car." (1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).

طوفان ("The future." "coming" آتی): (âtiya, from آتی) (1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 2).

خطر جنگ در آتیہ رد یک بموجب اطلاع * * کہ در ضمن اخبار حارحہ مطالعہ
میشود بعید و دور بطری آید.

From information gathered in the "foreign news" the danger of war in the near future seems extremely remote.

اجاره

مال الاجاره "Rent to be paid," (generally for land). مال الاجاره پرداختن (mâlu'l-ijara pardâkhtan): To pay rent, (due for land). (1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 2); and cf. Phillott under "Rent."

امیر ہمدی ۳۲ میلیون مستاجر دارد کہ مال الاجاره املاک و اراضی اور امرتبا
می پردازند

The Indian Ruler (the Nizâm) has 32 million farms which pay rent regularly for his lands.

اجازہ (ijâza): "Authority," i.e., license (to act), (1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 4).

مادہ واحدہ بو زارت مالیه اجازہ داده میشود کہ از ابتدای فروردین ۱۳۰۶
تامتد پنج سال ماہی بیست و پنج تومان برای خرج تحصیل علام حسینی خان
پرداختہ * * * نماند.

Article I.—Authority is given to the Exchequer to pay monthly for five years from the beginning of Farvardîn, 1306, 25 tumâns for the expenses of the education of Ghulâm Husain Khân.

اجازہ نامہ (ijâza-nâma) : a “license, certificate, diploma.”

(طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 1).

اجازہ نامہ طبابت A “license to practise medicine.”

اجباری (ijbâri) : “Forceful.” (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 1).

از تجارت و کسبه تقاضا میکنیم که * * * تا میتوانند بمجلس سخت بگیرند تا موضوع تصویب قرار داد تجارتی را مثل تصویب امتیاز نفت شمال و قانون نظام اجباری بتعویق نینداخته از میان برد.

We beg merchants and craftsmen, so far as they can, to urge the Assembly to carry out the matter of the approval of the commercial treaty without delay, as in the case of the approval of the petrol concession of the North and the law of conscription. (Lit. “forceful military service.”)

اجتماعی (ijtimâ'i) : “Social.” (نوبهار 1917, No. 56, p. 1).

اجزای کافی (Ajzâ-ye kâfi ; جزء pl. of اجزاء) “Sufficient constituents or elements.” (کاوه 1921, Apr. 10, p. 4).

اجنبی خواه (ajnabî-khvâh) : “Hospitable,” (as one country to another). (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 3, col. 2).

بهر حال عطا الله خان مرد و از تعقیب مفتشین وطن پرست نظمیہ وزندگانی در محیط اجنبی خواه مشهد آسوده شد.

At all events ‘Ata’u’llâh is dead, and is released from the pursuit of patriotic investigators of the Gendarmerie and from life in the hospitable precincts of Mashhad.

احترام انگیز (ihtiram-angîz) : “Reverential, respectful.” (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 4).

دوہر من در حین خروج از سالون مرا بطرف راست برده بایک وضع احترام انگیزی در را باز کرده و گفت اینجا طالار رقص میباشد.

My guide on going out of the drawing-room took me to the right, and with a respectful attitude opening a door said, “Here is the ball-room.”

[A small chapel in Bismarck's house had been converted into a ball-room].

احتساب (ihtisâb) : " The Excise Office." (1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1 ; and Redhouse).

روز قبل * * * کلیهٔ عدهٔ احتساب بلدیہ طهران از هر شعبهٔ احضاربا داره بلدیہ شد -

Yesterday the whole of all branches of the Excise staff of Teheran were summoned to the Municipal Office.

احتیاط (ihtiyât) : " Reserve, caution." (1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 2).

احساسات عمومی امشب راجع بکفرانس لندن قدری با احتیاط ابراز میشود

With reference to the London Conference, public feeling to-night is expressed with some reserve.

احتیاطی (ihtiyâtî) : " Precautionary." (1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3).

و برخلاف سخن یاد داشت خیلی دوستانه است واعزام سفاین فقط عنوان اقدام احتیاطیه دارد -

On the contrary, the tone of the memorandum (to Egypt) is very friendly, and the despatch of vessels is to be taken only as precautionary steps.

احساساتی (ihtsâsâtî) : " Of feeling, associated with feeling." (1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 5).

از این قرار دادن حق انتخاب بزنها يك مسئلهٔ سیاسی نبوده بلکه يك قضیهٔ عرفی و احساساتی -

According to this, the giving of the right to vote to women is not a question of politics but rather a matter of temperament and feeling.

احصائیه (ihtsâ'îya) : " The Census." (1927, No. 55, p. 4 col. 1).

در صورتی که پیش از جنگ موافق احصائیه اخیر دولت انگلیس عده زیادی زنان فقط بیانصد هزار نفر بوده است -

Whilst before the war, according to the latest Census taken in England, the excess of women (over men) was only 500,000.

احضار (ihzâr) : "Recall, recalling," (e.g., of an ambassador). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 1).

دولت امریکا در صدد راست سفیر خود را مقیم بوکارست برای مدت طولانی احضار نماید.

The United States is intending to recall its minister from Bucharest for a lengthened period.

احضار

ihzâr shudan; with به) : "To be summoned" (to). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1). See under احتساب

اختلاج (ikhtilaj) : "Trembling" (of limbs). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

حرکات غیر ارادی هستند در موقعی که معشخ خارج از اراده باشد مثلا اختلاج اعضا فایج، تحرك وغيره.

(Then) there are involuntary movements, the prevention of which is outside the will : such as trembling of the limbs, palsy, etc.

اختیار

dar yadd-e ikhtiyâr) : "Under the control" (of). (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

مایل بوده اند که قشون را تبدیل به یک اسلحه درید اختیار حزب وفد-میناید

(Some Egyptian politicians) are inclined to change the forces to one arm and to place them, under the control of the Wafd.

akhlâqî) : "Moral." (کوکب ایران 1917, No. 10).

اخلال

ikhlâl kardan; with در) : "To disturb, confuse." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

غیر ممکن است اجازه بدهیم که دستجات مخاصم در وظائف ما اخلال کد

It is impossible that we should permit opposing parties to disturb the obligations we have undertaken (in Egypt).

To be disorganized." (cf. Arabic, اخل)

(اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 3, col. 5, and p. 4, col. 1.)

اعتصاب کارگران تلفون خانه دراستکهلم توسعه می یابد و بساثر بلاد سوئد
سرایت میکند اداره تلفون اخلاص کاری میکند.

The strike of the telephone operators in Stockholm is extending, and spreading to the rest of Sweden. (so that) the telephone administration is disorganized.

آخوند (âkhûnd) : a "jurist," learned in the law and theology, who has the right to marry people and to pronounce divorces. (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 3, cols. 3-4).
بهمان حاجی بی شرف متوسل گشته و آخوندی صدا کرده و به بی : col. 3 :
ناموسی قانونی تن درداد.

(The girl) had recourse to the same dishonourable Hājji, and an Akhûnd being summoned she submitted to the legal dishonour (of a "sigha" marriage).

حاجی بی شرف همان آخوندی را * * * * حاضر ساخته : col. 4 :
باو پیشنهاد کرد بهر وسیله که باشند دختر را طلاق بگوید.

The dishonourable Hājji summoned the same Akhûnd and proposed that he should resort to any means possible to divorce the girl from him.

امنیه

اداره امنیه (idâra-ye amniya) : "The Department of Public Security." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, sub-col. 4).

در تمامی خطوط و راه ها * * * سرقتها تتلها واقع میشود که ما متحیریم
اداره امنیه با این بودجه سبکی در این مملکت بچه کار میاید.

In all the roads and ways robberies and murders occur and make us wonder of what use in this country is the Department of Public Security with all its heavy budget.
اداره

اداره حمل و نقل (idâra-ye haml-u naql) : "The Department of Transport." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 2).

وزارت پست و تلگراف مشاورانیه را ملزم نموده است که * * * درکسیون
حضور پیدا نماید که شروع بر سیدگی محاسبات اداره حمل و نقل در زمان
تصدی ایشان بشود.

The Post and Telegraph Ministry have required the above-named to be present before the Commission, in order that the accounts of the Department of Transport during his administration may be investigated.

اداره مباشرت "Executive Committee." (اتحاد، 1922، No. 216, p. 1, col. 3).

عجالة تصویب شد که از بیست و هفتم سرطان تا مدت بیست روز از طرف وزارت جلیله مالیه با حضور یک نفر از اداره مباشرت مجلس شورای ملی و اطلاع اداره نظمیة بهر نفری دو قران و پنج قران پرداختند.

It was, in the first place, approved that for a period of twenty days from the 27th of Saratân the Exchequer, in the presence of a member of the Executive Committee of the National Assembly and the cognizance of the Gendarmerie administration, should pay each person two to five qirâns.

اداره

اداره شدن (idâra shudan) : "To be administered, governed." (ایران جوان، 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 1).

درین مدت مالیه ایران با شکل مختلف و در دست عناصر مختلف اداره شده

During this period the finances of Persia have been administered in different manners and in the hands of different elements.

اداره

اداره کردن (idâra kardan) : "To administer, govern." (ایران جوان، 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 3).

همسایه های که مالیه خود را مطابق اصول جدید علمی اداره میکنند.

Neighbours who administer their finances according to modern, scientific principles.

اداری (idârî) : "Administration." (اتحاد، 1922, No. 215, p. 4, col. 2).

دولت آلمان تصور میکند که حقوق سلطنتی مملکت امپراطوری مصئون خواهد ماند و جریان اداری بهمان حال برقرار خواهد ماند.

The German Government conceives that the sovereign rights of the Imperial State will be held immune, and that the course of administration will continue in *statu quo*.

ادامه

ادامه دادن (idâma dadan : with به) : “ To carry on, to continue, to perpetuate.” (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 5, and p. 2, col. 1).

اجبار به تسلیم دو مقابل نفوذ و مداخله انگلیس ها در شمال یا اعتراض از دادن امتیاز نفت شمال واستقرار ده ملیون دولار و ادامه دادن ذلت و فقر عمومی در این مملکت است -

The two rival (companies) have been constrained to give up, (either) through the influence and interference of the English in the North, or else the objection (on the part of Persia) to grant a concession for naphtha in the North for a loan of ten million dollars, and (so) perpetuate the general humiliation and poverty of the kingdom.

[The real cause of the withdrawal of the American Sinclair and the Standard Oil Companies seems to have been the vacillation of the Persian Government] .

ادامه

ستاره ایران (idâma dâshtan) : “ To continue.” (موقعیت و ادامه دادن 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 2). See under

ادبی (adabî) : “ Relating to Arts.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

در نظر گرفته اند که شعبه ادبی تحصیلات متوسط را حذف (کنند) -

They have it in view to abolish the Arts branch of the Intermediate Schools studies.

ادبی

علوم ادبیه (‘ulûm-e adabîya) : Subjects of culture, such as some of those generally included in Arts Degrees, and most especially language and literature ; “ the Faculty of Arts,” as opposed to that of Science. (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

[In col. 2 the term is restricted to معانی بیان و غیر آن (ma ‘ânî, bayân, vaghair-e ân), and this agrees essentially with Redhouse’s definition, but not with the previous expositions of the ایران جوان nor with the more general definition of ادب as “ polite learning, *belles lettres*.”

The pl. ادبیات may refer to a particular branch, as ادبیات زبان امی (adabîyât-e zabân-e ummê), "the cult of one's native language." (ایران جوان ibidem p. 3, col. 1) :

یا چنانچه جامه مشوق سعی و عمل باشد اطلاعات مختصر از مقدمات علوم ادبیه از فعالیت هیچکس نخواهد کاست -

Or if the atmosphere (of the student) is conducive to exertion and work, a certain preliminary knowledge of the subjects of the Faculty of Arts will not detract from the effective force of any one.

[The above is a remonstrance to the Ministry of Education against the abolition of the Faculty of Arts in Intermediate Schools].

p. 3, col. 2 :

ولی در عوض لازم است از شعب مختلفه فلسفه و از تاریخ و جغرافیا و از علوم ادبیه (معانی بیان و غیر آن) اطلاعات کافی تحصیل کرده باشد -

But, on the other hand, it is necessary that he should have acquired (in the Intermediate Schools) an adequate knowledge of the different branches of philosophy, of history, geography, the meanings of words, style, etc.

ادبیات (adabîyât) : " Culture " : especially literary and philological. (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 1, col. 3). See also under ادبی

ارتباطی (irtibâtî) : " Mediumistic." (میمن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 3).

بدین ترتیب استاد کراسه تمام آثار متحرک ارتباطی را یا به حرکات بلا توحه روحیت تحتانی به تدرستی و قلب رابطین هستند می کند -

In this manner M. X. ascribes all the mediumistic moving effects either to unnoticed movements of sub-conscious mentation or fraud and imposture of the mediums.

ارتجاع (irtijâ') : " Reactionary policy, rule, or administration." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 1).

مگر ما خود از ۲۴ سال قبل*** بر اے تغیر رژیم ارتجاع و استبداد مشروطه شب و روز خواب و آرام نداشتیم -

Have we not for 24 years past, night and day, foregone sleep and rest to change a reactionary and autocratic rule to a constitutional government ?

ارجاع

ارجاع گردیدن (irjâ' gardîdan : with prep. به) : "To be referred " (to). (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 3).

از طرف پرزیدنت هارڈیگ پیشنهادی شد کہ بمجمع نمایندگان اولیائے طرق آہن و ہیئت ہائے صنفی برائے مطالعہ ارجاع گردید۔

On the part of President Harding, proposals have been made which have been referred for consideration to the assembly of representatives of the railway authorities and bodies of the workers.

[Referring to a strike of railway employees in America.]

ارزش

ارزش داشتن (arzish dâshtan : with acc. without را) : "To be worth." (میہن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 5).

و این زمین احیا شدہ و مزروع تقریباً یک ملیون تومان ارزش دارد۔

And this land invigorated and cultivated would be worth about a million tûmâns.

ارسی (urusî) : a "boot," (short). (ایران خوان 1927, No. 24, p. 5, col. 2)

چہارم عیدی حاصلہ از حرفہ و تجارت کہ خود بچمدن نوع تقسم میشود * * * (۲) - حرفہ ہائے نامحدود از قبیل ارسی دوزی و غیرہ۔

A fourth source of revenue accruing from crafts and commerce, which themselves are divided into several species * * * (2)—Unlimited crafts, such as boot-making, etc.

ارشاد (arshad, from رشید) : "Senior," (as officers). (ستارہ ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 3).

پرروز نایب سرہنگ ابو الفتح خان از صاحبمصبان ارشد ادارہ کل شکایات امنیہ * * * از در شکہ پرت شدہ * * * شدیدا مجروح میگردد۔

The day before yesterday Na'ib-e Sarhang Abu'l-Fath Khân, a senior officer of the Department of Public Security was thrown from a carriage and gravely injured.

—"Eldest," (as child). (Phillott).

ارگان (Fr.): "Organ," i.e., "voice, spokesman."

ارواحی (arvahi): a "spiritualist." (مهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

دیدیم که در میان ارواحیون اشخاص بزرگ مثل فلا ماریون * * * و غیره است
تمام اینها بحرکت میزدون معاونت حاضرین معتقدند -

We have seen that among the spiritualists there are so many great people, such as Flammarion, etc., and that all these believe in the movement of tables without the help of those present.

از نظر گذراندن (az): Has the sense of "before" in
"To put before" (a person); lit., "To put before the eyes."
[Autograph letter from the late Atabak-e A'zam; 1889].

از (az):
از کار بیرون آمدن (az kâr bîrûn âmadan). "To be
successful in its action." (وطن 1917, No. 40). See کار.

ازا "Whatever is opposite." (Sleingass).

پس (dar izâ; with gen.): "In return" (for), (بین
1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 3).

و آقا درازای چند کله قند و چند صد تومان پول حکم نجرم قندکارخانه کهریزک
را صادر کرد -

And the Akâ in return for some loaves of sugar and some hundreds of tûmâns in money issued an order for the prohibition of the sugar made in the factory of Kahrîzak.
آزادی

مطبوعات (âzâdî-ye matbû'ât). See آزادی مطبوعات.

اسارت (isârat): "Captivity, slavery." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 2 and 3).

همین که * * * سرمایه داران دنیا مطمئن شدند که مملکت ایران از صورت
مونوپول و اسارت اقتصادی خارج گردیده تمام کبانی ها و سرمایه داران
اروپا و امریکا رو با ایران آورده (الخ) -

As soon as the capitalists of the world were convinced that Persia was free from her system of monopolies and economic slavery, all the companies and capitalists of Europe and America would turn their attention to her, (etc.).

محشر) (isâs) ; (pl. of اس us) : “ Foundations.” (1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 3).

اگر ما را آزاد میگذارند می‌گفتیم اساس و پرگرام وزارت معارف بکلی غلط -

If we were left at liberty we should say that the foundations and programme of the Ministry of Education (were) on absolutely erroneous lines.

است (ast) : “ It is ” With را of person has often the sense of “ It is incumbent upon.” (1927, No. 24, p. 3, cols. 3-4).

وزارت معارف را است که از خیال حذف کردن شعبه ادبی صرف نظر نموده در عوض بغوریت با صلاح پر و گرام آن اقدام * * کند -

It is incumbent upon the Ministry of Education to turn from the thought of abolishing the Arts branch (in Intermediate Schools), and on the other hand to proceed at once to amend its programme.

استانه (âstâna) : The mausoleum of the Imâm ‘Alî Rizâ in Mashhad, where the documents of the Office of Pious Bequests, دارالتولیات (dâru’t-tauhiyat), are kept. (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 4).

از موقعی که کسیونی برای رسیدگی بامور آستانه در دارالتولیه تشکیل شد هر چه از طرف کسیون مبرزای ضابط تذکر داده شد که اسناد آستانه را بیاورد بکمیون تا رسیدگی شده * * * مبرزای ضابط از آوردن اسناد *** خودداری میکرد -

From the time when a Commission of investigation into the affairs of the Mausoleum was formed in the office of Pious Bequests—notwithstanding all the notifications of the Commission to the Mîrzâ Zâhîr to bring the Mausoleum accounts to the Commission to be investigated, he has refrained from doing so.

که and استغاثه کردن (istighâsa kardan ; followed by اorist) : “ To implore.” (1924, No. 18, p. 4, col. 3).
مادر بیچاره ابا کرده واستغاثه کرد که از این خواهش صرف نظر نماید -

The hapless mother refused, and implored him to turn away his mind from this desire.

استفاده

(istifâda namûdan : with prep. از): “ To benefit ” (by). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 3).

مملکت ایران از ناصیه تشکیل یافته است که بدون امداد آب مصنوعی و جعلی نمی توان استفاده زراعتی نمود.

The land of Persia is so constituted and situated that without the help of artificial irrigation (the people) cannot benefit by agriculture.

—(with را): “ To derive,” (as advantages). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 5).

بچه ترتیب ممکن است دوات بمخارحات کم مفاع کلی را استفاده نماید.

(We propose to show) by what means it is possible for the Government to derive great advantages with slight expenditure.

—“ To gain,” (as wages). (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, col. 4).

در مملکتی که کارگر بدبخت پنج قران در روز استفاده نمی نماید حرا باید اقلًا سه قران بمصرف مال الا حاره برسد.

In a country where the unfortunate labourer cannot gain (even) 5 kirâns a day, why should three at least have to be spent on rent ?

استقبال (istiqbâl); (with در): “ Readiness to meet the views” (as to). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 2).

در نتیجه حسن روابط خارجی سردار سپه بود که علاوه بر استقبال دودولت فرانسه و آلمان در فروش اسلحه جات جدید به ایران دودولت روسیه و انگلیس هم حاضر بودند اسلحه جات مزبوره بایران شدند.

It has been owing to the good foreign relations of the General Commanding-in-Chief that in addition to the readiness of France and Germany to meet his views as to their sale of new arms to Persia, Russia and England are also prepared to do the same.

استقبال

“ To give a good reception ” (to). (از) (husn-e istikbâl kardan), (with) (حسن استقبال کردن) (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

دلیل دومی که ذکر شده این است که محصلین و والدین آنها از شعبه ادبی متوسطه حسن استقبال نکرده -

Another proof mentioned is that students and parents have not given a good reception to the Arts branch in Intermediate Schools.

استمدادی (istimdâdi): “ auxiliary.” (1924, No. 27, p. 3, sub-col. 1).

زمانی که سواره نظام و سایر صفوف استمدادی خود را کنار کشیده و میدان مبارزه را یکباره به پیاده نظام واگذار * * می نمایند در آن وقت است که عرابه جی در پیشاپیش پیاده نظام حرکت کرده (و غیره) -

At the time when the regular cavalry and all the auxiliary ranks have retired and left the field of battle entirely to the regular infantry—it is then that the tanks should move in advance of the latter, (etc.).

استمهال (istimhâl): “ Moratorium.” (Persian newspapers.)

استنادگاه (istinâd-gâh): “ A place of support, a support.” (1922, No. 217, p. 1).

استنباط (istimbât): “ Bringing to light.” (Redhouse): and (ستاره ایران) (1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 1).

اگر میخواهید حسن سیاست داخلی کابینه سردار سپه را استنباط کنید بهتر است که با فکار عمومی مراجعه کنید -

If you would bring the good home-policy of the General Commanding-in-Chief to light, you had best refer to the public views (on the subject).

اسف انگیز (asaf-angîz): “ Grievous, pitiable.” (1924, No. 18, p. 3, col. 3).

داستان اسف انگیز دختر جوانی را ذیلامی نگارم تا شاید (و غیره) -

I am writing the following pitiable story of a young girl, in order that possibly, (etc.).

اسف آور (asaf-âvar): “ Grievous.” (1922, No. 216, p. 1, col. 4).

برائے اینکه کسیون بتواند بحالت اسف آوراین امر خاتمه داده و وجوبی که فعلاً مطابق صورت حساب باقی است وصول و بغارت زدگان نواحی ارومیه - سلدوز - سلماس - بایک اصولی که بعد اتحاد میشود برسانند اختیاری بشرح دلیل از مجلس تقاضای نماید -

In order that the Commission should be able to put an end to this grievous state of affairs, receive the money that, as shown by the accounts, actually remains, and, in a manner afterwards to be adopted, distribute it among the victims of the raids in Urûmiya—Salduz—Salmâs—it is petitioning the Assembly to give it a license to act under the terms which follow.

اسم (ism).

باسم و رسم (ba-ism u rasm): "In full detail." (Lit., by name and description.") (Redhouse; and مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 2). See under خاطر نشان.

اسماً "Nominally." (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 2).

از محصول شتوی اسما هر صدی بیست و پنج در صورتی که حداً امید اند هر صدی پنجاه -

Out of the winter harvest they exact nominally 25 per cent., but, God knows! (really) 50 per cent.

[From a complaint of the farmers of Râm Hurmuz against the Bakhtiyârî Khâns].

اسناد (pl. of سند sanad).

اسناد خرج (asnâd-e kharj): "Vouchers of expenditure." (ایران خوان 1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 3).

فہمی اظہار کرد کہ گفتہ شدہ صد ہزار تومان برائے نمائشگاہ فیلا دلفی خرج شدہ و اسناد خرج آن دادہ شدہ -

Fahîmî stated that it had been said that a hundred thousand tûmâns had been expended for the Philadelphia Exhibition and that no vouchers of expenditure had been submitted.

اشتراک (ishtirâk): "Subscription"; (e.g., to a journal). (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 4).

اشخاصی که میل باشند این جریده ملی را دارند باین اداره مراجعه واسم
و آدرس خود را تعیین فرمایند.

Those who wish to subscribe to this national journal (the *Hablu'l-Matîn*) should apply to this office (the Central News Office) and communicate their names and addresses.

مجلس اشراف (majlis-e ashraf) : "The (English) House of Lords." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3).

لندن. در مجلس اشراف مذاکره راجع بروسیه از طرف لرد پارمور مطرح
شده.

London—In the House of Lords the question of Russia was brought up by Lord Parmoor.

اشرافیت (Ishrafîyat) : "Officialdom." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 2).

طبقه منور الفکر ملت و وطن پرستان واقعی که برائے دور بودن از بساط
اشرافیت احساساتشان روشن و مورا است ناظر اوضاع بوده.

A class of true enlightened patriots, however, whose perceptions, by reason of their dissociation from officialdom are illumined, have been observant of facts and circumstances.

اشغال (ishghâl) : "(Military) occupation." The word means really "occupying (one in something)," and is used in the above sense only in some modern newspapers.

اشغال شدن "To be occupied." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 3).

دولت یونان بیانیۀ دراز مرمشتن نموده و اشعار میدارد که از نواحی اشغال
شده امپراطوری عثمانی یک دولت مستقلی تحت حمایت قشون یونان تشکیل
خواهد شد.

The Grecian Government has published a manifesto in Smyrna to the effect that of the districts occupied by Turkey an independent State under the protection of the Grecian forces would be formed.

اشغالی (ishghâlî). (adj.) : "Of, or in occupation" ; e.g.,
قوای اشغالی "Forces in occupation." (اتحاد 1922, No. 217, p. 4).

آشکار کردن (âshkâr kardan) : "To explain," in the sense of "to show the reason of" (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 2).

مخصوصاً پیشرفت سریع ملیون چین و خطر پکن و انحلال پست فرماندهی قشون انگلیس در مصر و اختلافات داخلی مملکت بریطانیه این شتاب زدگی و بمجمله را در تعیین تکلیف قطعی خود با روسیه آشکار میکند.

And more especially the rapid advance of the Nationalists in China and the danger to Peking, the suspension of the office of chief-command of the English forces in Egypt, and the internal dissensions in Britain, explain the precipitation used in sending the ultimatum to Russia.

اشکال (ashkâl; pl. of شکل shakl) : "Features," (Metaph). (ترقی 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 4).

لیکن متأسفانه در صفحه اول آن در کاشیة اشکالی دیده می شود که هولناکترین آثار بربریت و توحش را در مقابل چشم مجسم می کند.

But it is to be regretted that in a stereotyped heading of the front page there are some features which present vividly to our eyes the most terrible indications of barbarism and savagery.

[The Editor of the "Taraqqî" is commenting on a *cliche* of a newly established newspaper, the "Tamaddun," in which instruments of war are spoken of as signs of civilization].

اشکال تراشی (ishkâl-tarâshî) : "Making difficulties." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 3).

The bankers' making difficulties. اشکال تراشی صرافان

اصرار

اصرار داشتن (isrâr dâshtan) : "To persist" (in). (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

ولی تازمانی که موافقت قطعی حاصل نشده است بایستی اصرار در حفظ وثائق و تأمیناتی که در گذشته اسباب اطمینان خاطر بوده است داشته باشیم.

But until absolute agreement has been reached we must persist in keeping the engagements and securities which in the past have been the cause of tranquillity of mind.

طوفان (usûl ; pl. of اصل) : A "method or system." (1927, 191, p. 1, col. 5).

تعمیم گرفته شد که با اصول جدید * * * در نقاطی که مورد تهاجم ملخ واقع شده است اقدامات برای دفع آنها بنمایند.

It has been decided to take measures by a new method for the extermination of locusts in the districts affected by their attacks.

اصولا (usûlan ; adverbial pl. of اصل) : "Fundamentally, essentially." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1., col. 3).

اصولا سیاست دول اسلامی بر روی صمیمیت و اتحاد است.

The policy of Islamic governments is based essentially upon sincerity and harmony.

اطاق

اطاق تجارتي (utâq-e tijâratî): "Chamber of Commerce." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 2, col. 4).

بجرا آذربایجان * * * تشکرات صمیمانه از مساعدت اطاق تجارتي شرق روسیه که در خصوص استحکام روابط تجارتي طرفین مبدول شده ابراز میدارد

The merchants of Azarbijân offer their sincere thanks for the efforts made by the Chamber of Commerce of East Russia to strengthen the commercial relations between the two countries.

در اطراف (taraf), a "side." (dar atrâf) ; (with gen.) : "On the subject" (of), "about." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 3).

ماده واحده ذیل مطرح و پس از مذاکراتی که در اطراف آن بعمل آمد * * * با اکثریت بتصویب رسید.

The first article, appended, was brought up, and, after some discussions held on the subject of it, was approved with a majority of votes.

اطلاع

اداره مرکز اطلاعات (idârâ-ye markaz-e ittilâ'ât) : "The Central News Office." (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 4.) See under اشتراك.

اوقیانوس اطلس (Ukiyânûs-e Atlas) : "The Atlantic Ocean": (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 4).

این ناحیه از طرف مغرب به اقیانوس اطلس * * * محدود است.

This district (of Morocco) is bounded on the West by the Atlantic Ocean.

اعتبار (i'tibâr) : " A Government assignment or credit." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).

پیشنهاد حمة اخذ اعتبار

از طرف صحبة كل پیشنهاد گردیده که وجه مذکور را بعنوان صرفه حوائی محل اعتبار ۳۰۶ قرار دهد.

Proposal to take over a Government assignment. It has been proposed by the Board of Health that for the profitable use of the above-mentioned sum it should be appointed as Government assignment for 1927 (in their favour).

[The " above-mentioned sum " was the balance of an assignment appointed for the reparation of hospitals in Teheran. By the " Board of Health " is meant here the Chief of that Department the Office being often employed for the person engaged in it. Cf. نمایندگی (" representation," for نماینده " representative.")]

اعتبار

با اعتبار (ba-i'tibâr ; with gen.) : " In consideration " (of). (محشر 1927, No. 53, p. 3, col. 4).

حسن بیچاره باعتبار دولت پول داده و حدا تا استدعا می نماید دولت حکم پرداخت آن بمالیه صادر فرماید.

(Since) Hasan, hapless man, gave up the money in consideration of the Government, we ask, as a matter of conscience, that the Government will issue an order to the Exchequer for the repayment of it.

اعتباری (i'tibârî) : " Of a Government assignment, assigned by Government." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).

راجع بمبلغ ۱۵ هزار تومان اعتباری * * * اطلاع داده میشود. بلغ شش هزار تومان * * * باقی است.

With reference to the sum of 15,000 tûmâns assigned by Government, information is given (by the Treasury) that a balance of 6,000 tûmâns remains.

اعتصاب (i'tisâb) : " A strike (of workmen)." (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, pp. 3 and 4).

The word means literally "binding together." See under اخلاص کاری.

اعزام (i'zâm) : "Sending."

فکر آزاد 1924, (i'zâm dâshtan) : "To send." No. 148, p. 3, col. 2).

اورا برائے معالجه بدار الشما اعزام میدارند -

They sent him for treatment to the hospital.

اعزامی (i'zâmî) : (with gen.) : "Sent " (by). ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 2).

بکارگذاری کل خراسان تعلیمات لازمه صادر گردیده است که بشارژ رافر دولت سویت روسیه داخل مذاکره شده کمیون تحتلطی از نمایندگان اعزامی ایران و روسیه دره شهید تشکیل -

The necessary instructions have been issued to the Governor-General of Khurâsân to enter into negotiations with the Soviet *charge d'affaires* and form a mixed Commission in Mashhad of the representatives sent by Persia and Russia.

— "Expeditionary." (کوب ایرانی 1917, No. 10).

اعلامیه (i'lâmîya) : a "proclamation, announcement."

(طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, cols. 3).

لازم است که قوای مکفی برای حفظ جان و مال خارجی ها که بموجب اعلامیه ۱۹۲۲ از وظایف انگلستان است درد سترس باشد -

It is necessary that sufficient forces should be available for the protection of the lines and property of foreigners (in Egypt), which in accordance with the proclamation of 1922 is a duty incumbent on England.

اعمال

"To exert" : (در اعمال نمودن (i'mâl namûdan ; with gen.)

(e.g., influence on). (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

وبالنتیجه هر حری که در راس کار باشد خواهد توانست نفوذات سیاسی بلامانعی در قشون اعمال نماید -

And as a consequence, any party that is at the head of affairs will be able to exert political influence without hindrance on the army.

اعیان

مجلس اعیان (majlis-e a'yân): "The (English) House of Lords." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 1).

مجلس اعیان انگلیس قانونی کدرانیده است که بموجب آن کلیه اعتصابات غیرقانونی مجازات خواهد شد.

The English House of Lords has passed a law by which all illegal strikes will be punished.

اغلب (Aghlab): "of course," (میمن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 1). اغلب مکرراً میفرمودند. Of course he used to be continually writing.

اف (Uff). (with را): "Fie" (upon)! (رفی 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 4).

آیا باز هم نباید بگوئیم که لعنت بر این تمدن واف بر این علائم تمدن.

Should we not again say, "Curses on this civilization!" "Fie upon these indications of civilization!"

آفتابی

To bring to light, to show clearly." (آفتابی کردن: (âftâbî kardan) (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 1).

خیر ما کافر نشده ایم بلکه برای حفظ استقلال یک مملکت اسلامی فقط عملیات دین فروشها را آفتابی میکنیم.

No, we have not become infidels, but rather, in order to preserve the independance of an Islamic State, would show clearly the action of those who traffic in the religion.

افتخار

"To take pride" (iftikhâr kardan; with به): (in). (Sleingass omits preposition). (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 2).

با کمال بی شرمی بزدوری آنها افتخار میکردند.

With perfect shamelessness took pride in being their hirelings.

افتخاری (iftikhârî): "Honorary." (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 4).

علوی آتاشه افتخاری دیشب متأسفانه زیر ترن افتاده مر حوم شدند.

We regret to announce that (Saiyid Abu'l-Hasan) 'Alavî, an honorary *attache*, fell last night under a train and was killed.

افراد (pl. of فرد fard): "Individuals." (hukûmat-e afrâd): control by individuals; i.e., individual enterprise as opposed to Socialism or Communism. (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, sub-col. 4).

ثالثاً * * حکم با حکومت افراد و تشکیل حزب کونیست بر روی اصول د مکر اسی۔

Thirdly: opposition to individual enterprise, and the formation of a communistic party and democratic principles.

افق (ایران جوان): "Extent. breadth." (ufq, ufuq): 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

والا محصلی که از مدرسه متوسطه برون میاید اعم از اینکه دیلم شعبه علمی یا ادبی را بدست آورده باشد در هیچ رشته تخصص نداشته و از حیث افق معلومات و سیخ فکری کسان بوده۔

For, indeed, a student who is leaving the Intermediate School, though with a diploma either in the Science branch or the Arts, has no special knowledge in any subject, and is on the same level as regards the breadth and extent of learning and the depths of thought.

افکار عموم (Afkar pl. of فکر fkr): "opinion" (e.g., افکار عموم "Public opinion"). (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 4).
تا چه طور خبیث طینت مدیران و نویسنده خود (ملک الشعرا) را در معرض افکار عموم می نهد۔

(Do you see) how those (papers) expose to public opinion the malignant nature of their editors and their writer, the poet laureate!

اقامت (اقامت)

(بر) اقامه دعوی نمودن (iqâma-ye da'va namûdan; with 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 4).
"To take proceedings" (against).

محاجیه خانم صبیح حاجی آقا جان اخطا می شود که مدعی عمومی * بر شما بانها ام اخذی اشیای مسروقه و معاونت در سرقت در محکمه شعبه اولی جیخته طهران اقامه دعوی نموده است۔

The Hâjjia Khanum, the daughter of Hâjjî Aqâ Jân, is notified that the Public Prosecutor has taken proceedings against her in the Teheran Criminal Court, first division, on a charge of concealing stolen goods and of aiding in the theft.

اقامت (اقامت) اقامه

ایران جوان) : "To be adduced." (iqâma shudan) اقامه شدن
1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

در این گونه موارد البته دلائل هم بر خوبی اقدامات اقامه میشود -

On such occasions proofs indeed are also adduced of the goodness of the steps taken.

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued)

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF ISLAM

SOURCES

THE sources of the principles of the Islamic political theory are co-extensive with the administrative and political tradition, experience and culture of the races within the comity of the Muslim nations. The faith contributes only a psychic bond; it determines the attitude of the spirit and defines the ethical aspects of its relation to social values of primary import; but, in the government of the State, in the articulation in political and social norms of the peculiar necessities immanent in the cultural growth of a people and generally, in the vast sphere of secular utilities relating to the concerns of the corporate life in its broadest sense, Islam leaves to human initiative an almost unlimited scope of freedom to grow and shape its own types and processes of political organization.

This flexible width of the scope is, however, subject to certain limitations. The growth of Islam in Arabia, the growth of a polity in the Age of Faith and its propagation under the auspices of a great Arab State could not but influence the political culture of the nations subject to its imperial rule. The plain historic background of events in the early era of which the absence in the case of other religions helped the growth of legend and fiction has in a different manner proved the bane of the Islamic system. The sacred tradition transmitting to the nations of Islam the custom and the usage of the primitive Arab has consecrated archaic forms of procedure; it gives the events of a prior age a significance foreign to their first estate: the relative is defined in terms of the absolute; all 'representatives, surrogates, signs and implicates' are subsumed into the texture of the polity which often exaggerates local tints, insisting more on the form than the spirit, crushing the social and the political initiative

by fitting it within the Procrustean bed of precedent impeding sane, progressive growth.

These features imprinted on the rigid structure of a declining social life are the characteristics of a later age, when a reaction had set in not merely in religion, but in all the arts and sciences of secular life. In the beginning and during the three centuries of its early history, Islam was following a course of vigorous growth absorbing the most progressive tendencies of the past, evolving in its turn a tradition of culture which inspired one of the most brilliant phases of civilization in history.

The international comity of culture which was thus brought into existence was rooted in the ethos of the new faith. It had its origin in the interaction of the cultural influences which began during the first organization of the Republic and received further impetus by the contact of different races under the common rule of the Arab Empire. Even before the rise of the new faith, Arabia was not altogether immune from foreign influences and it has been suggested that the religion of Islam "so far from taking its rise among the secluded Arab tribes was a natural stage of development in the religious life of Western Asia."¹

We might go further and justly claim that so far from having been only evolved "in the midst of the general tide of West Asiatic civilization"² or being a natural stage in its life, it marks an epoch in the evolution of universal human faith and so far from being Arabian or West Asiatic, it forms a vital link in the continuity of human civilization—a natural stage not in the life of a particular region or people, but a stage in the general history of mankind.

Jesus and Muhammad do not belong to any country or nation. Heirs to the cumulative tradition of all past ages, they work in direct communion with the universal instincts of human nature: they build up the motive forces of history and are themselves landmarks in the evolution of humanity. The coincidences born of the affinity of similar processes which superficial observation is apt to attribute to intercommunication or influence

(1) De Lacy O'Leary: *Arabia before Muhammad*, introd., p. v.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 216.

are transmitted through "secret channels and by that kind of sympathy which exists among the various portions of humanity."*

In the era following this creative epoch of her early history Islam was working with the cultural tradition of many nations of the ancient world; and in the actual growth of the types of the States and their institutional equipment, all elements, Aryan and Semitic, Indian and Mongol, combined to found her systems of administration.

In studying, therefore, the principles of the political philosophy of Islam, we must examine sources both native and foreign which have moulded into a polity the beliefs, practices and institutions of the Arab people, which grew out of the heritage of thought represented by the Semitic civilizations of the past. This common tradition of the Semitic culture was influenced by geographical contiguity which, on the one hand, placed the Arab in communication with Persia, and on the other with the Asiatic provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire. From these sources the Arab derived some of his political conceptions and borrowed certain aspects of his institutional polity. This proximity also influenced to a still more considerable degree the non-migratory elements which, specially in the period immediately preceding the rise of Islam, were being subjected to more or less intensive cultural impact when, in some Arab States, the bonds of political alliance were converted into the links of supremacy and dependence. Hiraah in Iraq and later Yaman owed allegiance to Persia, while on the borderlands of Syria, the Christian State of Ghassân was a Roman Protectorate.

In the government and internal organization of these States, crude but definite strata are discernible of the Perso-Hellenistic influence. This had affected to a great degree, both in conception and design in the organized machinery of State control and the ritual of the

* Ernest Renan : *Vie de Jesus* (Paris, 1879), p. 47071. The following observations, p. 464, also deserve special notice : "A la vue des merveilleuses créations des âges de foi, deux impressions également funestes à la bonne critique historique s'élèvent dans l'esprit. D'une part, on est porté à supposer ces créations trop impersonnelles ; on attribue à une action collective ce qui souvent a été l'oeuvre d'une volonté puissante et d'un esprit supérieur. D'une autre côté, on se refuse à voir des hommes comme nous dans les auteurs de ces mouvements extraordinaires qui ont décidé du sort de l'humanité."

court, the tradition that still survived of the political order of the Semitic States of the past.

Mecca alone, situated at a great distance from these parts and in a sandy, sterile valley represented the genuine, though by no means the pure, tradition of the Arabian hinterland. For, even here, the conditions of commercial prosperity clustering round its sacred temple attracted from all parts of Arabia and the neighbouring country a large concourse of pilgrims and visitors who made of about three months in the year a sacred national season for purposes of commerce and gathering ; and their leading tribe, Qureysh, was in constant commercial communication with, on the one hand, the heart of the peninsula and on the other, various parts of Persia and the Roman Empire. Besides these influences, there was the Christian State of Najrân, and the autonomous Jewish colony established in Yathreb after the fall of Jerusalem, and which, though thoroughly arabicised, still maintained the synagogue and exercised on its less civilized neighbours considerable social and intellectual influence.

To this age Islam came. The Qur'ân created a new type of social order and found a new basis for political organization. Henceforth Arabia moves onward to an ever-broadening zone of political influence, conquering and assimilating new peoples, incorporating fresh factors in the varied achievements of her great civilization. In its broader aspects, the history of this movement may be divided into six periods representing different phases in the evolution of the political theory of Islam.

The first period beginning with the fact which serves as the starting-point of the new faith is entirely filled up with the origins and the growth of the first Islamic State and the enunciation of the basic principles of the social, legal and political structure of the system. The main interest of the period centres round the personality of the Prophet. The growth is almost unconscious, evolving itself slowly out of the facts of action guided by the voice of revelation. The phenomena which accompany this growth are so many-sided and the action moves with such dramatic rapidity that time is scarcely left for reflection and one is but too apt to miss the continuity of sequence and unity of the cultural process which was destined to create a religion, a nation and an empire. Wars and truces, pacts and conventions and innumerable affairs of a purely

secular nature are intermingled with fasts and prayers, self-imposed privations and austerities, revealing the psychological background of life and action which in the interplay of motive and design show in the birth of a people the unity evolved out of the interaction of the most divergent factors of upheaval and resistance.

In the second period (632-661) which we may call the Apostolic Age, the role of civilization is assumed by the immediate disciples of the Prophet from whom they had inherited the faith and the government of the new State. This period, which concludes with 661 A.D., the year of the assassination of 'Alī, the fourth of the great rulers of the Republic, covers a phase of general Islamic development which, considered philosophically and in the interdependence of its causes and effects, is a complement of the Age of Faith. It consolidated the old positions and laid the foundations of the new order. Apart from its conquests which embraced the subjugation of the greater part of the Asiatic possessions of the Eastern Roman Empire, Persia and Egypt this period represents undoubtedly one of the most formative epochs in the history of Islam. To it belong the official publication of the Qur'ân, the first regular organization of the secular State, the settlement of the basic principles of the polity in its social, legal and political aspects and above all, the application of the Qur'ân and the precedents of the Age of Faith to the problems of the rising Islamic Empire.

In the actual drift of events, this period falls into two divisions ;* first, the early phase of democratic government under Abu Bakr and 'Umar ; secondly, the phase of constitutional struggle following the short spell of peace under 'Uthman, the appearance of the spirit of dissent and the events which led to his unfortunate assassination. 'Alī's tenure of office is filled up with a record of the dissensions which furnished the occasion, if not the cause, for an inter-tribal feud and are an interlude between the vigorous democracy of the first republic and the establishment of an undisguised monarchy under the rulers of the Umayyad dynasty.

From the point of view of the development of political ideas this short phase contains the germs of all the movements which were destined to create a permanent division

* Shâh Wali-Ullâh : *Izalat-al-Khafa An Khilafati'l-Khulafa*, vol. I, p. 332. This work contains a most complete and learned exposition of the religious aspects of the political theory of Islam.

of loyalties within the Islamic body-politic. Beginning with an outburst, almost a riot, of public spirit in the van of the constitutional struggles, the movement grew into a civil war, primarily inter-tribal in its motive and origin: it opened a schism in both religion and politics and ranged the forces of Islam in narrow sectional groups swayed by conflicting allegiances.

The time-honoured prestige of Qureysh which the events of the Age of Faith and the early Republic had converted into an unchallenged primacy had been accepted as the inevitable outcome of facts of historic growth. Their supremacy of intellect, their leadership in war, their position as the intelligentsia of the nation, and their superior civic organization gave them a precedence which was sustained by the rigid piety of the first two Caliphs, their austere asceticism, and the stern impartial hand with which they had administered the affairs of the State.

Their rule had built up an administrative tradition and established certain criteria of public conduct and responsibility. Especially, 'Umar's enlightened rule had emphasised, no less by precept than by his personal example, the democratic nature of the State as a trust to be administered in the public interest, as a national institution which fitted every man into a proper place within the framework of the political order. The abuse, therefore, of privilege by the Umayyad agents of 'Uthmân's rule, and the coincident fall in general administrative tone, caused wide criticism led by the non-Qureysh element which had supplied the man-power for the campaigns of the Empire and which 'Umar had planted in colonies on the borders of Persia. Of these Kufah and Basrah were the most important centres which voiced the feeling of public discontent and led the revolt against the administration of 'Uthman.

The constitutional issues of the struggle were, however, obscured by the miasma of inter-tribal conflict which ranged the loyalties of the nation on other principles. The revolt was a failure: It led to a peripetia and only served to hasten the evil it had sought to avert. The wars which followed the rising only paved the way for the establishment of the Umayyad monarchy and heralded its triumph; while the Khârijites, as the constitutionalists are hereafter called, were stigmatized as heretics

and were ruthlessly suppressed by the organized power of the State.*

In the third period, which opens with the end of the Republic and the formal transfer of the Empire to Umayyad rule, we have the beginnings of the controversy which brought into prominence the questions of the Imâmat, the nature of the government, the rights of the people and the ruler's obligations. Seeds are also sown here of the great legal systems ; and sacred tradition, the corner-stone of the future polity, is beginning to be cultivated with ardour. In the field of provincial administration, the institutional machinery adopted in the earlier period from the existing departments of the Eastern Roman Empire is arabicised in point of language and personnel, while in matters relating to the ethics of royalty and the ritual of the court the inspiration is directly from Persia.

In the adoption of the monarchic principle, in the early phase of their rule, the Umayyads were only mimicking a political mannerism which had no roots in the tradition of their past. The influences of the actual transition were, therefore, but dimly felt ; and the cultural initiative of the early Caliphate, born of the individual dignity of life which was fostered by the democratic spirit of Islam had begun to manifest itself in the pursuit of the arts and sciences.

Still, within the inner circle, the Umayyad Sovereigns, with the honourable exception of 'Umar II. simply revelled in their triumph and reviled their vanquished foes. In the actual administration of the State, however, they were the leaders of the Arab National Movement and under them the empire attained to the zenith of its territorial expansion, reaching eastward as far as Bukhâra and Samarcand in Central Asia and the Indian Sind ; while in the West it overthrew the Goths of Spain and laid the foundations of the glories of Seville, Cordoba and Granada.

Beneath the outburst of energy which created this vast empire, signs are already visible of a vital decline. The creative harmony of the Republic, which had called

* For the general study of this period, see (*Kanz-al-Ummal*, vol. III) ; Ibn Kuteybiyah *Kitabu'l-Imamat Wal-Siyasah* ; Ibn Khaldûn : *Kitab-ul 'Ibar*, etc.

forth a spirit of religious and intellectual fervour, was lost in the welter of partisan struggles which degraded personality and depressed the leaven of public sentiment. A growing disaffection between the Arab and the subject nationalities at last burst forth in a revolt which put an end to the rule of the Umayyad dynasty.

The fifth period, which begins with the accession of the 'Abbâsids to power, is by far the most important epoch in the history of the development of Islamic political thought. The scientific criticism of the traditions, the study of history, and the cultivation of all the arts of religious and secular life provoked an efflorescence in literature and art which attained their culmination in the golden age of Al-Ma'mûn the Magnificent. The study of Greek philosophy, the contacts begun long ago with the traditions of Roman organization in the Asiatic provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire, and acquaintance with Indian notions of State-craft, created a rich political tradition which is preserved in writers like Turtushî, while the legal aspects of the theory are represented by the lawyers, of whom Abû Yûsuf and Al-Mawardî are best known to us.

But this advance in political thought is not coincident with improvement in the real national vigour which had characterized the early Umayyad rule. It had derived its inner vision from the early Caliphate which had grown in direct communion with the national culture of the Arab race, and the breach of social and political tradition under the later Umayyads had at last killed the vital and internal impulse which had created the democracy of the Republic.

In the actual tone of its administration the Islamic State begins to speak in the cosmopolitan accents of a civilized modern State: racial proclivities are frankly abandoned and Arabian National Expansion merges into the general Islamic movement. But the renaissance* which followed the free cultivation of the humanities snapped the bonds of the political cohesion and with the growing exhaustion of the Arab vitality disappeared the racial strength which had formed the mainstay of the Arab National State.

This political decline begins to appear in the disintegration of the Arab Empire, which now splits into a number

* cf. *Tabaqat'u'l-Umam*, p. 18.

of independent kingdoms and principalities. They are often independent States under national rule and despite a formal tie with the central institution of the Caliphate, which is held to be the essential sanction of their temporal power, there is a definite transition from allegiance to the religious principle to national individuality.

And henceforward the forces of Islam are ranged in two cultural groups—Persian and Arab—dividing between them the temporal dominion of Asia. The minor dynasties of Khurâsân, Jurjân, Faso, and Adharbeyjan paved the way for the restoration of Persia to its pre-Islamic integrity under the Buweyhids who were Persians and claimed descent from the royalty of ancient Irân. With the Fatemids ruling Egypt in the middle of the 4th century of the Hijrah and the Buweyhids supreme in the East, Shi'aism became the dominant power in Islam.

It was however the Samanid dynasty of Trans-Oxiana under whom the Persian tradition of the Sasanian era was revived. The movement soon expanded into a general Persian renaissance: Persia resumed her old national life and discarded the foreign garb she had assumed during the two centuries following the Arab conquest; and the Persian language supplanted Arabic as the dominant language of civilization and culture in Middle Asia. Local interest, which had almost disappeared under the impact of Arab rule, was now revived and cities erstwhile left in the drab monotony of provincial rule became centres of vigorous civic life and nuclei of intensely national and regional cultures.

Balance in the political sphere was however restored when, from the struggles of the 5th century of the Hijrah, the Turks emerged as the most powerful ruling force in the world of Islam. But the transition is more political than cultural; the Seljûqids and the Atabeks were working with the tradition and culture of the Samanid era.

In several respects, these States make important contributions to the development of the general theory. To the national movement which they founded belong the celebrated Nizâmu'l-Mulk, the Prime Minister of the Seljûqids, known to the history of political literature as the author of the *Siyasat-Namah*, his contemporary and rival, Hasan bin as Sabah, the founder of the order of the Assassins (*Hashshâshîn*) and the philosophical Bâtinis.

The greater part of the tradition, Hebraic, Greek and Persian, which had been collected during the 'Abbâsid Age was systematized and used to develop the theories born during the schism of Islam. In the treatment given to learned subjects by the Persian writers of this period, political philosophy is usually a part of ethics and is practically confined to the description of the duties of the king and the subject and generally to topics covered by the ethics of the monarchy.

This phase is brought to an abrupt close by the eruption of the Mongols from the Steppes of the Gobi which extinguished the political and cultural life of the Islamic States in Middle Asia. In the sixth period, introduced by the conversion of the Mongol stock, new factors of influence are ushered in as a result of the contact of Islam with Chinese and Indian principles of political philosophy and laws, and the rising States of the Turks in both Central Asia and India. To this category also belong the glories of the Ottoman Empire, the later kingdom of Persia and the smaller States of Islam in different parts of Asia.

Except during short intervals of enlightened rule, glimmering in the midst of general darkness, the tone of this period is of a narrower type : it is distinctly provincial without any special features of interest. Among the great names of the period in the Arab world, the highest place of honour belongs to Ibn Khaldûn, the founder of the modern philosophy of history. He is, however, the exception, not the rule—a giant among pygmies, a relic of the palmy days when, in the period of their last struggles with Christian Spain, the Moors still preserved in their arts and humanities the cultural tradition of their glorious past. In the scientific study of the historical aspects of the political theory, the diapason closes full on the *Prolegomena* which subjects the broader features of the problem to a critical examination.

Among the States of this period, the greatest interest belongs to the imperial rule of Islam in India. Here, in what Gibbon would have called one of the convulsions of history, one age was married to another—the ancient Hindu to the mediæval Islamic age.

Here we see the attempt, for the first time made to transcend the narrow conception of a communal polity

and build up, on a wider synthesis of cultures and peoples, a theory of citizenship based upon the recognition of the common, secular loyalties of different races and civilizations, as a sufficient bond of political union.

The impression created at a first glance by the history of Islam in India is one of a long record of 'huge changes and colossal displacements,' with a dark uniformity of almost phenomenal rise and decay, uninspired by any unity of internal development. A closer scrutiny, however, reveals the link of continuity in the transition of ancient to mediæval history, an almost dramatic unity of complications and resolutions: all indicative of an interior continuity of growth.

Viewed in its relation to the growth of the political theory, the history of Muslim India may be divided into three periods of which the first may be said to begin with the Arab conquest of Sind and terminate with the downfall of the Lodi dynasty in the sixteenth century of the Christian Era. During the three hundred years covered by this period, if we exclude the brief episode of the Arab conquest, no less than five dynasties swayed the political destinies of this continent.

In the domain of positive achievement, all these States show a fertility of imagination which finds expression not merely in the statement of the theory, but in the evolution of new types of the political order and their institutional equipment: for instance, the slave oligarchy of Altamish; the utilitarian empiricisms of 'Alâu'd-dîn, the radical experimentalism of Muhammad Tughlaq and the feudal institutions of Firûz. Each dynasty brings with its rule a new type of administration supplementing the political advance of the age preceding and grafting on the native Hindu organization the impress of its genius and individuality.

In the second period of her political growth, which begins with the rise of the Mughals to imperial rule, India is confronted with the influence of another culture in the combination of Islamic concepts of administration with the hardy discipline of the Yasao which first ushers in the idea of a secular State. To this phase should be assigned the constructive achievement of Shêr Shâh, the frankly secular organization of Akbar which strove to evolve a new broader synthesis of cultures and a new polity of moral and social purpose.

In the third period, Aurangzebe sought to revive the orthodox order of the earlier era. But the attempt ended in nothing; it eventually evoked a wide-spread revolt and split the empire into a large number of States under their local dynasties. After this period, which synchronizes with a phase of decline, the development of the Islamic political theory ceases to be of interest to the student of general history.

Of the other States which ruled Islam during this period, the two most important powers are Turkey and Persia, ruling respectively the bulk of the Sunnî and Shi'a populations of the Muslim world. Despite certain features of interest evolved in the course of a long experience in administration, their achievements in the development of the political theory are of a type which affiliates them with the evolution of the preceding era and presents few aspects of striking individuality.

These six periods in the history of Islam represent the diverse phases through which the growth of the political idea may be traced. In the first course of events which may be said to have terminated with the decline of the 'Abbâsid empire in the 9th century, the immediate object of our study is the unified Islamic State, which, beginning with the regular organization of a government under the Prophet, grew rapidly under his immediate disciples and attained to the zenith of its imperial expansion under the rulers of the Umayyad dynasty. The central nucleus throughout this development is the Arab race which represents the tradition of conquest and rules the empire.

Despite the theoretic equality of all Muslims, the *status liberi*, the full accession to political privilege is only the natural birthright of the Arab. For non-Arabs in general, the position varies from age to age. Except under the rule of the Republic the reign of 'Umar II, or during the 'Abbâsid age, which admitted the non-Arab element to an equal political franchise, they enjoyed no more than a *civitate sub suffragio*, expanding through artificial affiliations with the Arab clans to full free status within the State.

For the *Zimmis*, the polity provides no place within its fold. They existed as a community outside the Muslim or ruling class. Among the civic amenities they enjoyed under the empire was 'the personal imperium' for communal concerns to which certain aspects of political

jurisdiction were delegated under the protection of the State.

In the 'Abbâsîd age the Arab State laid the foundations of a cosmopolitan order which admits its Arab and non-Arab subjects to a position of equal citizenship within the Empire. The process was, however, accompanied by the enfeeblement of that national strength which had made the Arabs the dominant political power in Asia.

Of the general development in the States rising out of the disintegration of the Arab Empire the broader features have been indicated in the foregoing survey. The movement is for the recovery of the regional contacts lost during the last centuries of Arab imperial rule.

In studying, therefore, the Islamic political theory, we must begin with a critical and detailed analysis of the bases of the political organization in pre-Islamic Arabia—its social structure, its psychology as revealed in the values of the social and political culture which formed the bedrock of the future polity of Islam. In the forms in which the integration of these elements is familiar to us, the process is complicated by the interaction of the cultural factors of different origin, unconsciously embodied in the life of the people and lying at the root of their instincts and aspirations. Such are the elements common to the general polity of the Semitic race; the cumulative tradition of the Nabataean States and the Imperialism of Hîmyar, the influence of the Jewish colonies of Yathreb and of the Christian State of Najrân, besides the influences derived through Persian and Hellenistic sources.

The second element in the development of the Islamic political theory is the Qur'ân, the *fons et origo* of all that developed in later Islam. It founded, as we have indicated above, a new type of social order and a new basis for political organization. Ancillary to it, and supplementing its law by the record of actual precedent, is the tradition of the Age of Faith, which records the historical process of the application of the Qur'ân to the actual conditions of the social and political order.

In a distinct category, we must place foreign influences which worked with the national culture of the Arab State to create several important aspects of the Islamic polity. Among these, the first place belongs to Persian influences, of which three strata are visible in the growth of Islamic political theories and institutions.

The earliest phase belongs to the period immediately preceding Islam, the second begins with the Republic when, after the conquest of Persia, the basis of imperial organization was placed on institutions directly borrowed from the Persian model. From this time onwards, the Persian influence continues throughout the history of Islam. From Persia the Umayyads borrowed their ritual of royalty; the 'Abbâsids were Persia's pupils and the builders of the future civilization of Islam are the Persians, who were the first to take a place in the atmosphere of light created by the progressive policy of the 'Abbâsid age. A third period of Persian influence begins during the decline of the Arab Empire when the role of civilization in Middle Asia is assured by non-Arab peoples who found their own national States and evolved political theories based on the culture of the preceding period.

Another cultural factor in the growth of Islamic political thought, more common to the philosopher than to the lawyer or the jurist, is the Græco-Roman influence, derived partly through actual contact with the tradition, and partly through the study, of Greek classical literature during the saturnine age of the 'Abbâsid civilization. Aristotle's treatise on Government and Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* are well-known to Muslim students of philosophy.* They were the subject of interesting speculation which are valuable as the efforts of Islamic authors to frame a philosophical theory of the State.

But the most important aspects of the development, the rise of civil law and jurisprudence, have developed in spheres entirely separated from the orbits of Græco-Roman influence. Not merely in material, but in their method and dialectics, they strike out original lines radically different in spirit from anything known to the Romans. They make legislation entirely dependent upon the consensus of public opinion: the principle of the *Ijma'* implies the recognition of the ultimate source of law in the political sovereignty of the Nation from which the social and the political laws derive their moral authority.

To another category belong the minor influences predominant in local cultures, but only of secondary importance in the general history of the theory. These are the contributions individually made to general administrative development by the Turks, Mongols and

* *Tabaqatu'l-Umam*, p. 23 and 54.

Indians. The former bring in the conception of the secular State and the discipline of Yasao* which find their culmination in the theory of the State under Akbar; the latter have contributed besides their ethics of royalty, the *rajaniti* of the ancient Hindus, a considerable culture of institutional life embodied in the administrative theory of Islamic rule in Mediæval India.

Besides these aspects of study, there is considerable literature consisting of the independent speculations of Muslim thinkers and their theories, claiming to derive their sanction from the Qur'ân and the traditions of the Age of Faith. To appreciate the trend of political growth, it is necessary to study not only the intellectual attitude of each period of Islamic history, but the social conditions which dictate the political convention and are its justification.

Except the constant factors of Ethics, the hypotheses of political science are tentative; the institutions are variables determined by social or intellectual necessity which must first be ascertained in order to discover their cultural value or importance. The question cannot, therefore, be dissociated from history, which alone can furnish the perspective through which we can follow the process underlying the growth of the political idea in Islam.

During the eight periods into which I have divided the history of the political theory, the essential formative idea is borne from one age to another, ingrained in the *ethos* of the succeeding age; there is thus, through the cultural variety of different countries and nations, a continuity of tradition crystallizing in its legal and political norms the precedents of each preceding age.

* The influence of Yasao is generally condemned by the later divines of Islam. Shaukani calls it an obsession (see '*Uqdu'l Jamman*'), Al-Makrizî goes so far as to assign to this word the philological basis of Al-Siyâsah, the Arabic synonym for "politics."

MUSLIM COLONIES IN INDIA BEFORE THE MUSLIM CONQUEST

(Continued from our last issue.)

IBN Batûtah, the famous traveller of Morocco, who came to India at that time and was going to China with a reply embassy from Muhammad Tughlaq, went from Delhi to Khambâyât, and from Khambâyât to Coromandel whence ships sailed to China. He has mentioned the Islamic settlements on his route and their rulers. His account shows the places where Muslims lived under Hindu governments and also describes their condition.

Khambayat

Passing through Daulatabad and Sâgar ساگر Ibn-Batûtah reached Khambâyât, which was a large port of Gujerât. Though this port was nominally bound up with the Delhi empire, yet all commerce, business, and influence was commanded by the merchants and sailors of Arabia and 'Irâq who had been long settled here. There were plenty of the Muslims of Arabia, 'Irâq and Persia in every direction and there were mosques and monasteries built by them. Ibn Batûtah says : " This is the finest town in respect of its mosques and other buildings. The reason is that the majority of the inhabitants have trade relations with foreign countries. They always build fine buildings and handsome mosques and try to vie with one another. Among stately buildings is the palace of Sâmary سامری. Nestling to it is a mighty mosque. The house of Gâzarûni گازرونی, the prince of merchants, is also very large and there is a mosque attached to it. The house of the merchant Shamsu'd-dîn Kulah-doz (cap-sewer) is very large. In the town is the monastery of Haji Nâsir حاجی ناصر who was an inhabitant of the town of Diyâr-Bakr in 'Irâq. Another monastery is that of Khwâja Ishâq where provisions are distributed to beggars."*

* *Safarnamah-i-Ibn-i-Batutah 'Arabi*, published by the Kheyriyâh Press (خيريه) in Egypt, vol. 2, pp. 128, 129.

Garwi گاری and Gandhar گندهار

Gâwi and Gandhâr were both ports attached to Bha-ruch ('Ain-i-Akbari). Ibn Batûtah left Khambâyat and first reached Gâwi and then Gandhâr. He says that both these coastal towns are under the possession of Râja Jâlîni راجہ جالینی who is under the supremacy of Islam. He finds Muslims here, most of whom were the courtiers and officers of the Râja. One of them was Khwâja Bahrah بهره, another was Nâkhôda Ibrâhîm, who owned six ships. Ibn Batûtah boarded one of the ships of Nâkhôda Ibrâhîm and his brothers. The names of the ships were Jâgir جاگیر and Manûrat مورت. There were fifty thousand archers and sixty negro soldiers in the ships.

Beyram بیرم

This is a small island four miles off the Indian coast (this is not the Beyram situated near Aden). It was formerly in Hindu hands; later, it came under Muslim possession. At the time of Ibn Batûtah Gâzrûni گارونی, the prince of merchants, built it and populated it with Muslims.

Gogah گوگہ

Gôgah or Ghôgah گوگہ (near modern Bhaûnagar) was governed by Râja Dankil. There were large markets in this large town. He saw here a mosque ascribed to Hazrat Khizr (believed by the multitude to be the saviour of the drowning). There was a band of Haidari faqirs.

Chandapur چنڊاپور

Our traveller leaves Gôgah for Chandâpûr, called Sandâpûr سنڊاپور by the Arabs and which I took to be Singapur on the ground of verbal resemblance; but really it lay near Goa. He finds here a State ruled over by a Muslim, Sultân Jamâlu'd-dîn Hanûrî سلطان جمال الدین هموری whose father Hasan was a navigator. Sultân Jamâlu'd-dîn owed allegiance to Râja Harîb (the correct name is Harîr and he was the ruler of Vijayyanagar). Here there was a separate locality for the Hindus and a separate locality for the Muslims. Here there was a stately mosque which, in the eyes of Ibn Batûtah, equalled the mosques of Baghdâd.

Near Chandâpûr was a small population on the coast which had a church too. He saw in an idol house there a Muslim sufi in the guise of a yogi who talked only with signs and gestures.

Hanur هَنُور

Hanûr هَنُور, called Haunûr هُونُور and still existing in the district of northern Kanra کَنُرَا within the boundaries of Bombay, was the real centre of Sultân Jamâlu'd-dîn's power. Ibn Batûtah met here Sheykh Muhammad Nâgûrî شَيْخ مُحَمَّد نَاگُورِي, a pious founder of a monastery, and the theologian Ismâ'il, who was a teacher of the Qur'ân, Nûru'd-dîn 'Alî Qâdi and an Imâm. He found one strange thing here, that men and women alike were educated. He saw in the town 13 girls' schools and 23 schools for boys. The Muslim women of Hanûr, like the Hindu women, wore 'saris.' Trade was the means of livelihood. Here Ibn Batûtah got a message and a present for the Muslim yogi. The inhabitants were followers of Imâm Shâfi'i, which means that they were Arabs or their descendants.

Malabar

Ibn Batûtah's ship starting from Hanûr touched the coast of Malabar. He says that there is a distance of two months' journey between Chandâpûr and Kolam, which is the extent of these lands. This is the land of pepper. There are twelve Hindu Râjas, great and small, in this land. The powerful Râjas have an army fifty thousand strong, while the small ones have a force three or four thousand strong. A wooden gate with the Râja's name upon it marks the frontier between two States. In spite of Hindu government in these places the Muslims are held in high respect. Between Chandâpûr and Kolam at every half mile there is a wooden house with shops and mounds where every traveller, Hindu or Muslim, takes rest. 'Near every house is a well where a Hindu gives water to all people. The Hindus get water in pots, the Muslims in 'ûk' اوك (a wooden contrivance through which water flows). The Hindus do not allow Muslims to be shown into their homes, nor do they allow them to eat in their pots. If they let any Muslim eat in their pot, they break it or give it away to him. But in places where there are no Muslims they cook food for Muslims, and serve it on

plantain leaves. They give away what remains of the food to kites, crows, and dogs. At every manzil (halting-place) there are Muslim inhabitants with whom travellers stay. They buy everything for them and cook food for them. If the Muslim population did not exist at different places, it would have been difficult for Muslims to travel. Even if a Hindu sees a Muslim wayfarer on the road, he takes to flight.

Abi Sarur ابی سرور

He mentions the town of Malabar which he first enters as Abî Sarûr. Abu'l-Fidâ has written it as 'Yâsrûr' ياسرور. Ibn Batûtah. says: "It is a small port. There is a population of Muslims here, too. The greatest among them is Sheykh Juma'ah شيخ جمعه widely known as Abî Sittah ابی سته. He is a very generous man and he has distributed his wealth among beggars and poor people.

Paknur پاکنور

From Abî Sarûr he comes to Pâknûr (This is a place in Madras in the South, famous as Barkûr برکور. At the time of Ibn Batûtah it was under the rule of the Vijayyanagar kingdom). He says that the name of the Râja of this place is Basdeo. He had thirty war-ships, but the admiral, who was a Muslim, was not good-natured and used to rob merchants. When a ship comes here the Râja exacts something as port duty. The Râja treated Ibn Batûtah very courteously. Huseyn Salât is an eminent man in this town. There are qâdis and khatîbs and there is a mosque, too, built by Huseyn Salât.

Mangalore

He leaves Pâknûr and casts anchor at Mangalore. He says: "This is the largest port of Malabar and many merchants of Persia and Yaman land here. The Râja of this place is Ramdeo. There are four thousand Muslims here, and they live in a separate quarter of their own. Sometimes they fight with the native inhabitants, but the Râja intervenes and a compromise is reached. There is a qâdi here of fine parts. He is very generous: his name is Badru'd-dîn; he is a native of Ma'bar (Coromandal) and belongs to the Shâfi'i faith. When the Râja sent his son as a hostage in the ship, I landed at the Qâdi's request and I was entertained for three days."

Hili هيلي

Though no port of the name of Hili exists to-day, yet sixteen miles away from Cannanore a fringe of mountain juts out towards the North into the sea and is known as 'Kôh-i-Hili' or the mountain of Hili. Ibn Batûtah says : "It is a large and handsome city. Giant ships come here and ships from China halt here. It is sacred both to the Hindus and the Muslims, and all the shipmen make offerings in the mosque. There is a treasure of offerings which is under the care and supervision of one Huseyn, the Imâm of the mosque. Huseyn Wazzân حسین وزان is the Sirdar (leader) of the Muslims. A number of students get their stipends from the treasury of offerings in the mosque. There is a house of provisions connected with the mosques and food is distributed to poor Muslims." Ibn Batûtah met here a dervish from Africa who had travelled in India, China and Arabia.

Jarpatan جربٹن

This was a place within the area of Malabar and perhaps now known as Kandâpûram کنداپورم. Among the mosques built in Malabar on the conversion of the Râja of Malabar to Islam one was built here also. Ibn Batûtah says, "The name of the Râja of this place is Koel کویل. He is a powerful Râja in Malabar and his ships go to Persia, Yaman, and Oman." He saw here a scholar of Baghdâd, whose brother was a rich merchant and who left a large fortune behind him. The Hindu Râjas do not levy any death-tax upon Muslim inheritance which is entrusted to the Sirdar of Muslims on the death of a person. Ibn Batûtah says that when he left the place the scholar was leaving for Baghdâd with all the goods and riches of his dead brother.

Dah Patan

This too is under the supremacy of Râja Koel and is a large town on the sea-coast. There are plenty of gardens ; cocoanuts, pepper, betel, and 'arwi' (a kind of vegetable) are found in abundance. There is a very handsome tank excavated by one of the ancestors of Râja Koel, in which red chiselled stones are set. There are four domes on all the four corners of the tank and near it is a mosque built

by one of the forebears of Râja Koel. The Muslims bathe and perform ablutions in the tank and offer prayers in the mosque. It is said that the Râja was a Muslim. Ibn Batûtah heard from the inhabitants the story of the Râja's conversion to Islam. At the place where the mosque stood there was a tree which shed every autumn leaves bearing the Kalimah ("There is no God but God and Muhammad is the Messenger of God"). The Hindus and the Muslims divided among themselves these leaves which were efficacious in curing the sick. Impressed by this miracle, the Râja embraced Islam. He could read the Arabic script. His son, who did not take to Islam, had the roots of the tree cut down. But the tree again shot up. At the time of Ibn Batûtah the tree was standing near the mosque. There was an archway in front of it.

Budh Patan بدہ پٹن

The ship, starting from Dah Patan, reached Budh Patan where there was a mosque built by the converted Muslim Râja of the first century A.H. Ibn Batûtah says that this, too, is a large town on the sea-coast (perhaps this is the town of Châlyâm situated near modern Beypûr). Ibn Batûtah says that the Brahmans, who form the majority of the population, are open enemies of the Muslims. There are no Muslims. Outside the town there is a mosque on the sea-coast. Muslim travellers stay here. The reason why this mosque, too, is spared is this. Once a certain Brahman demolished its roof and set the beams to his own house. His house caught fire and he was burnt to ashes together with his house, family and effects. Since then no Brahman wishes ill to this mosque; rather they guard it. There is an arrangement of drinking-water for travellers. There is a network on the door to ward off birds.

Pindarni

Starting from Budh Patan our traveller reaches Pindârni which he calls Findarînah and which lies sixteen miles north of Calicut. He says: "It is a very large town. There are three localities inhabited by Muslims and in each locality there is a mosque. On the sea-coast there is a spacious Jâmi' mosque facing the sea. The Qâdi and Imam is a native of Oman. Ships from China halt here in summer."

Calicut

Now our traveller arrives at Calicut, the famous port of Malabar. He says: "This is the largest port in Malabar. Merchants of China, Java, Ceylon, Maldives, Yaman, Persia, nay, of the whole world, come here. The port is among the largest ports in the world. The Râja is a Hindu and his title is Zeymûr (Sâmri). He shaves his beard as do the Europeans whom I have seen. But the chief of traders and merchants is a Muslim whose name is Ibrâhîm Shah-Bandar. He is a native of Bahreyn, of scholarly tastes, and of a generous disposition. Merchants from all sides have their meals at his board. The Qâdi of the town is Fakhru'd-dîn 'Uthmânî and the head of the monastery is Shihâbu'd-dîn Gazrûnî. The people in India and China who vow to make offerings to the memory of Abu Ishâq Gazrûnî come to this monastery to make offerings. Nâkhôda Mithqâl who lives here is a very famous and wealthy marine merchant and he has his own ships which fetch commercial commodities from India, Yaman, China, and Persia." The Râja's representatives Sheykh Shihâbu'd-dîn and Ibrâhîm Shah-Bandar welcomed him as the ambassador of Muhammad Tughlak with drums and trumpets and banners. Ibn Batûtah says that the Râja of Calicut is very just and impartial. Once the nephew of the Râja's vicegerent snatched away the sword of a Muslim merchant. The merchant complained to his uncle who, after making inquiries, ordered his nephew to be sliced in two pieces with the same sword.

Ships of China start from this place. Ibn Batûtah had to wait for months for fine weather. The owner of the ship was Suleyman Safdi. By his mistake Ibn Batûtah's goods and luggage were loaded in the ship while he was left on the coast. He started by land for Kolam where he boarded the ship.

Kolam

Kolam is included in modern Travancore. Ibn Batûtah says: "This is the handsomest town in the whole of Malabar. The markets, too, are fine. The merchants are so rich and influential that they buy whole ship-loads at a time and keep the wares in their godowns to sell them. There are plenty of Muslim merchants here, the most influential of whom is 'Alâu'd-dîn, a native of

Ava. There is a considerable number of 'Iraqîs here. The Qâdi of the town is a learned scholar from Qazwîn. The wealthiest Muslim in the town is Muhammad Shah Bandar whose brother (Taîû'd-dîn is a very learned scholar. The Jâmi' mosque here is good and handsome. The name of the Râja is Tarûri. 'Banate deyri' (بناتے دیری) means Râja in this language. He respects the Muslims very highly and is very just-minded. Here there is a monastery of Sheykh Fakhru'd-dîn, son of Sheykh Fakhr-u'd-dîn.

Chalyat

On account of the destruction of ships Ibn Batûtah had to come to Calicut by the same route. He halted at Châlyât, called Shâlyât by the Arabs and now known as Shâlyah شاليه. It was situated near Calicut. Ibn Batûtah praises the fine quality and design of cloths woven here. Leaving this place he reached Hanûr هنور, from Hanûr to Chandâpûr (Goa). He learns that the Râja (perhaps the Raja of Vijayyanagar) has fought against Sultân Jamalu'd-dîn Hanûri and annexed that State. Boarding the ship here, Ibn Batûtah left for Maldive.

Maldive

There was a large population of Arab Muslims and they were ruled over by Sultan Khadijah. It has been already described.

Ceylon

From Maldive he went to Ceylon. The Râja at that time was Arya Chakravarti. He had many ships which sailed up to Yaman. He understood the Persian tongue. On account of the footprint (of Adam) there was a constant incoming and outgoing of Arab and Persian dervishes.

Gali گالی

After a lot of wandering he reached Gâli (Qali), the harbour of Ceylon. Even today ships start from this place to Europe and Australia. The owner of the ships of this port was Nâkhôda Ibrâhîm. Boarding the ship at Colombo and Batâla بطاله he came again to Ma'bar, (Coromandal) on the Indian coast in the ship of Nâkhôda Ibrâhîm.

Ma'bar (Coromandel)

When Ibn Batûtah reached Coromandel its ruler was Ghiyâsu'd-dîn Wâmoghâni غياث الدين وامغاي. It is the same government that was established here after the conquests of Malik Kâfûr, 'Alau'd-dîn Khiljî's officer. It was probably 741 A.H. (1341 A.D.). At the end of this century the Râjâ of Vijayyanagar exterminated this Islamic government. Madura was its capital.

Dwar Samandar دوار سمندر

The Hosyâlâ dynasty ruled over the country covered by the modern Mysore State. They had their capital at Dwar Samandar. The reigning Râja at that time was Balaldeo. Ibn Batûtah relates that his army was one lac strong. The army included twenty thousand Muslims, all of whom were, says Ibn Batûtah, fugitive criminals, thieves and robbers. But it is not known whence they came. Perhaps Ibn Batûtah has written all this in the fury of rage since they were fighting at that time against Ghiyâsu'd-dîn who was the ruler of Coromandel and the husband of the sister of Ibn Batûtah's wife.

Vijayyanagar

The mighty Hindu kingdom of Vijayyanagar extended from the river Kistna to the sea-coast. It is an amazing fact that while, on the one hand, it was perpetually at war on land with the Islamic kingdom of the Bâhmanis, on the other hand, by sea it had relations with the Muslim kings of Arabia and Persia. Mirzâ Shâhrukh (مرزا شاهرخ), son of Timur, had sent an embassy here. Maulâna Kamâlû'd-dîn 'Abdu'r-Razzâq was the leader of the deputation. On coming back, he wrote an account of the glory and grandeur of Vijayyanagar which has been quoted by Khâvind Shâh in the last portion of *Raudat-us-Safa* روضة الصفا and in the geographical portion of Habîbu's-Seyyâr under the names of Mangalore, Calicut, and Vijayyanagar. There were ten thousand Muslims in the Vijayyanagar army and the Râjâ respected them on account of their military sense. The Râjas had a mosque built and the Qur'ân was held in reverence.*

* *Firishta*, vol. 1, p. 333. (Nawal Kishore Press).

Sind—the Sixth Centre

As has been already mentioned the Arabs conquered the territory stretching from Deybal (Thath ^{ثاٲ}) onwards at the end of the first century A.H., but the fact is that, even before this conquest, nay, before the invasion, there were Muslim inhabitants in Sind. Five hundred Arab Muslims under the leadership of an Arab Sirdar fled away from Makran to Râja Dahir of Sind. Muhammad bin Qâsim conquered Sind and Multân at the end of the first Muslim century. After that, for a century and a quarter, this country became a province, first of the Damascus Government and then of the Baghdad Government. Towards the middle of the third century A. H., after Mu'tasam bi'llâh, the weakness of the centre gave rise to fissiparous tendencies and Arab governors became independent in a way. After this the Hindus annexed some parts and the Muslims founded little States at various places. Some Muslim States existed in Sind right up to the days of the conquest of Sultân Mahmûd of Ghazni and two of them were, comparatively speaking, large ones. One was situated in Mansûrah on the border of Sind and the other in Multân on the extreme boundary of Sind. The Arab travellers who came here till the end of the 4th century A.H. describe both these Islamic States. Before Mahmûd, there were scores of Muslim scholars and traditionists in Multân, Mansûrah, Deybal and other towns. One of them was Abu Ma'ther Najhîh of Sind, who flourished in the second century and who was a student of the Prophet's biography. He was so much respected that, when he died the Khalîfah Al-Mahdi led the funeral prayers. A famous Arabic poet (of Sind) of the same age was Abu 'Atâ Sindhi whose pronunciation was not admirable but the merit of whose Arabic verses was admitted even by the Arabs. If the names of other celebrities be recounted, a volume would be made. Hence I leave out other names.

After the conquest of Sind the Arabs established their settlements. The tribes of Qureysh, Kalb Tamîm, Asad and various tribes of the Hijâz and Yaman settled down in sundry towns and their government existed, in some form or other, from Multân to the sea right up to the

middle of the third century A.H. But the jealousies and rivalries and civil wars between the Arabs of Yaman and those of the Hijâz annihilated them and many lands slipped out of their hands. But the States of Multân and Mansûrah (Sind) existed till Mahmûd's invasion. I want to describe these with some details.

Multan

It has been mentioned above that this town was annexed by the Arabs in the first century A.H (7th century A.D.) and remained from that time to Mahmûd's time under Arab rule. Every Arab traveller of the third and fourth centuries has mentioned it. Even at the time of Mahmûd's invasion and afterwards there were Muslim settlements here. In the beginning, this town, like other towns of Sind, was within the ambit of the Omayyad dominions. After thirty or forty years the wheels of Fortune took a new turn. In 132 A.H. the 'Abbasids replaced the Omayyads and held in their hands the reins of the Islamic empire. The centre of government shifted from Damascus to Baghdad. Multân remained bound up with the 'Abbasid Government till about the beginning of the third century A.H., that is, till Mu'tasam's time. Then it happened that whenever a king was powerful he kept intact his possession over distant towns. But if the king was weak, the governors of the towns became independent. Multân remained under the governors of Sind and Mansûrah for some time ; but later threw off the yoke of Sind and became a self-governing State. The date of this independence is probably the middle of the third century A. H.

Multân denotes not a single town but a whole province which was sometimes a State, nay, a kingdom. Mahalabî, Minister of Egypt, wrote in the fourth century A.H. : Its boundaries are wide. It extends up to Makran on the West and up to Mansûrah (Sind) in the South.¹ The Kannauj, which lay near the river Sind, was included in Multân in 300 A.H.² According to census reports there were one lac and twenty villages within the orbit of the Islamic State of Multan.³

(1) *Taqwimu'l-buldan* by Abu'l-Fidâ, p. 350, (Paris).

(2) *Mas'ûdî*, vol. 1, p. 372, (Paris).

(3) *Ibid.* p. 375.

It has been a rule more often than not in old kingdoms that the non-official sects of a religion flee for refuge to the borderland. The fire-worshipping Iranians and Christians of Byzantium did so. Such was the case with the Muslim Arabs. In Qazdâr there was a population of Khârijî Muslims and they had their own government. So Multân, too, became the refuge of a sect of Shi'as known as Ismâ'ilîs who, later on, established their government there. They were pure Arabs and called themselves the descendants of Sâmah bin Lû'î . سامه بن لوى .

Who were Banu Samah ?

Among the early ancestors of Qureysh there was one Lû'î bin Ghâlib. One of his descendants was Sâmah. This family was known as Banu Sâmah.¹ In the history of Islam this family attained to grandeur during Mu'tadad's (معتضد) time. In the province of Oman in Arabia there were plenty of Khârijîs (Schismatics). Muhammad bin Qâsim, who was sent to chastise them, defeated them and established his government in Oman where the Sunnah became the ruling force. He is the first Amîr of his dynasty and after him his descendants ruled over that State. In 305 A.H. their natural jealousies led to internecine strife. The Qarâmitah who were gaining strength in Bahreyn made capital out of the situation so much so that in 317 A.H. Abu Tâhir Qaramatî annexed Oman to the Qarmatian possessions.² The sea-trade between Oman and Sind had existed for a very long time and the relation of the Sâmanid with Sind was of long standing. A slave of the Sâmanid, Ghulâm Fazl bin Mâhân and some members of his dynasty ruled over Sandân in Sind from Ma'mûn's time to the time of Al-Mu'tasam billâh, but fratricidal warfare put an end to this rule.³

It would be no wonder if, after the extinction of their kingdom in Oman, the Sâmanids, fleeing from the Qarmatians, had migrated to Sind and from Sind to Multân where God blessed them with a new kingdom.

(1) Ibn Khaldûn has often made it clear that many ethnologists do not recognise the descent of Banû Sâmah بنو سامه from this Sâmah bin Lû'î . سامه بن لوى v. Ibn Khaldûn, vol. 1, p. 324 and vol. 4, p. 93.

(2) Ibn Khaldûn, vol. 4, p. 93.

(3) Balâdhari, p. 446, (Leiden).

However that may be the Sâmanids were the nobles of Multân. We first find mention of their independent State at the end of the third century A.H.

Banu Manbah

First of all. Ibn Rastah, whose date is 290 A.H., says in the geographical portion of his book *Kitabu'l-a'laq-un-Nafsiyah* "There is a people in Multân who claim descent from Sâmah bin Lû'i.¹ They are called Banu Manbah. They are the rulers there and in the Khutbah they mention the Amîr-ul-Mu'minîn. When Indian Râjas attack them they, too, move forward with their large army from Multân, fight with them and, by virtue of their strength and wealth, overpower them."²

Ten years later Mas'ûdî arrives at Multân, in 300 A.H. "The Amîr of Multân (I have mentioned that the government is in the hands of Sâmah bin Lû'i bin Ghâlib) has an army, and he is powerful. Multân is among the great frontier provinces of the Islamic Empire. Under the control of Multân there are a hundred thousand and twenty villages which have been reckoned. Here there is the famous idol-house..... The income of the Amîr of Multân mostly depends upon the sweet-smelling wood which is sent to this idol-house from distant places. Whenever Hindus attack Multân and the Muslims are not prepared to face the attack they give out the threat of demolition of the idol-house, whereupon the Hindu armies go back. I went to Multân after 300 A.H. and the ruler at that time was 'Abdullâh Manbah bin Asad Qarshi Sâmî :³

Forty years after Mas'ûdî, Istakhrî (اصطخرى) came to India in 340 A.H. He says :—

"The town of Multân is half of Mansûrah. There is an idol-house here ; pilgrims come from distant places and they spend large sums upon it and its guardian priests. The idol-house is situated in the most flourishing part of the bazaar—(Then there is a description of the idol). Whatever comes here is taken by the Amîr. He spends some money upon the priests and saves some for himself.

(1) Some historians and travellers have written, instead of Sâmah (سامه), Asâmah أسامه which is incorrect.

(2) *Al-A'laqun-Nafsiyah* الأعلام النفسية by Ibn Rastâh.

(3) *Muruju'dh-dhahab* by Mas'ûdî, vol. 1, pp. 375, 376, (Paris).

Whenever any Hindu Râja intends to attack him, he holds out the threat of demolishing the idol-house. The Râja retraces his steps. Were it not for this fact, the Hindu Râjas would have harried Multân. There is a strong rampart-wall on all sides of Multân—Outside the town, at a distance of half a *farsang* there are many buildings named *Jandrawan*. It is a military camp. The king lives here. He goes to Multân only on Fridays. He goes to the town on an elephant to offer Friday prayers. He is by birth of Qureysh and is descended from Sâmân bin Lû'î سامان بن لؤي. Multân is in his possession and he does not owe allegiance to the Amir of Mansûrah or to anybody else. He mentions in the Khutbah the name of the Caliph.”¹

Twenty-seven years after Istakhrî, Ibn Hauqal, arrived at Multân in 367 A.H. He has recorded a good many things about Multân, but he gives no account of the Bâtinis and Ismâ'ilîs though this new feature deserved mention.

Eight years after Ibn Hauqal, Bashâri Al-Muqaddasî بشارى مقدسى set foot on the soil of Multân. He says: “The people of Multân are Shî'as. They shout *hayya 'ala kheyri'l-'amal* حي على خير العمل in the call to prayer and call ‘takbîr’ (Allahu Âkbar—God is greater) twice when standing up to pray.”²

“In Multân the people mention in the Khutbah the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt and everything is managed according to his orders. Presents are always sent from this place to Egypt.”³

These statements, besides other events, go to prove that during Ibn Rastah's time (290 A.H.), again during Mas'ûdî's time (as he is silent) and during Istakhrî's time the government was in the hands of Sunnis and the Khutbah used to mention the Caliph of Baghdad. Till 367 nothing had happened. But in 375 the government appears to be in the hands of the Ismâ'ilîs and under the influence of the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt who was an Ismâ'ilî. It is obvious that this religious revolution of the ruling dynasty of Multân took place in 340 A.H. or between 367 and 375 A.H.

(1) Istakhrî—quotation from *Mu'jamu'l-buldan* by Yâqût.

(2) *Ahsanu'l-taqasim* by Muqaddasî, p. 481.

(3) *Ibid* p. 485.

This hypothetical history is corroborated by the fact that the kingdom of the Fatimids was established in Egypt at the same time, i.e., in 358 A.H. and that their capital shifted from Tripoli to Egypt in 361 A.H. At that time the Islamic world was divided into two camps. The Sunnis owed allegiance to the 'Abbâsid Caliph of Baghdad while the Shî'âs recognised the Fâtimid Caliph of Egypt. These two Caliphates vied with one another to extend their influence in the various Islamic countries. This rivalry existed even in Mecca and Madinah. Whenever an Islamic kingdom was established the advocates and propagandists of both Caliphates started their propaganda. It was the period of the decay of the Baghdad Caliphate and of the fame and grandeur of the Caliphate in Egypt. The 'Abbâsid kingdom had grown old and effete, while the Fâtimid kingdom was in the heyday of glory. But the 'Abbâsids had their compensation. The new Turkish kingdoms founded in the East recognised the suzerainty of the 'Abbâsids. The Sâmanids of Bûkhâra were under their influence. In the middle of the fourth century A.H. the Ghaznawids appeared on the scene; and, forty or fifty years later, the banner of the Seljûqs was unfurled; and they all, in spite of their great military strength, bowed before the 'Abbâsid Caliph. With the rise of Sultân Mahmûd's fame the Caliph of Baghdad sent him, first in 387, and, then in 390, rich robes, and gave him the titles of Amînu'l-Millah, Yamînu'd-daulah. In 396 A.H. the Sultân arrayed his forces against the Ismâ'ilîs and arrested the Qarmatian Amîr. Probably it was this which led the Egyptian Fâtimids to send their ambassador to Mahmûd. Mahmûd had him arrested on the way and placed him in charge of the famous Sayyid Huseyn bin Tâhir bin Muslim 'Ulwi who had him put to death.*

The Qarmatians of Multan

Now the question arises: Was the Ismâ'ilî dynasty which came upon the scene after the Arab Sunnî dynasty of the Banu Manbah, which Arab geographers describe as the ruling dynasty of Multân, the line of the Arab Banu Manbah converted from Sunnism to Shî'aism? Or was it some other dynasty? The heaps of books

* There is an account of this Fatimid embassy given in *Zaynu'l-akhbar*, p. 71 (Berlin).

before me do not give any clue, but Abû Reyhân al-Bîrûnî writes, while describing the idol-house of Multân, in *Kitabu'l-Hind*, which he wrote in 424 A.H. :—

“ When the Qarmatians (Ismâ'ilîs) became rulers of Multân, Jalam bin Sheybân, who had gained the upper hand, took the Jâmi' mosque of Muhammad bin Qâsim to be an Omayyad relic. He demolished the shrine and built a mosque on its site.”¹

It transpires that this Qarmatian dynasty which gained supremacy at the end of the fourth century was a new one. The founder was Jalam bin Sheybân and, as the name indicates, he was an Arab. Al-Bîrûnî says “ The period of these Qarmatians is nearly a hundred years behind us.”² *Kitabu'l-Hind* was written in 424, A.H., and a hundred years behind this date would be 324. But we have learnt that the Sunnî-Arab dynasty of Banu Manbah existed, for certain, till 340 A.H. Hence 324 A.H. marks, not the date of the possession of Multân by the Qarmatians, but of their appearance on the coasts of the Persian Gulf.

The fact is that the names of three Islamic sects have become mixed up—the *Qaramitah*, the *Ismâ'iliyah* and the *Malahidah* (ملاحده). Though all three sects are branches of the Shî'a faith, there are slight distinctions which separate them one from the other. The dates of their births, too, are different. First of all, at the end of the third century, the Qarmatians made their appearance in Bahreyn, the Persian Gulf and 'Irâq; the Ismâ'ilîs appeared in Africa in 296 A.H., but came to Egypt in 356 A.H.; the *Malahidah*, also known as *Batiniyah* who were followers of Hasan bin Sabbah appeared in Khurâsân after 483 A.H. The Fâtimid Ismâ'ilî Caliph, Al-Hâkim bi amri'llâh founded a new sect in Syria, known as the Durûz (Druses). The question arises :—while it is certain that the sect which held the reins of Multân Government was of the Ismâ'ilî Shî'a persuasion, to what subsect did it belong? The historians who have called them *Qaramitah* (قرامطة) and *Malahidah* (ملاحده) did so on the strength of certain resemblances. The period when the ruling sect became

(1) *Kitabu'l-Hind* p. 501 (London).

(2) *Ibid* p. 56 (London).

powerful in Multân (after 340 A.H.) was everywhere a period of decay and downfall for the Qarmatians. Secondly, the Qarmatians only nominally recognised the leadership of the Fâtimid Caliphs of Egypt, while the people of Multân fully recognised it. Thirdly, Bashârî Muqaddasî, a religious scholar, mentions them, not as Qarmatians, but as Shî'as and under the influence of the Fâtimids. Then again, *hayya 'ala kheyri'l-'amal* على خير العمل

in the call to prayer and the particular characteristics regarding Friday prayers and the Khutbah were not found among the articles of the Qarmatian faith, but all these things, according to Muqaddasî, were included in the practice of the Ismâ'ilites of Multân. The Druses are a product of the years between 376 and 411 A. H.—a much later development. The sect of Malâhidah or Bâtiniyah founded by Hasan bin Sabbâh was born a hundred years later. So it is entirely erroneous on the part of some historians to describe them as Malâhidah.*

It is just possible that, through the influence of the Qarmatians of the Persian Gulf, Bahrein and Oman, they appeared on the scene, as *Qaramitah*, and, later on, were coloured by the Fâtimid Ismâ'ili faith. The Qarâmitah were, in a sense, half Ismâ'ilis.

The name of the ancestor of the Ismâ'ili dynasty which ruled over Multân at that time was, according to Persian histories, Sheykh Hamîd. It is not known from what source Firishta has written that the early Muslims who came here at the time of the invasion of Afghanistan could not go back and began to intermarry with the Pathans of the Khyber mountains. Two tribes, the Lodis and the Surs, sprang from this Arab-Afghan progeny. Sheykh Hamîd belonged to this very Lodi tribe. The whole story, like other baseless things relating to the origin of tribes, is pure invention. The Lodis never appended 'Sheykh' to their names. Nor were their names anything of this sort. That they embraced Islam can be hardly recognised. The truth is that Persian historians were entirely unfamiliar with Arabic histories. So they could not help taking the Muslim nobles to be Afghans. Sheykh Hamîd and others had no connection at all with the Afghans and were probably descended from Jalam bin Sheybân as has been just mentioned with reference to Al-Bîrûnî. Further detail follows.

*The word is often used as a general term for any heretics—Editor, "I.C."

It is written in *Firishta* that when Alaptagin and his successor Sabuktagin started invading the country of the Afghans the latter sought help from Râja Jaipal of Lahore. Râja Jaipal consulted the Râja of Bhâtiyâ بهائیہ and decided that since the Indian army could not endure the biting cold of Frontier winter, the Pathans should be brought here and made to settle down. Thus Sheykh Hamîd Lodi was awarded the Jagir of Lamghan لغمان and Multân. Sheykh Hamîd appointed his officers and, in consideration of his Jagir, performed the service of defending India against the invasions of Alaptagin in 351 and 365 respectively.* In this incident the story of bringing Pathans to settle and of mentioning Sheykh Hamîd as a Lodi, is pure fiction.

When Sabuktagin became king after Alaptagin in 365, Sheykh Hamîd, seeing the growing power of Ghazni, made peace with Sabuktagin and became a tributary of that Amîr. When Sultân Mahmûd sat on the throne of Ghazni in 390 A.H. and when he was attacking Bajrão بجرآؤ, Raja of Bhâtiyâ, the kingdom of Multân was in the hands of Sheykh Hamîd's grandson, Abû'l-Fath Dâ'ûd bin Nasîr b.n Sheykh Hamîd who is mentioned as a heretic and a Qarmatian. Perhaps, seeing the growing ambition of Sultân Mahmûd, Abû'l-Fath Dâ'ûd wanted to defend himself by alliance with Hindu Râjas. On the occasion of the invasion of the territory of Bhâtiyâ, Abû'l-Fath helped Bajrão.

This year the Sultân watched all this silently, but, next year in 396, he resolved to punish Abû'l-Fath. He wanted that, instead of going direct to Multân, (i.e., through Dera Ghâzi Khân), he should go from Peshâwar to the Punjâb, and from the Punjâb to Multân and take Abû'l-Fath by surprise. This led the Sultân to ask Anandpal to permit this army to pass through his country to Multân. Other historians relate that Abû'l-Fath, having learnt the Sultân's intentions, sought Anandpal's aid. The Râja went from Lahore to Peshâwar to persuade the Sultân not to carry out his intentions. But the Sultân's army defeated Anandpal, passed through his country to Multân. Abû'l-Fath shut himself in the palace; and, at last, the people of the town intervened and made a

*The whole story is given in *Firishta*, vol. 1, pp. 17, 18 (Nawal Kishore Press).

compromise on condition that a fixed tribute should be sent from Multân to Ghazni. Abû'l-Fath recanted his faith and promised that the principles of Sunni faith, and not of Ismâ'îlî, should be current in the land. A few years after (before 402 A.H.) the Sultân again attacked Multân and annihilated the Ismâ'îlî faith. He seized Dâ'ûd bin Nasîr, took him to Ghazni, and imprisoned him in the fort of Ghôr where he died.¹

This is the summary of Firishta's statement. But Gardîzî کردیزی whose history *Zeynu'l-akhbar* was written about 441 A.H. in the time of the Ghaznavids and at the capital, says, "The Sultân intended to start from Ghazni for Multân and thought that, if he should go direct to Multân, Dâ'ûd bin Nasar (not Nasîr), the Amîr of Multân, might perchance get the news and make arrangements for his safety. So he took another route. Anandpal's dominion lay on the way and Mahmûd sought that road. Anandpal refused. A fight ensued. Anandpal fled to Kashmîr. The Sultân reached Multân and besieged it for seven days. At last the inhabitants made peace on condition that they would henceforward pay a tribute of twenty thousand dirhams. The Sultan went back. All this happened in 396 A.H. --Then, again in 401 A.H., he went from Ghazni to Multân and conquered the remaining unconquered portion of Multân. He arrested the majority of the Qarâmitah (Ismâ'îlîs) who lived there, killed some, chopped off the hands of some, and punished them very severely. And that very year he arrested Dâ'ûd bin Nasar and incarcerated him in the fort of Ghôr."²

In trustworthy Arabic histories there is a very brief account of this affair and there is divergence of opinion on some points. But there is unanimity so far as the important points are concerned. Ibn Athîr (555 A.H.—630 A.H.) says :—

"This year (396 A.H.) Sultân Mahmûd invaded Multân. The motive behind this invasion was the fact that the Sultân had come to know of the heresies and unorthodox opinions of Abû'l-Futûh (أبو الفتح) the ruler of Multân. He also learnt that he had given his subjects an

(1) *Tarikh-i-Firishta* pp. 25, 27. (Nawal Kishore Press)

(2) *Zeynu'l-Akhbar* by Gardîzî, pp. 67, 68, (Berlin).

invitation to believe in his heresies and that his subjects had responded to his call. This led the king to wage a holy war against him and to bring him down. He started from Ghazna and found in the way many rivers and brooks which were overflowing with water. It was difficult to cross Seyhûn especially. Hence he sent word to Anandpal asking him to let him pass through his country to Multân. When he refused, the Sultân attacked him first. Anandpal fled away to Kashmîr. When Abû'l-Futûh heard of the Sultân's march, finding himself not equal to the task of facing him, he sent all his fortune to Ceylon and left Multân. When the Sultân arrived here, he found the people enveloped in the Cimmerion darkness of heresy. He besieged them, conquered them, and fined them twenty thousand dirhams."¹

Ibn Khaldûn, too, has repeated these events in his history.²

This extract gives us the correct name Abû'l-Futûh أبو الفتح instead of Abu'l-Fath أبو الفتح. Secondly, we get to know the reason why, instead of going direct from Ghazni to Multân the Sultân took the route through the Punjâb. But the incident of Abû'l-Futûh having sent his treasures to Ceylon is baseless. Perhaps the historians of those days did not know the distance between Multân and Ceylon. Possibly it is that in the original MS. there was the name of some town which was wrongly transcribed as Sarandip (Ceylon). After this, in 403 A.H., the Fâtimid Caliph of Egypt wanted to establish relations with Sultân Mahmûd, but the latter declined and the ambassador was killed, as has been described above.

In this connection, a very important thing is a passage from the holy book of the Druses. In a writing of the year 423 A.H. we find :—³

"Addressed to the Indian believers in the unity of God generally, and to Skeykh Ibn Saumar Râjah Pâl (شيخ ابن سومر راجه پال) in particular."

(1) Ibn Athîr, *Kamil*, vol. 9, p. 132. (Leiden).

(2) Ibn Khaldûn, vol. 4, p. 366, (Egypt).

(3) Supplement to Elliot's *History*, vol. 1, p. 491.

423 A.H. is the period of Mas'ûd, the son and successor of Sultân Mahmûd (d. 421 A.H.). This shows that even after the Ghaznavid conquest of Multân, Multân was a centre for Schismatics. Even it appears as if, after the weakening of the Ghaznavids, Multân again was possessed by the Ismâ'ilis since, in the time of Shihâbu'd-dîn Ghôri, we again find the Ismâ'ilis ruling over Multân. In 572 A.H. the Sultan had to snatch away Multân from the *Qaramitah* (Ismâ'ilis).* At last Multân became incorporated with the Delhi Government.

*Firishta, vol. 1, p. 56 and vol. 2, p. 324, (Nawal Kishore Press).

SULEYMAN NADVI.

(*To be continued*)

AL-MANFALUTI—AN EGYPTIAN ESSAYIST

GRIEF, FOR THE DEATH OF A YOUNG SON

THIS moment there has fallen from my hand, my dear son, the last particle of dust from your graveside, and I have come home like a vanquished general, bringing with me naught save tears which I cannot shed and sighs which find no issue.

It was written in God's decrees that through you I should suffer. For He bestowed you on me before I asked you of Him; and then bereaved me of you, before I could beg your survival from His mercy. Assuredly He willed that His determination should be accomplished in me and that I should drink His cup to the end. For He has denied me even the relief of tears and the groans which alleviate woe. Praise be to Him, in wrath as in mercy; praise be to Him giving and taking away. His will be done in me and through me, and mine be the patience to suffer what He sends.

I saw you, my dear son, in your bed, ailing; and I was anxious. Then I began to fear that you might die, and I was terrified. And as though I imagined that Death and Life were prerogatives of mankind and matters which their hands control, I entrusted you to a physician who prescribed a remedy and promised healing. Thus I came to sit by your bedside, letting fall into your mouth that yellow potion, drop by drop, while all the time destiny was dragging your life out from between your ribs, fragment after fragment. Until I looked at you and saw before me a dead body, cold and motionless; and, see, the bottle of medicine was still in my hand. And I knew that I had lost you, and that the decision had been in the hands of God's destiny, not of the doctor.

It will not be long, my dear son, until Fate treat me as it has treated you and I lie upon a couch like yours. In

that hour I think that of all the chances and changes and adversities of the world the last remembrance which will haunt my memory will be unceasing regret ; regret for the bitter draught I poured for you with my own hand, as you were giving your life away, and your cheek was becoming ashy and your limbs beginning to tremble. You had no strength to stretch a hand to stop me, nor power of speech to protest against the bitter taste in your mouth.

It would have been better for both of us, my dear son, had I left it to God to heal you or to make you ill ; to let you live or to cause you to die ; so that our last moments together on the day when you bade the world farewell should not have been associated with my causing you pain. I have even come to believe that I helped to kill you ; and that the cup of death which Destiny offered you did not taste so bitter in your mouth as the phial of medicine which I brought you in my own hand.

How ugly life seems, my dear son, now you have gone ! How hateful I find the aspect of the world ! Without you, how profound is the gloom of the room in which I live. You were the hope which, like the rising sun, illumined it all. Today my eye sees as little of what is around me as your eye sees in the darkness of the grave.

The men-mourners and the women-mourners have bewailed you, what they would, and have made lamentation for you, what they could ; until, when the water of their eyes was near consuming and, from excess, force failed them the resuming, going apart to their dwelling-places, they fell silent. There remain no watchers in the darkness of this night, save two pairs of sorrowing eyes, the eyes of your father, grieving, bereaved, and the eyes of her whom you know.

Long does the night seem to me ; I have become weary of it. Yet I do not ask God to lance the darkness with day's radiance. The agony which your loss caused has left in me no residue of strength with which to bear sights bringing to mind the traces of your presence. Would that the night might remain and I not see the face of day ! Nay, would that day come, for I am weary of the dark.

You, my son, I buried today ; your brother I buried before you ; before you two, I buried your two brothers. Every day I welcome a new visitor and every day I say

Godspeed to a departing guest. God help me ! There has befallen me more than the lot of human heart ; I bear more than my portion of calamity and woe.

Every one of you, my sons, rent a piece from my heart. The fragments of that heart of mine lie torn and tattered, in the four corners of the graveyard ; to me there only remains a little piece, which will not last, I think, for ever. I think time will soon steal it away, as it stole its sisters before it.

Why did you go, my sons, after you had come ? And why come, if you knew you could not stay ?

If you had never come, loneliness would not have hurt me. I am not one of those whose eyes covet what their hands cannot reach. And if, having come, you had remained, you would not have caused me to drink this bitter draught.

It would have sufficed me, in the matter of children, that Destiny should have kept himself a little apart from me and averted his face, neither regarding me nor regarded by me, neither favouring me nor injuring me, offering me neither good nor evil, neither smiling nor frowning upon me, nor laughing nor crying ; if only he had been content with that !

But Destiny is too crafty and his glance too piercing not to realise that I would never have regretted a blessing which I had not experienced or have found bitter the absence of sweetness which I had never tasted. So, since he wished to visit me with the discipline of suffering with which he takes it upon himself to visit all men, when he found that he could not attack me by the gate of Covetousness he got at me by the door of Hope. He gave me a gift that made me for the moment happy ; then, when he knew that the seed of anticipation which he had planted in my heart had become a flower, a fragrant flower, in which I took delight, he rushed upon me in the height of my contentment, and snatched it from me, as he snatches the cup of cool water from the hand of the thirsty fever-patient. In no other manner could he have found a way to my heart, to hurt me, to thrust his arrow deep into my being and to overwhelm me by stealing my happiness from my hand.

O my sons, if by God's decree you meet in one of the gardens of Paradise, or beside a stream or beneath the shade of a mansion of Heaven, think of me as I think of you. Stand in order before your Lord, as worshippers stand. Stretch out to Him your small hands, like suppliants, saying, "Lord God, the love for us of this unhappy man is known to Thee, as ours for him. Fate parted us. In the world below he ceases not to encounter of life's trouble and woe more than his strength can bear. And we in Paradise cease not to feel such yearning and longing for him as disturbs the serene blessedness of existence in Thy presence and sight and hearing. Since then, Thy mercy cannot permit a cruel punishment for him or us, return us to him, or let him come to us." Nay, pray only that He bring me to you—I cannot wish for you this life which to myself is hateful. Maybe God will grant your prayer the response which He refused to mine. Maybe the curtain which He placed between us will be raised and, as we once were, we shall meet again.

TIME'S LESSON

A certain man built in one of the walled gardens of his flowery parks a lordly castle which gleamed in that green expanse as the bright stars gleam in the azure sky; the lofty battlements vied with the constellations of the heavens, like an eagle that soars in space, or an ear-ring hung in the lobes of Gemini. Its turrets were like ears to which the stars whispered their secrets; its apertures chambers of the Zodiac through which were borne the sun and moon.

"Built of marble, strong with mortar,
"Its summit the haunt of birds."

In the embellishment of its roofs and walls, corridors and vestibules there had been employed the most famous artists and the richest materials. He who passed through pavilion and courtyard, chamber and closet, would fancy himself passing from walled garden blossoming with white lilies and red roses to forest glade where ashy wolf and striped tiger were crossing to the hunter's sight; from a playground where gazelles were chasing lions to a wilderness where lions preyed on fawns. In the most spacious of the courts he built a great round marble water-basin from whose opposing sides a jet sprang

skyward like drawn sword or well-aimed arrow, so that the beholder fancied Earth took revenge on Heaven for the blood she spilt on her, replying to her sister's shooting stars and meteors with arrows and sharp swords of her own. Around a lake rose a girdle of well-assorted trees, whose boughs danced above the carpet of flowers at the whisper of the breezes of dawn. At their swaying the birds warbled amongst the fruit-trees, in harmony of birds' song, pleasanter than strings. God knows the quantity that man had stored within his residence of all that ministers to spacious life—the cushions, pillows, couches, elbow-rests; the carpets, the divans, the screens, the thrones for brides; the tracery, the carving; the bowls of flaming gold, the dazzling crystal cups; the cotes for doves, the eagles' aviaries; the haunts for lions and tigers; the litters, the carriages, the highbred steeds; the multitude of slave-girls who encircled his banquets as strings of pearls encircle a virgin's neck; the pages who moved about the upper rooms and terraces like cupbearers from Paradise.

On a pitch-dark winter's night, blacker than the raven's plumage, the owner of this castle awoke from unconsciousness, stirred in his bed, opened his eyes and found beside him none save his slave Bilâl. This was a black, long-toothed eunuch who had brought him up as a boy and been his attendant in manhood, and possessed the two virtues of intelligence and faithfulness. To him his master despondently and with effort made signs that he wished to drink. When the water came, he propped himself up in bed and drank; and when the water had loosened his tongue, spoke, saying,

"What hour of the night is it, Bilâl?"

"The last hour, master."

"Has your mistress come back yet?"

"No."

At this answer the sick man frowned and groaned as though his heart were broken. Then he began to speak in self-communion. "She knows that I am ill and must have someone with me, to look after me and ease my pain a little. Nobody else in this palace has such a good qualification and title to do so as she. What has become of the constancy of which she boasted, swearing to me by all that she held sacred? How she vaunted her love, morning and evening, late and early! What of the well-being with which I enfolded her, and the cup of luxury

which I gave her to drink ? Is it because she realises that I am caught between life which I no longer desire and death which I cannot attain, that she has lost interest in me, finds my shadow a burden, my end too slow, my lying in bed an intolerable tedium ? Is that why she runs from me every night, seeking some agreeable spot where time's passage is all pleasure ? Ah, life is too long and death too slow."

Thus he spoke to himself until his malady awoke within him, his nerves throbbed, and his head burned with fever like a kettle boiling on the fire. Then he fell back upon the bed, sipping from the bitter cup of death whose last mouthful he could not swallow.

A second time he awoke from unconsciousness and sought in vain the features for which his sick soul longed. Then he addressed his slave :

The Master—Don't you know where your mistress is, Bilâl ?

Bilâl—It is better that you should not know, my master, nor blame her for her absence. She has a debt outstanding with certain people, and she goes out every night to collect it.

The Master—I never knew, Bilâl, until this moment that there was anything of the sort between her and any one. Who has ever heard of a creditor collecting debts at this hour of the night ? Is it so hard for her to find an agent to undertake the task that she must do it personally ? Hasn't she collected her debt yet, after a whole year of nightly journeys ?

Bilâl—There exists a written contract between her and her debtor. By it he is permitted to repay the debt little by little, every night a little, provided that he hand it over to her personally, and that the payments are made a little before dawn.

The Master—I never heard of so extraordinary a debt or such a contract. Who is the debtor ?

Bilâl—Yourself, my lord.

The Master (gazing at him in bewilderment and fear)—Your answer is a riddle that makes my brain reel. I think you must be mad, or mocking me.

Bilâl (approaching the bed)—As we stand before God, master, was I ever mad or mocked you ? Have you

forgotten the interminable nights you spent away from home, the race to outstrip desire and leave no cup untasted; the robes you trailed along the floors of shame, squandering your inheritance in dishonour? While your wife remained alone, in this room, upon this bed; hating the solitude, weeping as she turned upon the hot coals of her desire and longing for you. You used not to come back until the raven of night had grown grey and the eagle of dawn taken flight. As you stole the nights from her, so you became her debtor for them; and now she is taking them back from you, night by night, till the tale be told. Such is the debt, and such the debtor. Have you forgotten that you, perhaps, in those nights, were detaining a wife from a husband who needed her then as you need her now, and sighed as you sigh and complained as you complain? Tonight he is demanding his due, demanding full compensation, guinea for guinea, eye for eye. He injures you through your wife as you injured him through his, and he makes your rest uneasy as you made his. Master, by your sense of justice and dignity, I adjure you, recognise your debt, lest you be numbered amongst the transgressors.

The Master—Stop, Bilál. I acknowledge the truth. Let me alone with the present. Let the past go. Call my son to me.

Bilal—He hasn't come back yet from the errand on which you sent him, master.

The Master—I don't recollect sending him on an errand. Where has he gone?

Bilal—He has gone to the Tavern as usual. He will not come back till he has drunk his fill; and when he has drunk his fill he will not be able to come back.

How often I stood before you, master, and urged you to part the young man from his evil companions before they corrupted him for you; and you rebuked me, saying that the boy's lack of control and wilfulness and wantonness were but indications of high spirit, natural enough in a rich man's son. How often I implored you to have him disciplined and schooled to explore other roads than Tavern Lane. But you said that only those who had to earn their livelihood needed schooling, and that your son was in circumstances that made it unnecessary. Do you now complain of your own handiwork and weep for your own victim? Wasn't it you yourself who sent him to the

Tavern ; and taught him his late hours and dismissed him from your bedside when you needed him most ?

As Bilâl ceased to speak, the shroud of night slipped down and the whiteness of dawn began to glow in the darkness. And, hark, the voice of the waterwheel moaning in the castle garden like a mother who has lost her only child. "Give me your hand, Bilâl," whispered the master. "lead me near the little window. Let my soul rest from pain a moment while I say goodbye beside it to the breeze of life."

Leaning upon his servant's arm, he reached the little window and sat upon the couch and gazed and gazed into the garden. Beside the waterwheel sat the gardener and his wife, content shining through the rents of their tattered garments as stars shine between scattered clouds. There sat that innocent couple, affectionate, not complaining, not wrangling. You could see how vigorously the uncontaminated blood ran in their veins ; what rest it gave them in their toil. It mattered nothing to them that their clothes were stained by toil and their food plain. The haughty palace towering above them caused them no sighs of envy. They were talking together, and the sick man listening heard the man say to his wife :

The Gardener—As God lives, wife, if this castle and its parks and wealth were offered to me, on condition that I took that treacherous harlot to wife, I would none of it. I'd liefer be in the wilderness alone than live in such a place and have its troubles.

The Gardener's Wife—I don't think master will get better from this sickness. It's a whole year now that he's been ill. And he gets weaker and thinner every day.

Gardener—They say the Doctor gave up hope, though he didn't say so. You can't be surprised, for master just spent himself the whole time, until there was nothing of him left.

The Gardener's Wife—Poor man, he was his own worst enemy ; he sinned against himself.

The Gardener—It wasn't he that sinned against himself. He was deceived and fooled—fooled by his youth and

rank and wealth. He thought he could compact with time for health to last for ever ; and on he went till he was taken in his own snare.

The Gardener's Wife—Do you know what will happen to the castle after him ?

The Gardener—I suppose it will pass to his son.

The Gardener's Wife—I don't think so. I think it will go to So-and-so.

The Gardener—So-and-so is the master's friend, but not his heir.

The Gardener's Wife—He's not so much the master's friend as the mistress's. He's her suitor in master's sickness, and he'll be her husband after master's death.

As the sick man heard the last words, anguish suffocated him, and he fell backward from his seat, saying,

" I bear witness that I am amongst the unfortunate." Then he lay unconscious till there came upon him the last lucid moments that precede death, and his opening eyes beheld this melancholy and torturing scene :—

He saw his son passing the time with one of the castle maid-servants. He saw his wife laughing with one of her intimates, making signs with her eyes that the time was coming and the end near. He saw his friend and inheritor lording it over the servants, giving orders with the certainty of being obeyed. He saw himself in his death-agony, preparing himself for the journey from the castle to the grave, and he heard the voice of one crying from heaven, saying,

" O Man, had you done your duty by your wife, she would have done hers by you. Had you corrected your son, he would have honoured you. Had you chosen your friend well, he would not have betrayed you. Had you had pity on yourself, life would not have forsaken you."

Then he closed his eyes, saying :—" The will of God be done."

Thus that poor wretch left life, the sport of his wife, his son, his friend, his castle, his garden and himself.

“How many a caravan has halted beside us,

“Drinking wine with pure water ;

“The tempests of time fell upon them, and they
were cut off.

“Such is time, change after change.”*

* Verses attributed to Majnūn wa Leila (2nd half of 7th century A.D.) They are adapted from lines of ‘Adī ibn Zaid who lived a century earlier. *Kitabu’l-Ighani*, (Cairo Ed. 1928) 2, 90, 135.

NEVILL BARBOUR.

(*To be continued*)

THE HOUSE OF ALTUNTASH KHWÂRAZM SHAH

(Continued from our April Number.)

BU Nasr Mushkan related to Abu'l-Fazl Bayhaqî, that Bu Sahl Zuzani had put it in the Sultân's head that Altuntash was not a faithful man and he must be seized in Shubruqan because when he went to Khwârazm he was rather disappointed and when men like 'Alî Qureyb, Aryaruq, and Ghâzî had fallen and Altuntash was also overthrown and a deputy sent in his place, it would enrich the royal coffers and swell the royal army. Mas'ûd said that it appeared a difficult task as Khwârazm needed a huge army and a formidable commander. But Bu Sahl remarked that it was very easy, provided the Sultân kept it a secret, and proposed to write a confidential letter in his own hand to Manjuq, the commandant of the royal forces in Khwârazm and a bloodthirsty foe of Altuntash, to have him captured and murdered, because the royal forces numbered nearly 3,000 and it was evident that Altuntash and his detachment could do nothing in face of such a large army. Mas'ûd was led away and wrote a letter. Bu Sahl failed to remember that it would never be a secret ; the Khwârazmshah would be estranged for nothing, and the whole of Khurâsân would follow in his footsteps. After all, when the letter was despatched, Mas'ûd confided the secret to 'Abdus, a deadly enemy of Bu Sahl's, who, in a drinking party, betrayed it to Bu'l-Fath Hâtimî held by him in high confidence, and lamented that Bu Sahl would ruin the great Ghaznavid Empire. Bu'l-Fath Hâtimî, out of friendship for Bu Muhammad Mas'adî, and tempted by a bribe, told it to Mas'adî, who at once communicated this in an enigmatic letter to Altuntash's deputy, Ahmad 'Abdu's-Samad. The road to Khwârazm was blocked, letters were intercepted and great precautions were taken. The letter of Mas'adî was consequently brought to the court and Mas'ûd asked the Minister Ahmad Hasan Meymandî to ask Mas'adî why he wrote that letter. Mas'adî pleaded his connection

with Altuntash, whose paid agent he was, pledged to tell him whatever concerned him deeply, and refused to tell of what exactly he had written. But when he was warned that but for the magnanimity of his master he would have been questioned otherwise, he begged the royal pardon and confessed that he had been informed by Bu'l-Fath and he by Abdus. The Minister asked Mas'adî if he had written anything before, and was informed that the letter in question was an explanation of a previous one. Ahmad Hasan excused Mas'adî as he was a paid servant of Altuntash and bound in duty to do so, but suggested severe punishment of Bu'l-Fath as he had told a lie. He asked Bu Nasr privately to tell the Sultân not to let Abdus and Bu Sahl know this secret. Mas'adî was ordered to write an enigmatic letter at once to be sent by a messenger of his own and another through a royal messenger that what he had written previously was wrong, things had taken a different turn and the Sultân would chastise Hâtimî for telling a lie. Bu Nasr delivered this message, and Mas'ud, after a pause of astonishment and repentance, said that Bu'l-Fath had told a lie, that Abdus and Bu Sahl were on bad terms and Hâtimî fabricated this falsehood. Bu Nasr repeated what had happened between the Minister and Bu'l-Fath and how his letter contradicted his first report. Bu'l-Fath was given 500 strokes of the cane, and the office of Detective of Balkh was taken from him.

Ahmad Hasan and Bu Nasr were sorry for all this disturbance in State affairs. When Mas'adî went back, Ahmad Hasan told Bu Nasr that they had caused chaos in the Empire. How could it be possible with a man like Altuntash, "who was not the Demon of Sheba," supported by one like Ahmad Abd as Samad? Altuntash was lost and, as he was a wise old Turk, he might not blot his name by rebellion; and, despite Ahmad Hasan's aloofness from this conspiracy, Altuntash would lay the whole blame on him. He therefore requested Bu Nasr to go to the Amîr and say that, if anything had happened in their absence and without their knowledge, it should be made good. When Bu Nasr said this to Mas'ud, he flared up and said that nothing untoward had taken place. Abdus said only this to Mas'ud: that Altuntash escaped unscathed in Shubruqan; and he was silenced, but he went to Hâtimî, mentioned his fear to him that Bu Sahl would not stop his base activities and Hâtimî raised a huge edifice on it. Bu Nasr came back to Ahmad Hasan and the latter

said that something must have happened but the Amîr did not want them to know it.

While he was sitting before Mas'ûd the same day in the court, after noon-prayers, a royal messenger came from Khwârazm post-haste and the doorkeeper brought a letter at once. It was opened by Bu Nasr. It came from the Reporter, the brother of Bu'l-Fath Hâtimî, and was given to Mas'ûd who read it, and the ground seemed to have slipped from under his feet. Bu Nasr surmised that some mishap had occurred and wanted to go, but Mas'ûd stopped him, ordered the courtiers and chamberlains to go away, adjourned the court and, when no-one was left, threw the letter for Bu Nasr to read. It ran :—

“ Today on Friday, Khwârazmshâh held a darbar—attended by the nobles and the soldiers. Qâ'id Manjuq, the Commander of the Kajat tribe, was drunk, did not take his seat but went further. Khwârazmshâh smiled and said to him : ‘ The Commander last night heavily filled a place and slept late this morning.’ The Qâ'id retorted angrily :—‘ Your bounty to me is unlimited and therefore I indulge in luxuries and drinking. This waywardness will ruin me—first bread and then drink. One who has wealth drinks.’

“ Khwârazmshâh again laughed and said, ‘ Don't talk to me like a drunkard’ ; and he replied ‘ Yes, the satiated regards a hungry man as mad and drunken ; it is our fault that we put up with it.’

“ Tash-Mahruy, the Commander of Khwârazmshâh, shouted, ‘ Do you know what you are saying ? A great chief is talking to you in fun and with smiles, and you transgress the limits. But for the respect of this house, the reply would have been given with the sword.’

“ The Qâ'id told him to shut up and took his sword. The chamberlains and pages grappled with him and a scuffle ensued, he calling names and struggling with them, and Khwârazmshâh shouting to them to leave him alone. A few kicks below the belt in the mêlée and he was taken home and died at noon-day prayer-time. Khwârazmshâh sent for me and said, ‘ You have witnessed what happened ; therefore, as an Official Reporter, report it, as they may send a different report altogether to the court.’

“ I have given the details for the royal information.”

There was another short communique attached to the letter, to the effect that when the Qâ'id died care was taken of his house and property, and his Dabir together with the son of the Qâ'id was brought to the court and dismissed.

When Bu Nasr finished reading, Mas'ûd asked him what he thought about it and he replied that none dare say a word in his presence, not to speak of such insolence as that of the Qâ'id; there must be something at the bottom of it for the Reporter could not write anything openly without their consent and dictation. But, as he was sworn to report all happenings confidentially, the truth would not be known until his confidential letter came. Then Mas'ûd confessed what Bu Sahl had persuaded him to do and opined that when the agent's letter reached them they had killed the Qâ'id, making this the pretext. Although he did not worry about the death of the Qâ'id, it would be disastrous if his (Mas'ûd's) letter fell into their hands, for the detention of the Qâ'id's scribe and his son showed that the letter was in the scribe's possession. Asked by Mas'ûd to make good the loss incurred, Bu Nasr replied that they should wait and see what Ahmad Hasan would suggest. The following day, after the adjournment of the Dîwân, Mas'ûd gave the letters to Ahmad Hasan and repeated the story of Bu Sahl's tempting him to write a letter to Manjuq. Ahmad was afraid of further disturbances, but the wisdom and sagacity of a Turk like Khâwrazmshâh lightened his apprehension. Still he was sure that as ill-feeling subsisted between him and Altuntash the latter would lay all this blame at his door. He suggested that nothing should be written to Altuntash, but that a reply to the Reporter's letter should be sent at once, attaching no importance to the Qâ'id's death, but blaming his insolence and recommending his sons for the reward of his services together with the right to retain his forces. In the meantime the Reporter's second letter would come and the truth would be unveiled. He remarked that the Reporter was the brother of Bu'l-Fath, and that the latter did this for the sake of his brother. Mas'ûd agreed with him and added that, while in the office of Bu Nasr, Bu'l-Fath always used to write to him whatever he could find useful simply because his father was in the office of the Deputy (of Mahmûd) in Herât. This offended Bu Nasr and he said that, had he known it at the time, he would have turned him out and killed him as a dishonest scribe was no good.

When Ahmad Hasan and Bu Nasr went back, Mas'ûd sent for Bu Sahl, the Paymaster-General, rebuked him, put him to shame for his false advice and threatened him with instant death if he ever again interfered in anything except accounts and payments. Abdus was also severely reprimanded for revealing the Sultân's secret. Mas'ûd said that none of them deserved to be retained in the State service; they would one day see the consequences of their dishonesty. Afterwards Mas'ûd was very worried and consulted only with Ahmad Hasan and Bu Nasr as he had seen the inadvisability and dishonesty of other courtiers' suggestions. One day, when Bu Nasr was in his house, he was informed of the arrival of a messenger with a very urgent message and at once guessed that he had come from Khwârazm. When he was shown in, he asked for privacy, cut his stick open, took out a short communique from Bu 'Abd Allâh Hâtimî, the Assistant Reporter,* and gave it to Bu Nasr. It was :

"I have played tricks, given money to the messenger and stood guarantee for his further rewards in the royal court, and it was then that the man endangered himself. He has seen events here, and, if he succeeds in reaching the court, he will give my messages. He is a clever man and must be given credit."

And the verbal message ran thus :—

"What I had written before this, i.e., that the Qâ'id had received a few kicks in the testicles and on the heart in the house of Khwârazmshâh and died on that account, was based on the draft made by his Secretary Ahmad 'Abd as-Samad. They gave me silver and clothes, and had I written otherwise, my life would have been in danger. The reality is that the day before his murder the Qâ'id had given a big feast, invited the Kajat and Jaghrat leaders, complained against Khwârazmshâh and spoken ill of him, his Secretary Ahmad 'Abd as-Samad and his sons, asking how long he and other free men could tolerate that misery. The news was reported to Khwârazmshâh, who asked the Qâ'id next day if he had had nothing to eat at his feast where he had eaten (i.e., backbitten) him and his Secretary. The Qâ'id gave a few insulting answers. Khwârazmshâh laughed, and, when the Qâ'id went back, asked Ahmad if he had seen the wind blown in his head

* He is mentioned sometimes as Reporter and at other times as Assistant Reporter.

from the royal court. Ahmad replied that it would be blown out, and went back home. It was customary that on Friday Ahmad used to go home early in the forenoon and everybody went to do him homage. I was present there. The Qâ'id came and started talking angrily with Ahmad and said : 'What was Khwârazmshâh saying to me today.' Ahmad replied 'My master is forbearing and generous ; otherwise he would have talked to you with stick and sword. How dare you and one like you say, like a dregs-drunkard, anything but what befits him ?' The Qâ'id retorted angrily and slapped Ahmad's face. Ahmad said. 'This wind has come from the court, but it ought to have been kept secret until you had attained Khwârazmshâhi.' The Qâ'id retorted 'The kingdom of Khwârazm will never come to you ' and got up and wanted to go away. Ahmad shouted 'Get hold of this dog.' The Qâ'id said 'You can't catch me.' Ahmad clapped his hands and shouted 'Come on.' About two hundred men, as pre-arranged, rushed out. The Qâ'id had reached the centre of the house when he was pierced with sword and dagger, and smashed by maces. A rope was tied to his feet and he was dragged round the city. His house was taken, his son and his scribe were detained, and I was forced to write a letter according to the draft they made, as it has been read. The following day they asked the scribe to produce the confidential letter which had come from the court, and, when he refused, saying that the Qâ'id did not give him any, the drawer of the Qâ'id's papers was searched and, when even then nothing was found, they vehemently pressed the scribe and he gave up the letter. It was taken and not shown to anybody, and the report was that it was private and none could know its contents. Khwârazmshâh did not hold his court for three days, but had private meetings with Ahmad. On Friday he held the court as usual—nay, with greater pomp and grandeur—and went back as usual at the time of Friday prayers. They betray nothing savouring of rebellion. Although they do not let me know anything, still they have started to have slaves and buy horses more than ever. Whatever I write subsequently will be desired and dictated by them and should not be relied upon, as my intercourse with wayfarers and messengers is confidential and my life is in danger."

This message was written out by Bu Nasr and taken to Mas'ûd who was at his wits' end and asked Bu Nasr to

keep it sealed and show it to the Minister. The following day, when the Minister went to the court, he read the letter and the message and remarked to Mas'ûd that such was the result of rash action. He hoped that Altuntash would raise no trouble, because, if he joined 'Alî Tigin who was not far from him, he would cause terrible havoc. But Bu Nasr consoled him saying that Altuntash would not forget his obligations to Sultân Mahmûd and would guess that some ill-adviser had persuaded the Sultân to act so. But Mas'ûd could find no excuse for a letter in his own hand. Ahmad Hasan suggested that, despite the Sultân's letter, Altuntash would accuse Bu Sahl for it, as they were not on good terms, and because Bu Sahl had committed two sins—taking back the reward (given by Amîr Muhammad on his accession), and instigating the murder of Altuntash—he should be dismissed and a letter written to Altuntash on Mas'ûd's behalf, while Ahmad Hasan also would write one on his own, making his position clear. The following day writs were issued for the arrest of the family of Bu Sahl Zuzani and the confiscation of his property in Marv, Zuzan, Nishapur, Ghur, Herât, Badghis, and Ghaznin, and Ahmad Hasan was informed of the despatch of swift messengers with the writs about which he had had a talk with Khwâja the previous day. He called Bu Sahl with assistants of the Accounts' Office and ordered him to finish his task. Ahmad Hasan asked them to take military measures. Hâjib Naubatî, as ordered by Ahmad Hasan, rode to the house of Bu Sahl with spies and stalwarts of Khwâja and seized it; and all his men and those connected with him in Balkh were dismissed. This was reported to Khwâja, who ordered Bu Sahl to be taken to Quhunduz, Hâjib Naubatî put him on a pony, took him to Quhunduz with a large force of cavalry and infantry and imprisoned him there, having sent two of his attendants and sixty pages, who met him on his way, to his house.

Mas'ûd was very pleased that he had got rid of a man who never let him do any good. He asked Ahmad what to do next. The Minister advised that Mas'ûd should be ordered to write at once to Khwârazmshâh, as agents were supposed to do, to the effect that when the Sultân came to know that Bu Sahl was dishonest in State affairs and went so far as to interfere repeatedly in the affairs of old men like Khwârazmshâh and others, he had dismissed him from the office of Paymaster-General; and

that he (Ahmad) would ask Mas'adî on his own account to write an enigmatical letter stating that Bu Sahl had been seeking an opportunity and when the Sultân was drunk he brought a draft prepared by him, had it written in the Sultân's hand and sent it immediately to Khwârazm; but when Mas'ûd thought over it and asked Bu Sahl to return it he had sworn that he had torn it to pieces as it was not a right thing to do; but when his lie was brought to light he was punished for it. These letters, moreover, were to be followed after a week by a detailed one from Bu Nasr and another from Ahmad Hasan, and an eloquent envoy was to be despatched to Khwârazm and his (Altun-tash's) son Sati (wrongly Rasti) was to be rewarded the next day, given the chamberlainship and 5,000 dinârs so that the old man might feel at ease. Mas'ûd agreed and said that in future Khwâja would be consulted in every State affair and his advice taken. Khwâja kissed the ground and remarked that the three or four old men who had been left with the Sultân by the grace of God and for his benefit were better than a thousand young men and should not be lost. Mas'ûd embraced him, praised him warmly, and showed the same favour to Bu Nasr. The letters were drafted by Bu Nasr, both open and confidential, and dispatched forthwith.

After a week Abu'l-Qâsim Damghânî was nominated by Ahmad Hasan to go to Khwârazm. An old man, wise, honest and eloquent, he wrote an excellent letter to Khwârazmshâh on his behalf, and another was indited by Bu Nasr on behalf of the Sultân to the following effect :—

“ Khwârazmshâh (May God perpetuate his support !) is for us today instead of a father, and the greatest pillar of the realm. He has always evinced his uprightness, sincerity and fear of God and, without hypocrisy, laid open the innermost of his heart and faith; for what he did at the time of our father's death in the way of kindness and advice should never be forgotten by the upstarts in Ghaznin. And, later, his arrival at the court, without hypocrisy or discord, and his advice in State affairs and their support was such that a history could be written on them. A man whose faith is such, who regards his flesh, skin and bone as belonging to the State, who is so faithful, has fulfilled his obligations to the late and the present Sultâns so adequately, and tries to discharge his duties to other masters—such a man, it can be understood, will

receive his share of perfect blessing in this world and the next, as they have said. "He lived blessed and died praised." May he live for ever, and may his loss never be heard! As, on his part, it has been all candour, sincerity, fidelity and good, and, on ours, there has been no reward worthy of it—nay, on account of fabricators, mischief-mongers and short-sighted and inexperienced youths, things have taken place which should never have happened and of which we are ashamed—we acknowledge our good faith in his expedients, we rely on his magnanimity and sound mind and judgment that he will look at the root and not worry about the branch, will be sincere and, if he should be told or has been told anything, or has been shown something which would make him anxious, he will keep the person of the late Amir (May God perpetuate his argument!) before his heart and eyes and look upon his bounties, favours and position and not on what may be put before him by envious and cunning men, as he is gifted with such wisdom, discrimination, insight and candour that he is not easily affected. We pray God to help us to reward his services and, if anything has happened which has annoyed or worried him, it will be adequately compensated.

"When we left Rayy to capture the throne of our father's kingdom and reached Damghân, Bu Sahl Zuzani joined us and, as he had done us services at times, suffered a lot for our sake and was imprisoned in the fortress of Ghaznin, he appeared as if he was the kindest person. We had with us none of the old men of the State who could discharge affairs and give advice and we had a great expedition pending. As he was foremost, gave advice in every matter and we gave credence to him, he became important and other men like Abdus and Tâhir submitted to him. When we arrived at Herât, our brother was dethroned, the nobles and the military leaders joined us, and Bu Sahl used to discharge the functions of the Minister, as we had known him already. We sent for Khwâja Ahmad Hasan from Hindustan and gave him the Ministry, and the office of the Paymaster-General was given to Bu Sahl. But the State officials became sick of Bu Sahl's high-handedness and intrigues and started tendering resignations. Even the Hâjib (Khwârazmshâh) did not escape his treachery, and he excited Qâ'id Manjuq and persuaded us to change our mind about the Hâjib who is in place of our father and uncle. And when his activities

knew no limits and his great dishonesties became known to us, we dismissed him, imprisoned him and confiscated all his property, in order to set an example for others. The secretaries of the Hâjib must have talked about it. We have amply rewarded the son of the Hâjib, Sati, my son and my stalwart, and given him the chamberlainship, though it was very little in comparison with the Hâjib's rights. If the Hâjib has not been sufficiently rewarded by us till now, he will get ample rewards henceforward. The Minister has sent by our order another letter and an envoy who will give our message and who should be given credence, and the Hâjib should keep his heart clearer than before and return the envoy immediately with any request, which will be granted."

The letter was taken by the Secretary of the Ministry and when he came back the fear of tumult and chaos subsided.

Now let us return, for a moment, to the story of the murder of Qâ'id Manjûq. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Bayhaqi*, was always seeking an opportunity, if he could, to get a point from some trustworthy source for his history. When the Amîr Maudûd took vengeance for his father Mas'ûd, Amîr Shahîd, upon Muhammad and his partisans in Dinâwar in Sha'bân, 432 A.H., and ascended the throne in Ghaznin and gave the Ministry to Ahmad 'Abd as-Samad, the author one day went with a message to Ahmad and sat there for some time. The conversation turned upon Khwârazm and Qâ'id Manjûq, and the author was telling many things about it as he had been concerned with it. But Ahmad remarked that, despite all this, Abu'l-Fazl did not know one thing which was worth knowing and, requested by the author to relate it, said that from the first day when Khwârazmshâh appointed him his secretary he made it a custom that every day he used to go to him alone and sit for an hour or two and, if he wanted to give audience, others used to come in and, whether there was any important affair or not, Khwârazmshâh always used to hold a private meeting with him and ask him what he did last night, what he ate and how he slept, and relate what he himself had done. Ahmad used to ask himself what this meant to hold a private meeting every day, until one day, when they were in Herât, a letter came from the late Amîr (Mahmûd) about an urgent matter and it was dealt with in that privacy and

no-one came to know it. Khwârazmshâh, who had perhaps scented Ahmad's uneasiness about these meetings, remarked that it was for such a day that he held private meetings daily. Ahmad said to himself that he was wrong and Khwârazmshâh right. Similar was the case in Khwârazm when Mas'adî's code letter arrived. Khwârazmshâh had a private talk with Ahmad, cried, was disappointed and said that those accursed mischief-mongers had brought about the downfall of a unique man like 'Ali Qurayb and also Ghâzî and Aryaruq, and he himself was in Shubruqan quite close to them, but God preserved him; that now they had devised other tricks and could not see that a man such as the Qâ'id could not seize him; and, granted he was overthrown, how could such a huge empire be guarded against the enemies, and, despite all that, he would never disgrace his name in old age when he was on the verge of death. The reply of Ahmad was in a firmer tone, and he added that they should "show their teeth" in order to terrify the people of Khwârazm and to let the people at the court know that Khwârazmshâh was not asleep and that it was not possible to attack him in quick succession. Khwârazmshâh suggested the imprisonment of the Qâ'id for his haughtiness. But Ahmad went further and thought it necessary to cut off the head into which the wind of Khwârazmshâhi had been blown by Mas'ûd as it would be very dangerous otherwise. Khwârazmshâh remarked that it would be awkward and not worthy of his grandeur. Ahmad desired it to be left to him, and Khwârazmshâh consented. This private sitting was on Thursday, the Sultân's letter had reached the Qâ'id, his head was swollen with vanity and he arranged that grand feast the same day. On Friday, the Qâ'id went to Khwârazmshâh to pay respects, used hard language in his excitement and threatened him. Khwârazmshâh put up with it, although Tash Mahrûy, the Commander of Khwârazmshâh, called the Qâ'id names. Ahmad went back home and made preparations for his task. When he (the Qâ'id) went to Ahmad as others did usually on Friday, Ahmad saw a wind in his head stronger than any wind whatever and started quarrelling with him and rebuking him for transgressing the limits before Khwârazmshâh and being rude. The Qâ'id became offended. Overbearing, rude and vain as he was, he began talking loudly. Ahmad clapped his hands as a signal and the Khajat people swarmed in and cut him to pieces. Khwârazmshâh came to know it later on when the cry rose from the town that

they had tied a rope to his feet and were dragging him about. Ahmad called the Assistant Reporter and gave him silver and clothing to report the matter as he wished. Khwârazmshâh sent for Ahmad and asked him why he had done so. Ahmad replied that it was warranted by the circumstances and, when questioned by Khwârazmshâh as to what reply he would give to the Sultân, he explained what he had got reported by the Assistant Reporter. Khwârazmshâh commended him; "Thou art a brave man." and Ahmad said, "Khwârazmshâhi could not be maintained but in this way."

S. M. SIDDIQ.

(To be continued)

THE TARIKH OF THE IMAM AL-BUKHARI

WHILE the canonical collection of Traditions, the *Sahih*, of the Imâm al-Bukhârî (died 256 A.H.) has always been considered as second only to the Qur'ân itself and has been the subject of many commentaries, the other works of Bukhârî have either been lost during the centuries since the death of the author or are preserved in single copies only, inaccessible as a rule to students. In some cases, not having had access to the manuscripts, I fear that works mentioned as independent books may only be extracts from the *Sahih* made during the Middle Ages, when such kind of work was a favourite pursuit of the Muhaddithîn. Such may be the Thalâthiyât traditions with only three intermediaries between the Prophet and Al-Bukhârî, of which a copy is in the Berlin Library (No. 1620/21) and commentaries upon them in Stambûl and Algiers. The same may be the case with the *Tafsir-al-Qur'an*, of which a copy is in the Escurial, as the *Sahih* contains a long chapter upon the subject.

It is quite a different case with the *Tarikh al-Kabir* or Large History, of Bukhârî. This work must have been very scarce all through the ages, because the notices concerning it are few and only seldom persons are named who handed it down to future generations, and it appears that only few scholars of the centuries after the death of Bukhârî had ever seen a copy. As the purpose of the book is to establish the trustworthiness of persons who handed down traditions, the greater portion was no doubt absorbed by the works of authors who treated the subject exhaustively and whose labours found their final setting in the works of Dhahabî and Ibn Hajar. As it is important to know the sources from which these two authors and their predecessors derived their information it is fortunate that the work of Bukhârî should have been preserved practically complete.

There are no copies in Western libraries and, as far as my knowledge goes, the most complete copy preserved

is that in the Aya Sofia Library at Stambûl. This copy consists of three volumes containing the first, second and fourth volume; the third volume must be considered lost for the present. To give the appearance that the work is complete in these three volumes a previous owner has smudged over the word ar-râbi الرابع (the fourth) on the title-page of the fourth volume, but the traces of the letters are still plainly visible. The writing is in *Maghribi* script and the copy was completed, as we are told at the end of the fourth volume, on Wednesday the 18th of Muharram 702 A.H. and revised by a copy of Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Haqq b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Bono (a Spanish name) b. Sa'id b. 'Isâm al-'Abdarî, which was also the original (Asl) of Abu'l-Qâsim 'Abd ar-Rahmân as-Suhaili al Khath'ami after him. The writing is very cramped and requires very careful editing. Though most of the persons named in the work have been included in later works, such as the Tahdhîb of Ibn Hajar, still there are numerous biographies which are not found in the latter work, and Bukhârî also gives details which have not been copied by later authors. At the end of the work are two pages on which 'Abd al-Ghanî b. Sa'id enumerates mistakes which he found in the work of Bukhârî.

For the greater portion of the first volume another copy exists in the Küprülü Library, so rich in precious copies, which ought to serve as the basis of an edition, if we possessed the remaining volumes, which are unfortunately lost. This copy contains a complete chain of authorities from the author to the scribe and the teacher. As such chains of authorities frequently, as in this case, enable us to rectify the errors of biographers, I must discuss it in some detail. The line of authorities is found on the title-page and again in the introduction of the text which makes correctness of the reading certain.

This introduction, translated, reads as follows: "The excellent Shaikh Abu'l-Husain 'Abd al Haqq b. 'Abd al-Khâliq b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Qadir b. Muhammad b. Yûsuf informed me when reading to him at Baghdâd in Dhu'l-Hijja 573 A.H., he said: the Hâfiz Abu'l Ghamâ'im Muhammad b. 'Alî b. Maimûn an-Narsî informed me by the reading of my father while I was listening in Jumada II, 503 A.H., he said: Abu Ahmad 'Abd al-Wahhâb b. Muhammad b. Mûsâ al-Ghundijânî informed me by reading to him in the year 446, he said: Abu Bakr Ahmad b. 'Abudan b. Muhammad b. al-Faraj ash-Shirâzî, the

Hâfiz informed me when the book was read while I was listening in the months of the year 383 A.H., he said : Abu'l-Hasan Muhammad b. Sahl al-Fasawî informed me while reading to him in the town of Fasâ, a town in Fârs, he said : Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Ismâ'il b. Ib-râhîm al-Bukhârî al-Ju'fî informed me at al-Basra in the year 246 A.H." Then the text of the work begins the same as in the other copy. The scribe of the manuscript states at the end that he wrote the copy for himself and not for any other person. He is Al-Husain b. 'Umar b. Nasr b. Hasan b. Sa'd b. Bâz al-Mausilî. He wrote his copy in Baghdâd and his Shaikh, the above-named Abu'l-Husain 'Abd al-Haqq, attests at the end in the writing of a very old man (he was then 79 years old) to the writer, and others who were present and are named, that the copy is correct.

The biographies of all persons named in this chain are found in various biographical works.

(1) The Imâm Bukhârî was born in 194 and was 52 years of age when he dictated the work at Basra and died ten years later and it is not known whether he made any additions and corrections to the work at a later date. I even cannot find that any other person except those mentioned in the Isnâd handed the work down to posterity.

(2) Muhammad b. Sahil b. Kudrî al-Fasawî transmitted after Al-Bukhârî his *Tarikh*; it was handed down after him by Ahmad b. Abu 'Abdân ash-Shîrâzî. Abd al-Walîd al-Bâjî said : Ahmad b. Sahl is an unknown person. Thus he said, but he was known by others and he was given credit of being trustworthy (*Lisan al-Mizan*, V, 194). The date of his death is not recorded, but it must have been after 304 at which time the following commenced his studies.

(3) Ahmad b. 'Abdân b. Muhammad b. al-Faraj ash-Shîrâzî, a great traditionist, lived to a great age, his first studies were in 304 A.H. and he died in Safar 384 (*Shadharat*, III, 127).

(4) 'Abd al-Wahhâb b. 'Ali b. Mûsâ b. al-Ghandijânî, named after a town near Ahwâz. He transmitted the *Tarikh* of Bukhârî (as in the MS.) after Ahmad b. 'Abdân and died in 447 A.H. (*Shadharat*, III, 276). The year before he died the following studied under him.

(5) Muhammad b. 'Alî b. Maimûn al-Narsî al-Kûfî, a celebrated Qur'ân-reader. He studied under many

shaikhs and used to say that he was the only traditionist left in al-Kûfa. He earned his living by copying books and died in 510 A.H. at the age of 86 years (*Shadharat*, IV, 39).

(6) 'Abd al-Haqq b. 'Abd al-Khâliq b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Qâdir b. Muhammad b. Yûsuf died in 575 A.H., aged 81 years (two years after dictating the *Tarikh*). He was a poor and pious man who did not teach publicly, (*Shadharat*, IV, 251).

(7) Al-Husain b. 'Umar b. Nasr al-Mausilî was chief of the School of Hadîth founded in Mausil by the ruler of Irbil and died there in 622 A.H. (*Shadharat*, V, 100). He accomplished his task in copying the book well and the care he bestowed upon it and the beauty of his handwriting must make us regret that we do not possess the other volumes of his copy which consisted of four volumes. His first volume concludes somewhat earlier than that of the Maghribi scribe.

Compared with such a proof of being authentic the Maghribi manuscript, as it exists at present, does not lay such claims to uninterrupted tradition, though the lost title-pages of all three volumes might have enlightened us if they had not been purposely torn out of the books. A note at the end of the last volume is a proof that it was made from a much older copy. The writer states expressly that the manuscript he copied from had been the original of Abû Muhammad 'Abd al-Haqq b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Bono al-'Abdari. He was a native of Mâlaga in Spain, born in 504 and renowned as a traditionist and lawyer. He died in 586 or 587. (*Takmilah* of Ibn al-Abbar No. 806). This copy is stated to have been previously the original of Abu'l-Qâsim 'Abd-ar Rahmân b. 'Abd Allâh as-Suhailî al-Khath'amî. The latter is even more celebrated as the author of the biography of the Prophet called "*ar Raudh al Unuf*." He also was a native of Mâlaga and died in Murrâkish in 581. From this it is very probable that the manuscript was written in Spain, either in Mâlaga or Granada, which is not far distant and was in 702 practically the only place remaining in Spain, where serious study of Arabic literature could be carried on.

The arrangement of the book is asserted in the title to be alphabetical, but this is not strictly adhered to, as the work, after a short introduction, commences with the names of persons called Muhammad, and here again the companions come first : Muhammad b. Maslama (fol. 3v),

Muhammad b. 'Abd Allâh b. Ja'sh (fol. 4r), Muhammad b. Sufyân al-Ansârî, etc. Then follow those of later generations arranged in loose alphabetical order. In the chapter *Alif* we find first Muhammad b. Usâma b. Zaid, Muhammad b. Usâma b. Muhammad, Muhammad b. Iyâs b. Salama, Muhammad b. Ash'ath, Muhammad b. Ibrâhîm b. al-Hârith, etc. The persons with the name of Muhammad fill about half the first volume. They are followed by those with the names Ibrâhîm, Ismâ'il, Ishâq, Ash'ath, Ayyûb, Iyâs, Aswad, Abân, Azhar, Ahmad, Umayya, Asîd, Usâma, etc. In a similar manner the chapter *Ba'* commences with Bishr, then Bakr, Bashîr, Bilâl, etc. The letter *Ta'* commences with Tamîm b. Aus ad-Dârî and so on. The last biography of the Küprülü Manuscript is that of Husain b. 'Abd al-Awwal an-Nakha'i and the first biographies in the second volume are stated to be those whose name was Husain (حسبى). This biography is in the Aya Sofia MS. on fol. 226 which continues till the biography of Hasan (حسن) b. 'Alî. This biography breaks off suddenly and there is no doubt that at least one or two leaves are missing at the end.

The second volume begins with the name Hanzala and, as in the first volume, the title-page and with it the first page of the text is in Oriental script and the suspicion arises that the title-page contained the dedication of a Waqf, which has been deliberately torn out to hide the theft of the manuscript from the library of some mosque. This volume contains the biographies to the end of the letter *Ja* and in the colophon biographies with the letter *'Ain* are promised in the third volume; the first biography is to be that of 'Abd Allâh b. Abî Quhâfa Abu Bakr as-Siddiq.

The third volume is missing.

The first leaf of the fourth volume has been replaced by a new leaf in Oriental script as in the other two volumes and the first biography is that of Al-'Abbâs b. 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hâshim. The biographies end on page 282 of this volume and are followed by accounts of those whose names are unknown, but who are known by the name of their father and with these the work concludes on page 288. The remaining two pages and three lines on the last page contain corrections by 'Abd al-Ghanî b. Sa'id of errors committed by Bukhârî in this work.

These errors are instructive, considering the stress laid upon traditionists remembering by heart the text and

Isnâds, because they prove conclusively that the Imâm *misread his own writing* and for this reason I will cite two of these errors.

Bukhârî has a biography of حاتم بن يحيى this should read جابر بن يحيى again in the biography of Mu'awiya b. Sâlih he cites as Shaikh of the latter مالك بن ذناد which should read مالك بن دينار .

Though for the present we do not possess the third volume, which I hope I may still be able to trace with the help of friends, it is of the utmost importance that we should as soon as possible possess a reliable edition of this work and the Dairatu'l-Ma'ârif, by publishing it, will further add to its reputation that of having rescued from oblivion another fundamental authority of early Islamic learning. The greatest care should be taken to make such an edition worthy of its importance. Some difficulty will no doubt be experienced in the reading of the ancient Spanish writing, but this could be overcome, especially if continual reference is made to later works which have drawn their information from this source.

F. KRENKOW.

MUGHAL RELATIONS WITH PERSIA

FROM BABUR TO AURANGZEB

II

ALTHOUGH Jahângîr, as a prince, had been on very friendly terms with Shâh 'Abbâs,¹ his reign opened with an unsuccessful attempt by the Persians to occupy Qandahâr; as Jahângîr himself says; "It occurred to me that the death of His Majesty Akbar and the unreasonable outbreak of Khusrau may put an edge on their designs and they may attack Qandahâr."² This shows that the attack was not quite unexpected.

The Shâh's ambassadors, 'Alî Bêg Yuzbâshi and Darwêsh Bêg, who left India shortly before Akbar's death, must have carried back to Persia a more or less correct estimate of Khusrau's supporters and his great popularity among the masses, and at this time a prolonged civil war seemed unavoidable. Akbar's death, bad diplomacy and Mân Singh's timidity, due to the sudden change-over of the Sayyids of Bahra, however, unexpectedly sealed Khusrau's fate. The Shâh could not be expected to be aware of these sudden developments at the time of launching his campaign.

As the rebellion of Khusrau soon petered out, Jâhangîr was able to turn his attention immediately to the Frontier by sending the forces he had brought to fight Khusrau in the Punjâb on to Qandahâr under Mirzâ Jânî of Sindh; more reinforcements were rushed up under Bahâdur Khân Qurbegî; while in Qandahâr Shâh Bêg Khân bravely held out. The Persian authorities deny all knowledge and responsibility on the part of the Shâh for this attack, but

(1) He had regular correspondence in which they referred to each other as brothers. *Jamî'a-i-Insha*, f. 212b. 'Abbâs also sent Darwêsh Bêg Qazvîni to Salim.

(2) *Tuzk* (Translation) p. 71. See also *Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri*, ff. 30.

it is doubtful whether the Shâh was as innocent as he pretended to be.¹ He was kept informed by his agents of events in India, and although 'Alam-ârâi-'Abbâsi is silent, Jalâl Munajjim says that Ismâ'il Qulî Khân and Hasan Khân Shâmlû² were in constant communication with the Shâh throughout the period of the siege. He mentions the arrival and despatch of many couriers;³ it is also stated that the Shâh was informed as soon as the invading army left Herât.⁴ Two intercepted letters from Jahângîr to Shâh Bêg Khân were forwarded to the Shâh by Ismâ'il Qulî Khân. These were firmâns ordering Shâh Bêg to kill or capture Khusrau if he tried to cross the Frontier. It seems both the Shâh and Jahângîr were much interested in the movements of Khusrau. Jahângîr was much disturbed at the possibility of his escape to a foreign land; as he says ".....he would take his own way and go for an asylum to the Uzbeks or the Persians and the contempt will fall on my governemt."⁵ The Persians retired on the approach of the relieving force and, like Shâh Muhammad Kilâtî, they too gave out that they were doing so on receiving orders from the Shâh.⁶

As it was the policy of both Empires not to allow Qandahâr to become an eastern Baghdâd, a semblance of friendship was maintained by the arrival of Husain Bêg, who was sent by the Shâh to apologise for the "indiscretion" of his governors. He was received by Jahângîr at Lahore and Rs. 10,000 were bestowed on him. The Shâh also sent a firmân⁷ to the governors of Herât and Sistân, censuring them for their conduct and reminding them of "the old friendship between the two families."

Jalâl Munajjim⁸ also mentions the arrival of an Indian envoy with a letter and presents for the Shâh

(1) In his letter to Jahângîr.

(2) Mentioned by Khâfî Khân. Vol. I, p. 255. *Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri* calls him Husain Khân.

(3) ff. 241 b. B.M.M. Add 27, 241.

(4) ff. 246 b. *ibid.* It is also interesting to note that Ismâ'il Qulî sent to the Shâh the tusk of an elephant maddened by the besieged who administered alcohol and let it loose on the besiegers. The elephant, we are told, was overpowered and killed after playing havoc in the camp.

(5) *Tuzk*, p. 54.

(6) See *Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri* ff. 80; for the Persian attempt on Qandahâr see *Alam-arai-'Abbasi*, ff. 379.

(7) For the Shâh's firmân see *Jamî'a'u'l-Insha* (Or. 1599) f. 83b.

(8) ff. 284b.

from Shâh Ghâzi, the new Governor of Qandahâr. There is no mention of this in any Indian history, but he was probably sent, under instructions from Jahângîr, to thank the Shâh for recalling his troops, and to settle some boundary disputes, to which a vague reference is made.

In April 1611 came the first formal embassy from Persia¹ to offer the Shâh's condolence on the death of Akbar and to congratulate his "brother" Jahângîr. It brought with it the usual presents of Gilân horses, carpets, silks, etc. Jahângîr bestowed on the ambassador a robe of honour and Rs. 30,000. The Shâh also sent a letter which, Jahângîr says, "expressed the greatest friendship and omitted no point of regard and concord." The letter² starts with apologies for delay in sending the embassy, owing to the trouble in Sherwân. A few words of praise for the "noble" ambassador, sent to "the most exalted court," are also added to a page of compliments. The letter closes with a prayer that "the tree of hereditary friendship and assiduosity and the garden of intimacy and regard will acquire a new splendour and greenness." All controversies about Qandahâr are avoided.

Yâdgâr 'Alî stayed in India for over two years, for one finds many references to him in the histories of this period. Rs. 15,000 were bestowed on him in March 1612, for expenses, and again a golden Mohar of 1,000 tolas at the time of the New Year feast (1022 A.H.).³ He was not dismissed till the end of 1613, when Khân 'Alam was sent with him. At the time of his departure "a horse, a jewelled sword, an aigrette with feathers, and Rs. 40,000 were bestowed on him."

The Embassy of Khân 'Alam is most important in the history of Mughal diplomacy, for never before or after was a more splendidly equipped mission sent out. *Ma'athiru'l-Umara* supplies very detailed information as to the extensive retinue of the ambassador; about 1,200 people accompanied him, besides a bodyguard and 200 falconers and hunters. It seems the retinue was not limited to human beings alone, but a complete zoo of Indian animals formed a part of the ambassador's suite.⁴

(1) *Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri*, ff. 60a (Or 171). The embassy is also mentioned by William Finch, p. 161 (*Early Travels*).

(2) *Jamia'u'l-Insha*, ff. 214.

(3) Many smaller rewards are mentioned in the *Tuzk* from time to time.

(4) The *Ma'athiru'l-Umara* says, p. 782.

The following account from *'Alam-arai-'Abbasi* is very interesting :¹

“The highly placed King Salīm Shâh, Ruler of Hindustân sent Mirzâ Barkhurdâr, entitled Khân 'Alam, who is a great noble of that court and is styled as bhâi or brother by that Shâh—as his ambassador with Yâdgâr 'Alī Sultân Talash. He stayed for a time at Herât and came to the court this year. As His Majesty was away, driving out the Turkish armies from Azarbâijân, Qalb 'Alī Bêg Shâmlû was appointed to receive him and to convey him to the court. When he reached Qum, Yâdgâr 'Alī separated from him and hastened to the court in advance. The day when Khân 'Alam entered Qazvin the writer of this *'Alam-ara* was present in the city, and himself beheld the great magnificence of the ambassador's train. He also made enquiries from the old men, who had beheld other embassies in the days gone by, but all were agreed that from the beginning of this divine dynasty no ambassador ever came from India or Rûm with such splendid and lavish equipments ; and it is doubtful whether, even in the days of the great kings of the past,² such an embassy ever came from a foreign land.

“In this most auspicious reign of His Majesty all the kings of the world, both Muslim and non-Muslim, have expressed their love for him by sending ambassadors and consider this the source of their honour and their greatness.

“From the day Khân 'Alam set foot on Persian soil, he had with him 1,000 royal servants, his own private servants and 200 falconers and hunters. He also had with him mighty elephants with golden ornaments and turrets of innumerable kinds, and Indian animals such as lions, tigers, leopards, monkeys, deer, cows, etc.; there were also many singing birds and beautiful palkis.

“When His Majesty, after the conquest of Azar-bâijân, came back to Qazvin, Khân 'Alam received a firman, summoning him to the court. When he approached the city, all the principal nobles and ministers went out to receive him and brought him to the garden of

جانوران از سباع دستور جنکی و طیور مرغان سخن گو و گاوان بکرات
و کرد و نهائی مکلف و پاکبائی قطعہ وغیرہ -

(1) As I have mentioned on many occasions, the highest standard of everything was in the time of the Kings of the *Shâhnâmâ*.

(2) British Museum Manuscript. 166,84,367.

Sa'adatâbad and there lodged him in the Paradise-like Dilkushâ Palace. As His Majesty was busy playing polo at the time of his arrival, he was first received on the polo-ground, where he performed *kornish*, and had the honour of being addressed with these precious words: "As between me and the exalted king a strong relationship of brotherhood exists, and as His Majesty has called you a brother, it is natural that my brother's brother is also my brother." Consequently His Majesty was always very informal with him, and he was excused from all court etiquette and ambassadorial restriction." The account goes on to give details of feasts, hunts, banquets and other functions arranged by the King and others in his honour.

Jahângîr gratefully acknowledges all the special favours shown to his ambassador by the Shâh in the following words:—

"Of the favours and kindness conferred by my brother on Khân 'Alam, if I were to write of them in detail, I should be accused of exaggeration."¹

So long did Khân 'Alam stay in Persia that he may almost be regarded as the resident Indian ambassador. Khân 'Alam's embassy is also important because at that time a number of other foreign ambassadors arrived at the Persian Court, especially from Russia,² Turkey, Central Asia and the States of the Deccan.

(1) *Tuzk* p. 114, vol. II. The account is a very long one. See also *Ruzatu's-Safaviyah*, ff. 371, 372 for the account of Khân 'Alam's embassy.

(2) It is surprising that Sir Percy Sykes describes the Russian Embassy of 1664 as the first Russian Embassy to Persia and expresses great surprise at the lack of diplomatic intercourse. In this connection the following account is interesting:—('Alam-arai-'Abbasi, ff. 367b: Add 16684). In the account of the year 1613 A.D. "An account of the ambassador of the Great King of Russia. In this year an ambassador, who is a great noble and a courtier of the Russian king, travelling via the Caspian, Dashti Qichâq and the port of Shirvân, reached the capital Qazvîn. He was ennobled by being received into the royal presence when, on behalf of his king, he conveyed messages of love and respect through an interpreter, after which he produced a long letter which was also full of love and friendship. He was honoured by royal favours. On the day the presents of the ruler of India were displayed, on that day also were the presents of the King of Russia and Muscovis accepted. The presents included a number of shot eagles which are nowhere else to be had except Russia, and of these one was given to Khân 'Alam. After staying for some time he returned to his country via Gilân."

See also *Russia in Asia* by Alexis Kransse, p. 109. where the Russian embassy of 1722 is described as the first.

To a superficial or a biased observer, such an embassy may seem a waste of public money, but it is not possible to judge such things by the standards of today. In those days an ambassador was in the eyes of the world the personal representation of the sovereign by whom he was sent and whose reflected glory he shared. It must not be forgotten that intercourse between nations was not so frequent, and nations knew very little of each other; travelling was difficult, too, and most dangerous, and it was therefore important for a representative of a great and powerful State to display a good deal of outward dignity and magnificence. It served the purpose of something similar to our publicity campaigns. Khân 'Alam's embassy may be regarded as a moving Exhibition of Indian Art, and other products, travelling from Herât to Isfahân, and incidentally a good advertisement for his master's power and glory throughout Persia.

It was also essential that the good manners, ready wit and hospitality of an ambassador must be a credit to his country. It was wise of Jahângîr to have selected a great sportsman and a talented poet like Khân 'Alam, for these were the two well-known hobbies of 'Abbâs the Great.

Throughout his stay in Persia Khân 'Alam was in constant touch with Jahângîr, for we find in *Tuzk* many references to the arrival of couriers and messengers from him, and it is reasonable to suppose that he must have been to some degree aware of the intrigues of the representatives of the States of the Deccan. Khân 'Alam was also in great favour with the Shâh, for on many occasions the Shâh paid informal visits to his quarters. At the time of his departure in the beginning of 1629 A.H. the Shâh came out of the city and accompanied him for some distance before "clasping him in the final embrace of honour." The Shâh also bestowed 15,000* tumâns and other priceless presents on him. It seems the Shâh and the Khân became great friends, for even when the relations between Jahângîr and 'Abbâs became strained, the Shâh used to write very affectionate letters to the Khân.

For Sykes see Vol. II, p. 212 (1930 Edition).

For Relations between Persia and Russia see also "*Paniatniki diplomatic Rusii Persie* (St. Petersburg 1890) by N. I. Weselowsky.

* Some authorities say fifty thousand.

*Chahar Sukhan-i-Brahmin*¹ reproduces one of these letters, and it is a very interesting study of the Shâh's complex character.

The Shâh was also very well satisfied with the success of Yâdgâr 'Alî's mission to India, for he promoted him to the coveted post of Governor of Shîrâz soon after his return from India.²

After Yâdgîr 'Alî's departure from India, Persia was not represented at the Moghul Court for over a year until Mustafa Bêg's arrival in Safar, 1024 A.H. (March 1615). The Shâh sent many presents including a share for his "brother" of the presents sent by the Sultân of Turkey and a letter informing Jahângîr of his success in the Georgian campaign. More interesting were the nine European hounds sent by the Shâh as a special present.³ A jewelled belt, Rs. 20,000 and a jewelled dagger were bestowed on the ambassador and later a Nûr Jahâni Mohar was also bestowed on him. After a year's stay he was dismissed with a robe of honour and Rs. 20,000. A reply was also sent to the Shâh.

A few months after Mustafa Bêg's departure, another ambassador Muhammad Rîza Bêg Shamlu arrived in November 1616, with presents and a letter⁵ from the Shâh. An elephant was also bestowed on him, in addition to the usual reward.⁴ He accompanied Jahângîr on his march to the South, and is frequently mentioned by Roe. He was dismissed at Mandu on the 3rd Rabi' I A.H. 1026 (April 1617).⁶ Rs. 3,000 and a robe of honour were bestowed on him. The presents to the Shâh included a portion of the presents sent by the rulers of the Deccan and a jewelled cup which Chelabi had sent from 'Irâq. Jahângîr says: "The Shâh had seen this cup and had said that if my brother would drink of this cup and send it to me it would be a great mark of affection. When the ambassador mentioned this, having drunk wine several times out of this cup in his presence, I ordered them to make a lid and a saucer for it and sent it along with other presents."

(1) The British Museum MS. Add. 26141.

(2) *Rauzatü's-Safaviyah*, 299 H.

(3) For the account of this embassy see *Ma'athir-Jahangiri* ff. 90.

(4) *Tuzk*, p. 338 and *Ma'athir* 97.

(5) For the letter see *Jamia-i-Marasilat* ff. 217

(6) *Ma'athir* says 29th. ff. 104.

On his way Muhammad Riza died at Agra and Muhammad Qâsim, a member of his suite, was appointed as his executor. Apart from the Persian sources, a good deal of information about this embassy has been left by Roe. His statements, as Sir William Foster rightly points out, are to be cautiously accepted. But apart from the motives of jealousy—then so conspicuous among diplomats—which may have influenced Roe's description of the ceremonials, the political aspect of this mission was correctly guessed by him. The Shâh, as Roe points out, was very much interested in the preservation of the independence of his allies in the Deccan and looked with jealousy on "the increase of this Empire" in that direction.¹ It is surprising that the understanding between the Shâh and the States of the Deccan escaped the notice of Mr. Beni Prasad, for he does not in any way connect the Deccan Rebellion of 1621 with the Shah's attack on Qandahâr a few months after. The Shâh, no doubt, had his designs on the trans-Indus portion of the Mughal Empire and it was his policy to strengthen his Shî'a allies in the South, both by diplomatic and moral support.

Mr. Beni Prasad thinks that Muhammad Riza's embassy "had something to do with Qandahâr";² but we know that no reference to this question was made by the Shâh till after Khân 'Alam's return to India,³ for the Shâh could ill afford to open this question at a time when he was very busy in the West—as Roe points out. That Muhammad Riza left disappointed, as Roe would have us believe, is not supported by any Indian or Persian history of this period.

Jahângîr had sent a cup for the Shâh with Muhammad Riza, and the Shâh in return sent one with Sayyid Husain who "had the good fortune of kissing the threshold" on the 27th Rabi' I 1027 A.H. (March 1618). On the cover of the cup was a priceless ruby and Jahângîr says "As it was given from excessive friendship it was the cause of the increase of amity and friendship." Such cups as suitable presents from sovereigns are frequently

(1) *Embassy of Roe*, p. 259; where Roe also gives a long list of the Shâh's presents.

(2) *History of Jahangir* p. 345, see also *Iqbalnâma*, p. 89-90.

(3) As stated by Jahângîr in his letter to the Shâh after the fall of Qandahâr.

mentioned in Persian literature¹ and, as the Safavis tried to imitate the kings of old, they too liked sending and receiving such presents.

Sayyid Husain was dismissed after a few days with a robe of honour and Rs. 20,000. A jewelled jug made in the shape of a cock was sent to the Shâh along with other presents.

Khân 'Alam returned from Persia in 1619.² and "had the honour of kissing the threshold at the Garden of Kalânur." Jahângîr's impatience is apparent from the following entry in the *Tuzk*: "Every day I sent one of my servants to meet him. I loaded him with all kinds of favours and kindnesses, and added to his rank and dignity." The *Tuzk* also gives a long account of the Shâh's favours to the Khân, and Jahângîr says: "If I were to write of them in detail I should be accused of exaggeration." Jahângîr was also much pleased with the works of Persian Art brought by the Khân, especially a famous painting of Khalîl Mirzâ Shâhrukhu, who was probably the master of Ustâd Bihzâd.³ The picture represented Tîmûr's duel with Tugtanish Khân. This precious relic was from the library of Shâh Ismâ'il I. and by chance came into the hands of Khân 'Alam. The famous Indian painter, Bisham Dâs, who accompanied the Khân, also brought back the portraits of the Shâh and his chief nobles.

Zanîl Beg⁴ was appointed to accompany Khân 'Alam as ambassador to India, but his departure was delayed and he did not reach Lahore till the summer of 1029 A.H. (1620 A.D.), when Jahângîr was away in Kashmîr. Jahângîr, on learning of his arrival, sent Mir Hîsâmuddîn, son of Mir 'Azizuddîn,⁵ to Lahore to meet Zanîl, and gave orders to the Governor to bear all the expenses of the ambassador. Zanîl Beg presented his credentials in November, when Jahângîr returned to Lahore. Among the presents from the Shâh were 12 'Abbâsis, 14 Gilân

(1) The *Shahnama* says:—

"The Monarch smiled to hear of such a custom.
And bade to set within the envoy's hand
A goblet set with jewels fit for kings
And lay a ruby on the top thereof."

(2) *Ma'athir*, ff. 123.

(3) See Arnold's *Bihzad and his paintings*, etc.; for Bisham and Khalîl see *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*.

(4) *Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri* Or. 171 ff. 140, *Tuzk*, 178, *Iqbalnama* 169.

(5) Roe's friend.

horses with gilded trappings, three white falcons, five Persian mules, five fine camels, nine bows and scimitars. Jahângîr bestowed on the ambassador a superb robe of honour, with a jewelled plume and dagger. The ambassador also presented two gentlemen of his suite—Wisâl Beg and Hâjî Nî'amat, who were courtiers of the Shâh.¹ A State banquet was given in honour of the ambassador and Rs. 50,000 more were bestowed on him.

While Zanîl Bêg was still in India, two special ambassadors Aqa Bêg and Muhibb 'Alî arrived from the Shâh. Among the presents they brought was a ruby from the collection of Mirzâ Shâh-Rukh bin Amîr Tîmûr. Ulugh Bêg's name was engraved on this ruby, and the Shâh also had his name² engraved in a corner. As this was a precious heirloom, it was much appreciated. It seems that Gilân horses and some ornaments and clothes sent by the Shâh were delayed and were not presented until the 15th Rabi' I. A State banquet was also given in their honour when they produced their personal presents.³

While this mission was still in India, another embassy Haji Bêg and Fazl Bêg arrived with a letter and presents from the Shâh. All these may be regarded as extraordinary envoys and Zanîl Bêg as the Resident ambassador. The four special envoys were dismissed in the end of Rabi' I, 1030 (1621). Rs. 4,000 were bestowed on Aqa Bêg and Rs. 30,000 each on the other three.⁴

Scarcely had these four envoys departed, when another, Qâsim Bêg, appeared with a letter and presents from the Shâh. The Shâh had asked for some birds, which were sent with the ambassador when he was dismissed in January 1622.

While these ambassadors came and went, Zanîl Bêg continued to reside at the court. There can be hardly any doubt that he was regarded as a permanent ambassador, for Jahângîr granted him, in addition to the villages⁵ already assigned to the Persian ambassador, a village

(1) p 186, II, *Tuzk*.

(2) بدہ شدہ ولایت عباس .

(3) For the account of this embassy see *Ma'athir*, ff. 148.

(4) *Ma'athir*, 147b.

(5) Throughout Jahângîr's reign relations with Persia were on a permanent basis, and there was hardly a year when Persia was not represented at his Court.

near the capital with an annual revenue of Rs. 16,000.¹ We also find records of many other grants of money made to him from time to time. One of the royal residences near Lahore was also given to him.

No details are given in any Indian or Persian history of the causes which induced the Shâh to send so many missions in close succession, but, reading between the lines of different versions, it is not very difficult to draw some conclusions. An indirect reference is to be found in the Shâh's letter to the Grand Vazîr of Sultan Mustafa of Turkey soon after the fall of Qandahâr. There can be hardly any doubt that their apparent object was to expedite the negotiations for the return of Qandahâr begun by Zanîl Bêg, and to obtain a final reply from Jahângîr. It seems the Shâh wanted, if possible, to avoid resorting to arms or, at least, to give that impression. He had, however, taken care to be prepared in case of an unfavourable reply. His intrigues with the rulers of the Deccan and the petty chiefs of Balûchistân, had made it impossible for Jahângîr to take any effective measures of defence. It must have been arranged that the attack on Qandahâr should be launched shortly after the commencement of hostilities in the Deccan.

While Khân 'Alam was still in Persia, the Shâh received Mîr Khalîlullah Khushnavis from Bijâpûr, Shaikh Muhammad Khâtuni from Golconda, and a representative from Nizâm Shâh of Ahmadnagar.² The rulers of the Deccan, it seems, were alarmed at the growing friendship between the Shâh—their natural ally—and Jahângîr—their old enemy; and, hearing of Khân 'Alam's reception in Persia and his influence over the Shâh, immediately sent their ambassadors to Persia.

In 1030 A.H., when Zanîl Bêg was appointed ambassador to Jahângîr, Tâlib Bêg Aivâghâlî, Qâsim Bêg, Governor of Mâzindrân, and Darwesh Bêg³ were sent to Bijâpûr, Golconda and Ahmadnagar respectively, as the Shâh's ambassadors with the returning Deccanis.⁴ It is quite apparent that the object of these missions to Persia was to seek the Shâh's help against the steady

(1) *Tuzk*, (Trans.) II, p. 211.

(2) *'Alam-arai 'Abbasi*, ff. 368, 372.

(3) Darwesh Bêg died at Shirâz and Muhammad Bêg was appointed in his place.

(4) ff. 371 b. *'Alam-arai-'Abbasi*.

advance of the Mughal Emperor in the Deccan. It is difficult to say how the Shâh could have helped them, except by creating a diversion on the N. W. Frontier of India.

Certain entries in the *Tuzk* leave hardly any doubt that Jahângîr was kept informed of these intrigues. In the events of the 15th year it is recorded that Bahâdur Khân, Governor of Qandahâr, was suddenly promoted to a mansab of 5,000 personal and 4,000 horse. A few days after, the officials of the Punjâb¹ were ordered to send two lakhs of rupees in addition to Rs. 60,000 already sent to increase the provisions in the fort of Qandahâr. Khân 'Alam must have also been aware of the movement of the Persian troops towards the eastern Frontier. A ready excuse was furnished by the hostility of the Uzbegs, who, when the Shâh was busy in Azarbâijân suddenly fell on the fort of Murghâb and, after slaughtering its Qizilbâsh garrison, carried away the Commander—a Shâmlû notable. On the approach of the Persian troops Nazr Muhammad apologised through his mother,² who was a daughter of the holy house of the Sayyids of Mashhad and a sister of Mirzâ Abu Talib, whom 'Abbâs held in great reverence. The apology was accepted, but the troops kept on moving eastward.

Another very interesting incident, not mentioned in any Indian history, is the arrival of the Chief of Kech and Mikrân at the Persian Court. It seems shortly before the Shâh launched his attack on Qandahâr, the Governor of Sistân and Kirmân, Malik Shamsuddin, started operations against Kech and Mikrân, whose ruler was a tributary to Jahângîr and had paid a visit to Agra.

In 1030 A.H., soon after Khân 'Alam's departure, Malik Mirzâ submitted, through the intercession of Malik Shâh Husain, a noble of Sistân. He came to Isfahân to offer his submission³ and, after being suitably rewarded, returned to his kingdom. Later on, we are told, he co-operated in the attack on Qandahâr.

(1) *Tuzk*, II, p. 192.

(2) Nazr's mother, Zuhra Bânu Begum, was a sister of Sayyid Abu Talib, a descendant of Imâm 'Alî Rîza and the Mutawalli of the tomb, and was married to Dîn Muhammad soon after the conquest of Mashhad, after whose death she returned to Mashhad where she was, on 'Abbâs's order, married to Murtaza Quli Khân, the governor of Mashhad. '*Alam-arai*,' *Abbasi*, ff. 374.

(3) *Ibid* ff. 374.

It appears, from the trend of accounts in the Persian histories of this period, that the Shâh hoped one day to extend the boundary of his empire to the right bank of the Indus. It is not, therefore, surprising that the hostilities in the Deccan opened soon after the arrival of the Persian ambassadors in those parts.¹ The attack on Qandahâr began only when the best troops had been already despatched to the Deccan.

Although Jahângîr talked a great deal about fortifying Qandahâr, little could be done owing to the attitude of Shâhjahân, and it fell after a feeble resistance.² It seems surprising that the Shâh should have sent so many embassies in close succession before launching his attack. There can be little doubt but that he wanted to avoid an open conflict, for the time being at least, and desired to bring about a peaceful settlement on both the question of Qandahâr and of the Deccan; but he was also prepared for the other eventuality. His intrigues had made it impossible for Jahângîr to take any effective measures of defence. Certain entries in *'Alam-arai 'Abbasi* also show how deep was the Shâh's interest in the intrigues of Nûrjahân against Shâhjahân. The Shâh attributes Jahângîr's reluctance to surrender Qandahâr to "the people who had gained undesirable influence over his brother."³

It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the Shâh's representatives were in touch with Shâhjahân, and also kept him supplied with the latest information about the Court intrigues. How far Shâhjahân was involved it is difficult to say, for, if there was any such agreement between him and the Shâh, it must have been secret and all reference to it would naturally be suppressed, both in Indian and Persian histories. It is only a conjecture based purely on the sequence of certain events. After all, what was the importance of Qandahâr to Shahjahân

(1) It is interesting to note that Nizâmshâh's envoy Habsh Khân was with the Shâh during the siege of Qandahâr. See *'Alam-arai 'Abbasi*, ff. 377.

(2) Elliott and Dawson, VII, p. 64. *English Factories in India*, 1622—8 p. 108.

It fell after a siege of 45 days.

'Alam-arai 'Abbasi gives the following date (1031) "

قندھارا ز بادشاہ مآشد ff. 379.

(3) In his letter to the Prime Minister of Turkey and also *'Alam-arai 'Abbasi* 375.

when the very question of his succession was in the balance? He knew that, with the loss of Qandahâr, Jahângîr would be busy suppressing the wave of unrest that would naturally sweep over the whole of Afghânistân and the Frontier tribes, leaving him a comparatively open field in the South. His terms¹ conveyed in reply to Jahângîr's order to proceed to Qandahâr, were most offensive, and would have amounted to an abdication of power had Jahângîr accepted them.

While the Shâh was still at Qandahâr, Shâhjahân's ambassador Zâhid Beg appeared with a letter² and presents, an act which cannot be explained in any way; for so far Jahângîr had taken no action against Shâhjahân. The Shâh treated the ambassador very kindly and dismissed him with a reply to the letter he had brought.³

Another letter⁴ was sent by Shâhjahân to the Shâh with Khwâja Hàji at the time of his retreat to the Deccan. This was an open appeal for help, for he says "I too have like my forefathers turned to you for help with the hope that you will give me proper aid at the proper time." But the Shâh, whatever encouragement he might have given to Zâhid Bêg, now advised Shâhjahân to be loyal to his father, and said: "I am sending an ambassador to Jahângîr to recommend your case."

Soon after the fall of Qandahâr the Shâh sent two ambassadors, Haidar Bêg and Wali Bêg, with a letter, explaining away his occupation of Qandahâr. The letter starts with the usual prayers, compliments and apologies. It recapitulates the Shâh's claim to Qandahâr, and reminds Jahângîr of his ancestor's promise. He apologises for his action, which he attributes, not to any desire for conquest, but "it occurred to me that I would go to Qandahâr to see it and to hunt."⁵ The Shâh closes the

(1) Conveyed by Zaimu'l-A'âbidîn—see Qazvinî. f. 103 b. *Amil-i-Sâkh*, vol. I, pp. 167-8.

(2) *Jamî'a-i-Marasulat*, ff. 226.

(3) 381b. *Âlam-ara* (Add. 16684).

(4) *Jamî'a-i-Insha*, ff. 214-16. M.I. 228

(5) See *Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri*, ff. 157.

Compare it to Alexander's message to Darius

"I have no wish to fight against the Shah

"Mine aim is this

"To roam about the earth a little space

"And see the world for once." (*Shahnamah*)

The Safavîs tried to imitate even the excuses given by the old kings.

letter with the hope that the cordial relations between the two empires will not be broken by such trivial incidents and the assurance that he will regard Qandahâr as a gift from his brother.

Jahângîr sent a very dignified reply in which he blamed the Shâh for breaking faith and disregarding old friendship and the special relations of brotherhood. He complains that the first message about Qandahâr was delivered by Zanîl Bêg, and that the Shâh should have waited for his return before taking action. His following remarks are very interesting, for they throw some light on the conception of inter-State relations in those days:—
“Clearly the methods of union and concord among the princes require that, if they make oaths of friendship to one another, there should be perfect spiritual agreement between them. There should be no need for physical contact and still less should there be any necessity for visiting one another’s countries for hunting and sight seeing.”¹

Jahângîr talks of extensive preparations, but the Shâh’s ambassadors must have carried back a sorrowful tale of the state of affairs in India due to the policy of Nûrjahân.

The Shah now endeavoured to reconcile Jahângîr and turned a cold shoulder to Shâhjahân. He sent Aqâ Bêg in 1033 A.H. (1624 A.D.) to bring about, if possible, a resumption of diplomatic relations. A letter full of affectionate expressions, recommending Shâhjahân’s case for more sympathetic consideration, was brought by Aqâ Bêg.² Jahângîr treated Aqâ Bêg with great respect and dismissed him with a robe of honour and a reward of Rs. 30,000, but no ambassador was sent to Persia. A reply was sent to the Shâh’s letter with many presents, which included a jewelled club worth a lakh of rupees and a jewelled belt.

(1) See (a) *Tuzk II.* (Trans.) pp. 192, 230, 233.

(b) *Iqbalnama*, 91-12

(c) *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, p. 233

(2) For the letter see *Jam’i-i-Marasilat*, 222.

It seems, as soon as Jahângîr heard about the fall of Qandahâr he sent a very insulting letter to Shâh ‘Abbâs. The Shâh also sent an equally insulting reply but comparatively in more polite language than that of Jahângîr. These letters are only to be found in Isari ‘Abdullah’s *Dastur-ul-Insha* and no mention of them is made in any Indian or Persian history. They were probably private letters.

After having submitted to his father, Shâhjahân sent Ishâq Bêg to inform the Shâh that he had acted on the Shâh's advice.

ABDUR RAHIM.

(To be continued)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE NEED OF THE SUNNAH*

MR. Muhammad Asad (Leopold Weiss) has written a book which is a notable contribution to what we may call the literature of Muslim regeneration, and the fact that he is a European by birth and education, a widely travelled and observant man, makes his achievement the more remarkable. After much study and deliberation he gives in "*Islam on the Crossroads*" his considered opinion that the safety of the Muslims, and therefore their hope of survival, lies only in complete observance of the *sunnah* of our Prophet. It is by no means a new thesis, being that of orthodoxy, but Mr. Asad's way of proving it on reasonable grounds is new and striking. His book is so full of interesting points that we should like to quote much more extensively than space allows. But some things we must quote in order to give the author his due. He derides the chimerical dream, cherished by some among us, of a Europe converted presently to Islam. He writes :

"Europe was never farther from Islam than it is today. Its active hostility against our religion may be on the decline ; this, however, is not due to an appreciation of the Islamic teachings, but to the growing cultural weakness and disintegration of the Islamic world. The West was once afraid of Islam, and their apprehension forced them to adopt an inimical attitude towards everything that had Islamic colour, even in purely spiritual and social matters. But in a time when Islam has lost most of its importance as a factor opposed to European interests, it is quite natural that with the diminished fear Europe should also lose some of the original intensity of its anti-Islamic feelings. If those

**Islam on the Crossroads*. By Mohammad Asad, (Leopold Weiss). Arafat Publications, Carol Bhag, Delhi, 1984.

feelings have become less pronounced and active, it does not entitle us to the conclusion that the West has inwardly come nearer to Islam ; it only indicates its growing indifference towards Islam."

Muslims must rely for regeneration solely on their own efforts at revival and reform. Mr. Asad deplores the tendency to adopt an alien civilization.

"The tendency to imitate a foreign civilization is the outcome of a feeling of inferiority. This, and nothing else, is the matter with the Muslims who imitate the Western civilization. They contrast its power and technical skill and brilliant surface with the sad misery of the World of Islam : and they begin to believe that there is no way in our times but the Western way. To blame Islam for our own shortcomings is the fashion of the day. At the best, our so-called intellectuals adopt an apologetic attitude and try to convince themselves and others that Islam can well assimilate the spirit of the Western civilization.

"In order to achieve the regeneration of Islam, the Muslims must, before the adoption of any measures of reform, free themselves entirely from the spirit of apology for their religion. A Muslim must live with his head lifted high."

"Many proposals of reform have been brought forward during the last decades, and many spiritual doctors have tried to devise a patent medicine for the sick body of Islam. But, till now, all was in vain, because all those clever doctors—at least those who get a hearing today—have forgotten to prescribe along with their medicines and tonics and elixirs the natural *diet* on which the early development of the patient was based. This diet, the only one which the body of Islam, sound or sick, can positively accept and assimilate into its organism, is the Sunnah of our Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings be upon him). The Sunnah is the key to the understanding of the Islamic rise more than thirteen centuries ago, and why should it not be a key to the understanding of our present degeneration ? The observance of Sunnah is identical with Islamic existence and progress. The neglect of Sunnah is identical with decomposition and decay of Islam. The Sunnah was the iron framework of the House of Islam ; and if you take away the framework out of a building, can you wonder that it breaks down like a house of cards ? This simple

truth, almost unanimously accepted by all learned men throughout Islamic history, is—we know it well—most unpopular today for reasons connected with the ever-growing influence of the Western civilization. But it is a truth none the less, and, in fact, the only truth which can save us from the chaos and the shame of our present decay. The word *Sunnah* is used here in its widest meaning, namely, the example the Prophet has set before us in his actions and sayings.

“The *Sunnah* is so obviously opposed to the fundamental ideas underlying the Western civilization that those who are fascinated by the latter see no way out of the tangle but to denounce the *Sunnah* as being not compulsory for Muslims.—because it is ‘based on unreliable traditions.’ After this summary procedure it becomes easier to twist the teachings of the *Quran* till they appear to suit the spirit of the Western civilization.”

Mr. Muhammad Asad has some very pertinent remarks to make concerning those who lightly question the authenticity of the whole body of *Hadith*. He points out the error of some “modern” Muslims not more strongly than Professor Krenkow in these pages recently pointed out the error of some European Orientalists, misleaders of the Muslims, in this respect.

“Many modern Muslims profess that they would be ready to follow the *Sunnah*, but they think they cannot rely upon the body of the *Hadis* on which it rests. It has become a matter of fashion in our days to deny, in principle, the authenticity of *Hadis* and, therefore, of the whole structure of the *Sunnah*. Is there any scientific warrant for this attitude? Is there any scientific justification for the rejection of the *Hadis* as a dependable source of the Islamic law?

“We should think that the opponents of orthodox thought would be able to bring forward really convincing arguments which would establish, once for all, the unreliability of the traditions ascribed to the Prophet. But this is not the case. In spite of all the efforts which have been employed to challenge the authenticity of the *Hadis*, those modern critics, both Eastern and Western, have not been able to back their purely temperamental criticism with results of scientific research. It would be rather difficult to do so, as the compilers of the early *Hadis*-collections, and particularly the Imams Bukhari and

Muslim, have done whatever was humanly possible to put the reliability of every Tradition to a very rigorous test—a far more rigorous test than European historians usually apply to any sources of old history.”

We think the author exaggerates a little in regarding modern civilization as essentially Satanic, and forgets how large a share Islam can claim in it historically—a larger share, we think, than Christianity can claim in it. Our view is that it represents that part of the Sunnah and the Sharī'ah which Muslims have long failed to honour and observe—the part concerning education and material progress—but without the part which Muslims still hold fast, at any rate in theory, the part which regulates the lives and aims of men, and gives religious sanction and control, religious purpose to the progress of mankind as a whole; whence all its menace to the Muslim world and to itself. As Mr. Asad very justly remarks: “Reason knows its limits; but rationalism is preposterous in its claim to encompass the world and all its mysteries within its little individual circle. It hardly even concedes, in religious matters, the possibility of certain things being, temporarily or permanently, beyond the human understanding; but it is, at the same time, illogical enough to concede this possibility to science.”

The book is so well written that one forgets that the author is not an Englishman. Very rarely do we find—as in the case of the title,—a wrong preposition or an unfamiliar turn of phrase—“Islam *on* the Crossroads” instead of “*at* the Crossroads.” It is the most thoughtful and thought-stimulating work on the means of Islamic revival that has appeared since Prince Sa'īd Halīm Pashā's famous “Islamlashmaq.” We are glad to learn that it is being translated into Urdu.

M. P.

AL-ANDALUS, VOL. II, PART I

THE first number of the second volume of this valuable Spanish review opens with an eloquent tribute to the late lamented Don Julian Ribera y Tarrago, founder of the present vigorous movement for Arabic studies in Spain, who died on the 2nd of May 1934 at Puebla Larga, Valencia; including a brief survey of his life-work, from the pen of Don Emilio Garcia Gomez. It contains some articles of importance to all Arabists. In *Una Codice*

inexplorado del Cordobes Ibn Hazm [an unexplored codex (majmû'a) of Ibn Hazm of Cordova] Don Miguel Asín Palacios reviews at length the collection of letters and *risalahs* by Ibn Hazm (in answer to real or imaginary correspondents on religious and philosophical subjects) recently discovered by Dr. H. Ritter in the library of the Mosque of Muhammad Fâtih in Istanbul. The majority of these essays were hitherto unknown and are, therefore, lacking not only in Brockelmann but also in the lists of Oriental and Western biographers of Ibn Hazm. News of the find reached Dr. Palacios at once, and he was soon able to pore over a photographic copy of the precious manuscript. In a fairly detailed description of the whole collection he dwells chiefly, of course, on those portions which are new to Orientalists and which throw new light on the mentality of the famous Spanish-Arab author or refer to contemporary Spain; and, where the matter is particularly interesting, he gives the Arabic text as well as its Spanish translation. Thus we find here the actual text of Ibn Hazm's short but very striking essay entitled "Death, is it or is it not painful?" and two very welcome extracts from his "Epistle on the various aspects of salvation"; the second of which deals among other matters with the question whether the means of life were "lawful" to Muslims in the utterly un-Islamic political conditions which prevailed in Muslim Spain at the time. Another article of world-wide interest is a detailed catalogue of the original Arabic sources in the library of the Escorial by D. Nemesio Morata. Here the whole list of 448 MSS. is given in Arabic, followed by a Spanish translation, and preceded by a brief historical account of the collection. In *Une Anthologie Magribine Inconnue a Leningrad*, Prof. Kratchkovsky describes (in French, with much textual quotation of the Arabic) an MS. in the University Library at Leningrad which is the work of a genuine Maghribi, as the script shows, whereas most of the existing MS. anthologies of Moorish writers are obviously the work of Oriental scribes. The title, as appeared from two passages in the text, is *انس العاشق ورياض الحب الوامق*, but the name of the author is not found, the first few pages being lost. It is with the hope that Spanish Arabists will be able easily to trace the authorship that Prof. Kratchkovsky has sent the details of his discovery to *Al-Andalus* for publication. The MS. came from the collection of Ash-Sheykh Al-Tantâwi (1810 to 1861), a former Professor of Arabic at the University of Petersburg (which now is Leningrad).

The review contains much else of interest, notably the Spanish translation of a Moorish history of the war between Spain and Morocco of 1859-60 by D. Reginaldos Ruiz Orsatti. We have called attention to the articles in which new Arabic sources are quoted copiously because they will be easily intelligible to many of our readers who do not know Spanish.

Al-Andalus was founded to promote the study of Arabic in Spain. It is likely also to promote the study of Spanish among Muslims, containing as it does so much that is of interest and use to us.

M. P.

THE LAST CRUSADE*

THE Crusade of Nicopolis (1396), though not the final one, was the last serious effort of its kind and marks a definite stage in the end of the European chivalric period. Dr. Atiya has sifted with accuracy and skill all records, both Oriental and Western, in compiling this able history which, we note, is part of a forthcoming work of larger scope.

The crusading urge may be compared to a fire smouldering for centuries—since the days of Peter the Hermit—ready to flare up with a favouring breeze. The Ottoman advance westward, steadily beating in the Eastern bulwarks of Christendom, and the general state of the European political situation, finally led to this last inglorious expedition. The Christian princes throughout the fourteenth century had played with the idea of saving the Holy Land, and had made tentative movements, to that end. But, as Dr. Atiya has it—"while Europe was dreaming of the reconquest of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the enemy came within the boundaries of the homeland of Catholic Christianity.

"The Ottomans had been carving slice after slice from the body politic of a divided Empire and an impotent group of semi-independent principalities in the Balkans; and the West gazed indifferently on the fall of the unworthy schismatics. But when Turkish ambitions extended beyond the Danube, the Western powers began to realize the sin of their forefathers—the promoters of the Fourth Crusade—and to lament their own sloth and

* The Crusade of Nicopolis, by Aziz Suryal Atiya, M.A., Ph.D. 10s. 6d., Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex St., London, W.C.

indifference to the fate of their fellow-Christians. Their fears and anxieties were doubled when the news was circulated in the West that 'l'Amorath Bacquin' had pledged himself to ride to Rome and turn St. Peter's altar into a manger for his horse. Pilgrims had also informed the young and ardent Charles VI that the Sultan had told them of his intention to 'come to France after he had finished with Austria.' These threats alarmed the West, more especially because the rate at which the Turks extended their sway was rapid and bewildering."

Bayezid, at this time, was in the full flush of victory, threatened only by the Tartars; if the "state of the Ottomans was not yet permanently stabilized....they enjoyed sufficient power and peace to set siege to Constantinople in 1395, a siege which lasted till the Tartar invasion of 1402 and was only temporarily interrupted when Bayezid was called to meet the crusaders at Nicopolis. The organized strength of his fighting forces was put beyond doubt by the issue, and his victory was as resounding as the disillusionment that ensued amongst the proud nobles and the zealous propagandists in the West."

The political and religious writings of the period give us a good idea of the character of the propaganda which led to this crusading movement. The illiterate were worked up by fervent preachers exhorting them from pulpits erected in the churchyard of village or town, and the literate few by the writings of men like Hayton (author of the famous '*Flos Historiarum Terrae Orientis*'), Eustache Deschamps and, above all, Philippe de Mézières. Also, pilgrims returned from the Holy Land were eager in spoken and written words to inflame the ardour of all who hesitated.

"The Book of Sir John Mandeville" (1322-56) is a fair sample. "Wherefore every good Christian man" he writes "that is of power and hath whereof should labour with all his strength to conquer our heritage and drive out all the unbelieving men." He goes on to give the best routes and methods. The Republic of Venice, with a commercial eye, had a regular traffic arrangement for pilgrims. *Le songe du vieil pelerin* of Mézières, most fervent propagandist whose spirit never wavered even in utter defeat, works out detailed plans of campaign and various methods of ensuring success. He advises that—

"The forces of Central and Eastern Europe may proceed to the Levant by Byzantium and Turkey, where, on their way to join the rest of the crusading host, they can effect the submission of the Greek schismatics to the Church of Rome and win back the territories occupied by the hostile Turk. The army of Aragon, Spain, Portugal and Navarre may first undertake the conquest of the kingdom of Granada and, after crossing the strait, the three Berber kingdoms of the Merinids of Fez, of 'Abd-al-Ouadites of Tlemcen and of the Hafsides of Tunis, founded on the ruins of Almohad empire." Meanwhile the largest detachment of the crusading army consisting of the English, Scotch, Irish, Flemish, French and Italian soldiers was to sail in two fleets; the first destined for Egypt and Syria, and the second for Armenia and Turkey. It was therefore of paramount importance that the allied contingents should seek the co-operation of the Venetian and Genoese sea-powers.

After the overwhelming disaster of Nicopolis we hear the same ardent voice exhorting the Duke of Burgundy, the Kings of England and France to rise again for the humiliated Christian faith. But this time the seed falls on stony ground

To us the preparation for, and conduct of, these "holy wars" is in amazing contrast to the efficient and ghastly slaughter of our own enlightened times. We read that the first step of the nobility of France was the collection of masses of sumptuous and useless paraphernalia—"tents, pavilions, banners, standards, horse-covers—all were made of rich green velvet, and all were heavily embroidered with the arms of Nevers in Cypriote gold-thread. Of costly tents and pavilions alone there were twenty-four cart-loads. Saddles and horse-equipment, decorated with gold, silver and ivory, and ornamented with precious stones, were not wanting in large numbers. No less than 300 pennons were decorated with silver. The great banners of the expedition were four. Each one was decorated with the image of Our Lady surrounded by the arms of France and of the Count, in gold thread. Froissart says that '*rien n'estoit espargnie de montures, d'armoiries, de vaisselle d'or et d'argent.*'"

Unfortunately, the splendour of their arms was sadly out of keeping with their behaviour on the march and, from contemporary accounts, we can well believe that the

harmless "Orthodox" Serbians and Bulgarians preferred the yoke of the Turks (knowing their comparative tolerance in religious matters) to the atrocities and excesses committed by the motley throng of their co-religionists as it pillaged its way through their land.

Meanwhile, Bayezid mustered his forces, burnt the machines prepared for the storming of Constantinople, and marched to the relief of Nicopolis; this fortress over the Danube was all but impregnable and, under a vigilant and experienced leader defied the efforts of the Christian army under King Sigismund. Perhaps the outcome of the battle that ensued—one of the decisive battles of history—might have been different if Sigismund had been, in fact, the sole commander. The headlong bravery of the crusaders is questioned in none of the accounts. They performed great feats of valour. But in unity of leadership, strategy and *morale* the Ottoman forces were superior. Bayezid directed the conflict with the sure hand of the military despot, whereas the Christians, lax from months of debauchery, were led by men of rival nationalities more eager to outdo one another in deeds of chivalry than to fight on a concerted plan.

The Turkish use of light cavalry and archery—as befitted men derived from stock of the Mongolian steppes—appears to have been an important factor in the struggle. Unity of control, discipline and strategy were, however, the main causes of the complete rout of the Western forces. The King of Hungary himself fought desperately in the last stage of the battle to stave off defeat. He escaped down the Danube, leaving a scene of dreadful carnage—the Ottoman loss was at least 30,000 men—which speedily became a cold-blooded massacre.

The survivors of the massacre were kept as slaves or ransomed at a heavy price. Incidentally, Dr. Atiya gives an interesting and detailed account of the methods employed in raising the large sums which were necessary for the crusade and the expensive journeys of ambassadors to arrange for the ransoms exacted by Bayezid—the Duke of Burgundy, for example, found himself in debt to the tune of 4,000,000 francs—a huge sum in those days. Bayezid's parting words (according to Froissart) to John of Burgundy, leader of the ransomed prisoners, are a direct challenge—

"John, I am well informed that in thy country thou art a great lord, and son to a powerful prince. Thou art departing and canst look forward to many years; and, as thou mayest be blamed for the ill success of thy first attempt in arms, thou mayest, perchance, to wipe out this blot, and regain thine honour, collect a powerful army to lead against me, and offer battle. If I feared thee, I would make thee swear, and likewise thy companions, on thy faith and honour that neither thou nor they would ever bear arms against me. But no; I will not demand such an oath; on the contrary, I shall be glad if, when thou art returned to thy country, it please thee to assemble an army, and lead it hither. Thou wilt always find me prepared, and ready to meet thee in the field of battle. What I now say, do thou repeat to whomever thou pleasest; for I am ready for, and desirous of, deeds of arms, and of extending my conquests."

We may summarize the general aftermath of the Ottoman victory thus:—it increased the power and prestige of the Turks, particularly in the Balkans, until the redoubtable Bayezid himself was routed and carried into captivity by the Tartars; it led to many political disputes among the defeated allies, and an indifference to all further expeditions Jerusalem-wards on the grand scale; the Christian East was left to its own resources, and the West turned to its own disputes and its growing sense of nationalism. The defeat of the chivalry of the West had, indeed, ushered in a new epoch.

Dr. Atiya's scholarly thoroughness in the presentation of this work cannot be praised too highly. The appendices and notes and very full bibliography complete an important contribution to the critical study of the period.

R. C.

AN ENGLISH LADY'S PILGRIMAGE*

THERE are certain false ideas about Islam which still prevail in Europe: that Muslims believe that women have no souls, that Islam, as a religion, may appeal to men (because it allows polygamy) but cannot possibly appeal

* *A Pilgrimage to Mecca*. By Lady Evelyn Cobbold. With a foreword by His Excellency Shaih Hafiz Wahba, Sa'udi Arabian Minister in London. London, John Murray, 1934.

to any civilized enlightened woman, and so forth. These misapprehensions the delightful account which Lady Evelyn Cobbold has given of her pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Mecca and her performance of the Hajj ought completely to dispel; for there can be no doubt either of Lady Evelyn's sincerity as a Muslimah or of the freedom of her choice of Al-Islam as her religion; and the story of her pilgrimage is sufficient refutation of the ancient calumny concerning souls. Concerning her belief, she tells us in her Introduction :

" I am often asked when and why I became a Moslem. I can only reply that I do not know the precise moment when the truth of Islam dawned on me. It seems that I have always been a Moslem. . . . As a child I spent the winter in a Moorish villa on a hill outside Algiers, where my parents went in search of sunshine. There I learnt to speak Arabic and my delight was to escape my governess and visit the Mosques with my Algerian friends, and unconsciously I was a little Moslem at heart. After three years' wintering at Mustapha Supérieure we left the villa for good, much to my despair, but in time I forgot my Arab friends, my prayers in the Mosque and even the Arabic language. Some years went by and I happened to be in Rome staying with some Italian friends, when my host asked me if I would like to visit the Pope. Of course I was thrilled, and, clad all in black with a long veil, I was admitted into the august presence in company with my host and his sister. When His Holiness suddenly addressed me, asking if I was a Catholic, I was taken aback for a moment and then replied that I was a Moslem. What possessed me I don't pretend to know, as I had not given a thought to Islam for many years. A match was lit and I then and there determined to read up and study the Faith. The more I read and the more I studied, the more convinced I became that Islam was the most practical religion, and the one most calculated to solve the world's many perplexing problems, and to bring to humanity peace and happiness. Since then I have never wavered in my belief that there is but one God; that Moses, Jesus, Muhammad and others were Prophets, divinely inspired, that to every nation God has sent an apostle, that we are not born in sin, and that we do not need any redemption, that we do not need anyone to intercede between us and God, Whom we can approach at all times, and that no one can intercede for us, not even Muhammad or Jesus, and that our salvation depends entirely on ourselves and our actions."

Lady Evelyn Cobbold went to Jeddah in the hope of being allowed to perform the Pilgrimage, for the Sa'ûdi Arabian Minister in London had written to his Government on her behalf; but it was not till she had been the guest of Mr. and Mrs. St. John Philby for some days that the desired permission reached her. At once she started for Al-Madinah. "We started for Medina after the Dawn Prayer. I had hired a car for the twenty days of pilgrimage, with an Arab driver who knew the road and was accompanied by Mustapha Nazir, a very urbane personage lent me by Mr. Philby who combined the duties of equerry and courier, and proved invaluable. Also a nice old Sudanese, father of the cook, who had come from Dongola to do the pilgrimage and wanted to kiss my feet when I offered him a lift to Medina."

The only adventure on the road was the fording of an unexpected and uncharted river. "We halted once again when two policemen stopped us with flashlights, and after the Arab greeting of peace warned us that it had rained for three days and the road was under water. We thanked them and proceeded by another sandy track which also led us to water. Our driver got out and waded in it to his knees, but returned to say that the bottom was hard and he thought the Ford could do it. The little car did not fail us, and after another hour we saw lights in the distance. They were the lights of Medina-el-Manoura, the Illumined City."

It was long past the hour when the city-gates are closed but the Amîr of Al-Madinah had given orders for her to be admitted whenever she arrived.

Lady Evelyn thoroughly enjoyed her stay at Al-Madinah where, besides her daily visits to the Prophet's Mosque, she went out to Mt. Uhud, spent some peaceful hours among the gardens and made many friends. More than once she mentions the destruction of the tombs, regretting here and at Mecca that she could not see the cemeteries in their former grandeur.

"I was shown the graves of the nine wives of the Prophet, pathetic little mounds once enclosed in white domed buildings which were ruthlessly destroyed a few years ago by the Wahhabi soldiery; the tombs of Fatima and her son Hassan are close by, and many other heroes of Islam of long ago. All the tombs are demolished, only a few stones mark their last resting-place."

But she has previously reminded herself and us that it was the Prophet himself who ordered that graves should be level with the ground.

"We drink tea and again discuss the destruction of the Tombs which is evidently a sore subject and there is a feeling of resentment always against the "Ikhwan," but when the King is mentioned there is expressed nothing but admiration and gratitude for the security and order he had given the country. One sheikh even went so far as to say that he considered Ibn Sa'ud to be the greatest ruler Islam has seen since the days of the first four Khalifs. That is indeed praise!"

She left Al-Madinah on a Friday, and attended Jum'ah prayers at the Prophet's Mosque before starting on her return journey to Jiddah.

"The great Mosque is crowded with worshippers from every Islamic country—Emirs from Bokhara and Nigeria. Indian Princes, bearded Russians, Pashas from Egypt and Turkey stand shoulder to shoulder with poor pilgrims who have saved to spend their life's savings to reach this goal.

"The women around eye me with curiosity, they ply me with questions—asking me what country I come from, where is my family—am I alone. When I reply that I come from the far north they conclude that it is Turkey: their minds cannot visualise a land farther north than that. Two young Turkish women come and talk with me, but I cannot understand them. At length a lady arrives who grasps my meaning when I mention my home is in London: she is a Syrian, whose husband has travelled to England and she welcomes me as a Moslem from that far land, kissing the palms of my hands to show her appreciation."

After two more nights in the Philbys' hospitable house at Jiddah our author started for Mecca "at nine (Arab time)"—that is, after the 'Asr—and her description of the first sight of Jabal Nûr and of the Holy City, and the excitement of the crowd of pilgrims on the road is memorable. A comfortable lodging has again been found for her, and she is warmly welcomed by its owners, a large household.

"They bring me green caravan tea flavoured with mint and having a faint aroma of ambergris, which I find delicious, and we arrange that I visit the Mosque and perform

my Omra or small pilgrimage later in the evening, hoping that some of the crowd will have dispersed. Till this is done I may not remove any of my pilgrim clothes except the veil and gloves. Presently dinner is brought in on a tray and placed on the floor before us and my hostess shares my meal. When our hands are washed, she disappears to her own apartments to smoke her narghileh while I try and rest as I have a very strenuous night before me. The mosquitos buzz round and I take refuge under my net, but one of the enemy has entered and, as I may not kill it, I unpack a tube of Flit that I was given on leaving Jeddah, a priceless gift. I smear myself with it, and if the mosquitos choose to commit suicide I feel no responsibility."

Late that evening she performed the Omrah and she has given us a vivid description of the Haram Sharif in the glooming when scarcely half of the lamps were lighted "but the mosque was light enough for me to see the Kaaba in the centre of the quadrangle" at the time when she entered it with her Mutawwif. It was after midnight when she returned to her lodging. There follows an excellent, because sympathetic, description of the occupations of the ladies in a Meccan household of the upper class, and of various excursions. And then comes the description of the actual pilgrimage, of the scenes at Arafat and Mina, beginning with: "everyone seems happy and excited this morning. All the little ladies of the harem come to congratulate me on the pilgrimage before us. They are dressed in their clean white clothes, and the smiling slaves brought me a double allowance of hot water. As we are not starting till this afternoon I refuse to put on my Hadj garments till the last minute, knowing I am to make a longer acquaintance with them than I shall appreciate."

The only approach to rudeness that the author met with was when she was reading a book in her car as it stood in the long queue of camels, donkeys, motor-cars and pedestrians trying to emerge from Mecca.

".....a voice from a neighbouring car asked 'Is that an Arabic book?' Suleiman answered quickly that of course it was Arabic, and whispered to me to close the book, which I refused to do. Again the voice spoke: 'Can you swear by all we hold holy, it is Arabic and a book for the Moslems?' Before the alarmed Suleiman

could answer I turned and held the book out to the anxious enquirer saying, 'This is an English book and I am an English Moslem and I am here on pilgrimage by permission of the King.' After a few seconds of astonished silence he returned the book to me, saying 'Alhamdulillah!'

Lady Evelyn has given an impressive picture of that unique annual gathering to perform certain rites which, as she has justly said in her Introduction, is for the Muslims "not merely a sacred institution but also a League of Nations, an International Academy of Art and Science and an International Chamber of Commerce all in one." She has also, incidentally, given a clear general idea of Islam and Muslim history; but it is the little intimate remarks in her diary which give the book such lively human interest, revealing as they do a truly Muslim spirit of goodwill toward every nation of the earth and every class of person. If any individual stands forth in the course of her narrative, it is the King of Najd and the Hijaz, whom she never actually met, but whose personality impressed her, as it has impressed others, as perhaps the only great Islamic figure of this age.

When after a few days of quarantine at Port Sudan, Lady Evelyn went on board a Bibby liner bound for England, we find the following among the last few entries in her pilgrim diary: "I share my meals at a table with five charming ladies, who have all come from Ceylon, and I wonder if it is tea or rubber that interests them, till I discover they are missionaries. Has the chief steward a sense of humour that he places the one pilgrim at this particular table?" And one of these Christian Missionaries volunteered to type the diary of the Muslim Pilgrim.

The only mistake we have noticed apart from a few evident misprints is on p.156, where, in a translation of a well-known verse of the Qur'ân (Sur. XLVII, 15) "ewers" occurs four times instead of "rivers." The book is illustrated with good photographs and provided with a map and index.

M. P.

THE PHONETICS OF EASTERN TURKISH*

To learn a foreign language and its pronunciation from the lips of those whose mother-tongue it is is an easy task

* *Studien Zu Einer Ost-Türkischen Lautlehre.* By Gunnar Jarring
Lund, Borelius and Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz. 1938.

compared with that of describing the said pronunciation and reproducing it with scientific accuracy and in universal formulæ for linguists of all nations who may never have heard that language spoken. The latter is the task of the very modern science called *Phonetics*, to which the present thesis, dealing scientifically with the pronunciation of the Turkish spoken in Chinese Turkistan (Kâshghar and its region) is a brilliant contribution. We are not adepts in this science; indeed its script, with its mixture of Greek and Latin consonants and new symbols representing shades of vowel-sounds, was so far from intelligible to us at first sight that we failed to recognise most words and their pronunciation till Mr. Gunnar Jarring gave us the same word in Arabic script; and it is only after perusal of the extracts from Kâshghari documents at the end, where the Arabic script is given as well as the script of universal *Phonetics*, that we have come to understand the system and appreciate its use for scientific accuracy. The number of Turkish vowel-sounds causes a difficulty well-known to every student of the language and we still doubt whether it is really possible to overcome it except by hearing and practice; but we can now see that, for those who know the Turkish language in any dialect and have mastered the, by no means easy, science of *Phonetics*, Mr. Jarring's book will be quite plain instructive reading.

It is impossible, unfortunately, to give an illustration of the system here, because we have at our disposal no Greek or Cyrillic type. Suffice it to say that every sound and modification of a sound is indicated by a symbol yet the effect is of conciseness. Mr. Jarring repeats the current dictum that the Arabic alphabet is unsuited for the accurate conveyance of Turkish sounds. So, we venture to assert, is any other alphabet. The new script in Turkey and Azarbeyjan reproduces the sounds of the language no more accurately than did the Arabic script, and in addition blurs the etymology and history of the language. Anyone who knows Turkish will have no difficulty in pronouncing from the Arabic script and anyone who does not know Turkish can in our opinion acquire a scholarly knowledge of that language only with the Arabic script. But we wander from the region of *Phonetics*. To that science Mr. Gunnar Jarring has made a notable contribution in this book, which, with all its technicality, can be recommended to the general reader knowing German and Turkish who would acquaint himself

with the modern condition of the once famous Chughutai Turki language. The author has visited Kâshghar and Yarkend and there collected some very interesting material. Very nearly the same dialect is, or was before the Great War, spoken in villages in the mountainous region behind Adana. A map of Chinese Turkistan is given and also a photograph of the extract from Kitâb Gharib Sunam Shâh which figures among the "documents" in the handwriting of a Mulla of Kâshghar.

M. P.

MUNISU'L-'USHSHAQ*

THE author is one of those well-known Muslim writers, who attempted to give a mystic or rather esoteric turn to the teachings of the Qur'ân. This movement, which may be said to have reached its climax in the writings of Sh. Ibn-al-'Arabi, a younger contemporary of our author, profoundly influenced the whole world of Muslim mysticism; but the curious and far-fetched interpretations and allegorical writings of these mystic philosophers generally appeared to the orthodox 'ulama of Islam as little better than impertinent nonsense and in a few cases, as conspicuously in that of our author, these poet-philosophers were even persecuted to death.

The book under review, as pointed out by Mr. Otto Spies, its present editor, has the special importance of being one of the oldest allegorical stories in Persian literature. It has always been mentioned among the numerous works of the murdered Sheykh, but, so far as is known, has never been printed or lithographed, and we should be grateful to Mr. Spies for his careful collation of different manuscripts and his publication of the treatise in a neat little volume, including an old Persian commentary and his own annotations. Indeed, his labours might have easily comprised a translation of the text which is printed on only 49 pages of about 8 lines each. It is written in classical Persian prose, interspersed with elegant verse, dealing with the Qur'anic story of Joseph in an allegorical style. The primordial divine Essences of Beauty, Love and Sorrow were three brothers attracted to the newly created world of human being, and hospitably received

* *Munisu'l-'Ushshaq* (The Lovers' Friend) a short Persian treatise by "the murdered Sheykh" Shihâbuddin, b. 1155, d. 1192 A.D. edited by Mr. Otto Spies. Delhi Jama Press, 1934.

by Joseph, Zuleykha and Jacob respectively, with whom they finally identify themselves. The important piece in the story is the description of the metropolis of Spirit, guarded by an "Old Youth" named Eternal Reason, who is constantly touring without moving from his place and has other similarly paradoxical attributes.

The book, printed in the Jamia Millia Naskh, is published under the auspices of the Muslim University, Aligarh, and may be had from the Editor at that address.

S. H.

THE MUGHAL PERIOD*

THIS is a neatly printed history of the Mughal Emperors of India, including the Sûr interregnum, and brought up to the end of Akbar's reign in the volume under review, which constitutes the first part of the work. It is designed for the B. A. students as explained in a short preface by the Revnd. H. Heras of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Professor Sharma has treated his subject with enlightened sympathy and willingly taps practically all the historical sources available to him in English. He does not, however, appear to be in a position closely to examine his so-called 'original sources' which consist of a number of defective, not to say distorted, English versions of Persian histories. Some of them are—as in the case of Briggs' *Farishta*, which Professor Sharma has to cite often in the opening chapters of his history—positively misleading; and scholars conversant with the language of the texts could check these terrible mistakes and misinterpretations without difficulty. Between pp. 322 and 323 the writer has appended a "Key to the Coins" of the Mughal Emperors and therein gives the name of the third Muslim Khalîfah as "عثمان ابونورین" ('Uthmân, the father of two lights) and a little further translates يا معين (that is, O Helper) as "O Thou Fixed One," showing how little he knows the language of his authorities. The book with its excellent get-up may be regarded as quite good for the students of Professor Sharma's classes while from the critical historian's point of view it is a tolerable superfluity.

S. H.

* *Mughal Empire in India*. By Professor S. R. Sharma of the Fergusson College, Poona, p. 352, net price Rs. 4. Agents: The Popular Book Depot, Grant Road, Bombay. 1934.

RECENT URDU LITERATURE

JAPAN TODAY*

As the author claims in his Preface, this is the first complete description of Modern Japan to appear in an Indian language—Sir Syed Ross Masood's well-known book, which was translated into Urdu, being concerned only with the educational aspect of Japanese progress. In 1930 Mr. Badru'l-Islam was appointed lecturer in Urdu at the Tokio School of Modern Languages, a unique and very interesting establishment. He was welcomed by his Japanese colleagues and soon made a host of Japanese friends, who took pleasure in showing him the sights and ways and manners of their country and explaining what was unintelligible to him. The first part of the book consists of a diary of events—travel, visits, sight-seeing—from the day when he left Delhi on his great adventure. Thus we are given a mental picture of Japan from the personal impressions of the author before coming to the second part of the book, which is concerned with Japanese history, customs, ways of thought and institutions. Both sections are enlivened by anecdotes of the author's own experience and illumined by his shrewd observations. The work has been done so thoroughly that we are reminded of such literary monuments as Lane's "Modern Egyptians" belonging to an older day; yet it never ceases to be entertaining, thanks to the author's literary style, at once ornate and limpid.

Mr. Badru'l-Islam has often to deplore the condition of India as compared with Japan in such matters as depend on personal or public discipline, conscience and initiative. But, though a great admirer of the Japanese, he does not hesitate to criticise customs and ways of thought which seem to him less civilized and less humane than those of his own country. He considers that the Japanese, while possessing patriotism to the highest degree, reverence for the past and for old customs and superstitions, and enthusiasm for the present, have little feeling for religion in the abstract. They take a curiously

*حقیقۂ جاپان مولفہ محمد بدرالاسلام فضلی بی، اے۔ بی، ٹی (علیگ) سلسلہ

انجمن ترقی اردو نمبر ۷۰ اورنگ آباد دکن سنہ ۱۹۳۲ ع

The Real Japan. By Sheykh M. Badru'l-Islam Fazli. Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu Series, No. 79. Aurangabad, Deccan 1934.

materialistic view of religious belief, as a weapon rather than a guide, as is shown by the fact that, when they were debating what religion to adopt (if any) and sent a delegation round the world to judge the merits of the different faiths, the report upon Islam was to the effect that, though it was unquestionably true religion, the position of the Muslims in the world today was such as not to justify the Japanese in choosing it. From reports received of late we are led to suppose that there has been some modification of this attitude. But in the Japan described by Mr. Badru'l-Islam it is still predominant.

The book contains, amid a wealth of information, many intimate and charming pictures of the actual daily life of the Japanese. The author visited an "Exhibition of Ghosts" in Tokio where all the ghosts, demons, bogies and hobgoblins which have ever terrified the Japanese were represented in the form of mechanical toys in order that the children of the present day might grow familiar with them and so lose their fears. He describes the festival of the cherry-blossom in Spring and of the maple-leaves in Autumn, and expatiates upon the marvels of the Tokio chrysanthemum show. He made a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain Fujiyama, and visited many places outside Tokio. We were particularly struck by his description of a memorial (one of many throughout the country) to the Emperor Meiji, "in whose reign of forty-four years from 1868-1912 Japan progressed from an unknown feeble island to a place in the first rank of the world's great powers." The monument contained a historical museum where the chief events of the great reforming Emperor's reign were portrayed in the form of models; while Mr. Badru'l-Islam was there, a class of school-children came in with their teacher who, passing from model to model, lectured to them on the history of that epoch-making reign. As our author remarks: "What a pleasant way of teaching history and the love of country."

We read of theatres and cinemas, newspapers and all the latest novelties as well as of the ancient drama of Japan, her history, education, arts and culture. Indeed Mr. Badru'l-Islam seems to have omitted nothing. His work, so easy to read and of such a handy size, is a veritable encyclopædia of Japan. It is illustrated by excellent

photographs and a map of the Japanese archipelago, and contains, as appendices, advice to travellers, an Urdu-Japanese vocabulary and a very useful list of English books about Japan.

M. P.

FOUR TADHKIRAHs

WE have to thank the Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu for rescuing these four important biographical dictionaries* of Urdu and Persian from oblivion, and publishing them in a convenient form and at a price within the reach of all the educated. Three of these, *Riaz-ul-Fusaha*, *Iqd-i-Thuriyyah* and *Tadhkirah-i-Hindi* are the works of one author Ghulâm Hamadâni Mashafi and all these have the same Introduction from the pen of perhaps the most famous living authority on Urdu, Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq, Secretary of the aforesaid Anjuman. This Introduction is a valuable addition to them, explaining points of difficulty and describing the development of Urdu. Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq is of opinion that Mashafi was the first writer in the history of the language to use the word Urdu instead of Hindi. The *Iqd-i-Thuriyyah* of Persian poets was compiled in 1199 A.H. and contains the notices of a hundred and fifty poets contemporaries of the author in three sections: (1) those who

* (۱) ریاض الفصحاء (تذکرہ ہندی گویان) تالیف علامہ صدائی مصحفی مرتبہ مولوی عبدالحق صاحب بی، اے۔ علیگ۔

(۲) عقد ثریا (تذکرہ فارسی گویان) تالیف علامہ صدائی مصحفی مرتبہ مولوی عبدالحق صاحب۔

(۳) تذکرہ ہندی تالیف علامہ صدائی مصحفی مرتبہ مولوی عبدالحق صاحب۔

(۴) تذکرہ گلزار ابراہیم مولفہ علی ابراہیم حان خلیل مع تذکرہ گلشن ہند مولفہ مرزا علی لطف مرتبہ ڈاکٹر محی الدین قادری رور اورنگ آباد دکن

سہ ۱۹۳۳ ع

Riaz-ul-Fusaha—By Ghulâm Hamadâni Mashafi. Edited by Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq, B. A., (Alig.).

Iqd-i-Thuriyya—By Ghulâm Hamadâni Mashafi. Edited by Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq.

Tadhkirah-i-Hindi.—By Ghulâm Hamadâni Mashafi. Edited by Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq.

Tadhkirah-i-Gulzar-i-Ibrahim.—By Ali Ibrâhîm Khân Khalil with 'Ali Lutf's *Gulshan-i-Hind*. Edited by Dr. Sayyid Muhyi-ud-dîn Qâdri "Zôr."

Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Urdu—Aurangabad Deccan 1933.

never came to India from Persia, (2) those of Persian origin domiciled in India (3) Indian Persian poets. The *Riazu'l-Fusaha* was compiled in 1209 A.H. and the second *Tadhkirah-i-Hindi*, which is a supplement to the former, was finished in 1236 A.H. These both are concerned with Urdu poets and are very important for the biographies of various poets not to be found elsewhere. Mashafi died in 1240 A.H. after a long life of 84 years, a fact which shows that he had ample opportunity to study the lives and verses of the poets mentioned in his work.

The fourth *Tadhkirah*, *Tadhkirah-i-Gulzar-i-Ibrahim* is really two in one and is indispensable in the domain of Urdu literature. Dr. Syed Mohyi-ud-din Qadri, Lecturer of the Osmania University, Hyderabad, has edited the former after copying it from the British Museum MS : it contains notices of 320 Urdu poets together with a very useful preface showing the value of the work as a link in the chain of such compilations. The latter *Tadhkirah-i-Gulshan-i-Hind* was first published in 1906 at Hyderabad, Deccan with a detailed Introduction by Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq, when this *tadhkirah* was considered to be the first of its type. The reader will find a little confusion in this volume which contains two *tadhkirahs* ; but a little careful study will dispel the slight bewilderment and make him realise the value of the treasure which the book contains.

The Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu and its indefatigable Secretary Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq are indeed to be congratulated on their achievements.

M.A.C.

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Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs. By Prince P.H. Mamour. London, Luzac & Co., 1934.

Administration of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India. With a history of the origin of the Islamic legal institutions. By Wahed Husain, B.L., Advocate, Calcutta High Court. Onauth Nauth Prize thesis for 1932. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1934.

Humanity's need of the Quranic Teachings. By Hakeem Maulana Abdullah Rashid Nawab Makki, Khateeb, Jama Mosque, Rangoon. A pamphlet urging eloquently and

with force the world's need of the religious guidance and control which Islam alone, the author claims, can give.

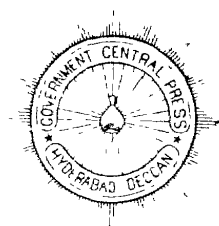
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The Holy Quran, Translation and Commentary (with Arabic text). By A. Yusuf Ali. Part I, containing the First Sipara or Thirtieth Part of the Qur'ân. Lahore. Shaikh Muhamad Ashraf. June 1934. This work will be reviewed after further instalments have been received.

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